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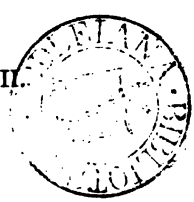

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3. *Monsieur Guizot à Messieurs les Membres du Gouvernement de la Défense nationale.* Lisieux: 1er décembre 1870.

THE French Revolution has been, for a period of eighty years, the admiration, the terror, and the wonder of the world. The wisest statesmen, the most eloquent writers, have exhausted the powers of thought and language in the attempt to examine its causes, to describe its progress, and to discover its consequences. Burke, Madame de Staël, and Joseph de Maistre were amongst the first and greatest prophets of this new order of things—prophets of evil as well as of good, conscious that the powers and the wrongs of former times were swept away as by a deluge, but incapable of discerning the ultimate results of the changes they witnessed and foretold. Three generations have passed across the stage of human affairs, but the problem is still unsolved. France has not reached that haven of freedom, good government, and peace which has been the object of so many virtuous aspirations and of so many fierce convulsions. Five dynasties of emperors or kings, and two or three republics have successively been proclaimed, accepted, abandoned, and overthrown within living memory. And, at last, we ourselves, in this our time, are witnesses of the most portentous and disastrous of this long series of calamities. The events passing before our eyes—the total momentary extinction of government in France—the occupation of a large portion of her territory by the forces of

a triumphant invader—the annihilation of her armies, which reduced this war to a struggle between a highly organised force and an undisciplined people—the captivity of him who was her supreme ruler, of her marshals, and of her whole military staff—the reduction by famine of impregnable cities and arsenals—the disintegration of several parts of the realm—the unutterable confusion or collapse of her national resources—the strange but total absence of men of high character and authority to deal with events of such unparalleled magnitude—are phenomena which will never cease to occupy the philosopher and historian as long as the world endures. These too are incidents in the great tragedy which commenced in 1789. These are at once the results of former revolutions and the causes of future perturbations. And if it be possible to divert our gaze from the startling occurrences which mark every hour of so great and terrible a spectacle, we would endeavour to take a more comprehensive survey of this vast course of events, and to trace in the operation of the revolutionary principles which were let loose eighty years ago in France the true source of the present social, political, and military condition of that gallant but unfortunate people.

The Revolution of 1789 undoubtedly swept away abuses which had become intolerable—the feudal tenure of land, the privileges of the nobility, the prodigality and arbitrary power of the Court, the corruptions of an opulent and intolerant Church; nor do we think that the destruction of these secular evils was paid for at too high a price, great as that price was. The Revolution was unjustly accused by its enemies and detractors of having overthrown institutions necessary to the welfare, perhaps even to the existence, of society. The accusation was unjust, because these institutions perished, not so much by the attacks of the Revolution, as by their own vices and weakness: they were rotten before they fell: it was time they should be hewn down and cast into the fire. Nothing could save them, for they could not save themselves. The question we ask relates, therefore, not to what the Revolution destroyed, but to what it has created—not to what it overthrew, but to what it has established. When the work of reconstruction commenced, it was found that the spoliation of the Church and of the great landed proprietors, whose estates had been forced upon the market at a time when there was no money to pay for them, had called into being an immense class of peasant proprietors, whose small holdings have since been further subdivided by the operation of the Civil Code. It was found that the traditions of hereditary monarchy had received a mortal

blow, and that in a country which has never sincerely accepted republican institutions, the succession to the throne has nevertheless in fact become elective. It was found that the aristocracy, deprived of the support and favour of the Court, had no station or authority in the land, but was rather an object of jealousy and hatred. It was found that the destruction of the endowed Church had thrown the functions of the clergy into the hands of a poor and illiterate body of peasant priests, and that the influence of faith and morality had been weakened in proportion to the weakness and incapacity of their representatives in the education of the people. Such were the chief elements of the new social life of the French nation. These elements were successively grasped by military genius which wrung from France the blood of generations, and left her at last exhausted and defeated. They were wrought upon by an unscrupulous and mendacious press; by secret combinations hostile to every established government; by the passion of equality, which means the hatred of rank; by visionary schemes opposed to the laws of property: until by these various causes the national condition of France has become that of a pure social democracy, based, not on the principles of the American constitution of society, but on the destruction of the principal institutions which had hitherto subsisted in European communities.

The question we desire to ask ourselves is, whether this striking change has contributed in the last resort to the power, freedom, and prosperity of France? or whether, on the contrary, the tremendous array of calamities which have fallen upon her, may not be traced to causes inherent in her revolutionary career. In the whole range of modern history, no country has been suddenly brought so near to actual dissolution; no modern armies have ever before been sent wholesale into a Babylonian captivity; no capital of the first rank has seen itself beleaguered by countless enemies, relying for its defence on nothing but the spirit of its own citizens, and exposed to all the horrors of famine and war. Wars and sieges conducted on such a scale remind us of nothing more near to ourselves than the incursions of the barbarians, or the capture of Jerusalem and of Constantinople. Sudden and unexpected as these results are, even by those who have brought them to pass, the causes of them must lie deep. No nation could at once have fallen from such a height to such a depth, if it had not contained within itself some disease, gnawing its most vital parts. No doubt the Imperial Government of the last twenty years bears with justice the immediate responsibility. The

Emperor and his Ministers declared war on a frivolous pretext without any means of carrying it on; they deceived the country, and were themselves deceived, in taking credit for resources which their own folly and prodigality had wasted and consumed; and they left France in her hour of utmost need stripped of every rag of authority and cohesion. But the Imperial Government itself was the offspring of the Revolution. It received, not many months ago, a renewed vote of confidence from seven millions of the people. It was the type of a government created by universal suffrage, and irresponsible by virtue of the power which had called it into being. It was, as the late Duc de Broglie said of it with bitterness not long after the *coup d'état* which had sent him to Mazas, 'the govern-'ment which the lower classes desired and the upper classes 'deserved.' Detestable as we conceive such a government to be, it had a basis in the revolutionary theory; and until its effects were laid bare by the frightful results of its own incapacity and weakness, it seemed so strong that no other form of government could contend with any semblance of success against it. It continued to the last to prostitute authority, to pervert the judgment of the people, to exclude from office every man of independent character and merit, and to pretend to a strength which it did not possess, for nothing is in truth so weak as absolutism or so timorous as personal power. But nevertheless it was the chosen government of democratic France, and especially of that portion of the French democracy, the peasantry, which, though narrow-minded, ignorant, and easily duped, is incomparably more honest and attached to the cause of peace and order than the democracy of the large towns. This consideration, therefore, brings us one step nearer to the root of the matter. The fatal consequences of the present war, and the revolution attending it, are attributable to the Government of the Empire; but the Government of the Empire was upheld to the last by the votes and confidence of the dominant power in the French nation. Be it from ignorance, be it from corruption, be it from passion, that these evils have sprung, it is to the constituent body, the only true source of power, that we must look for the source of them. It was the pleasure of the French democracy to be governed absolutely. They dreaded and abhorred a more liberal form of government as tending to anarchy. Experience had taught them the cost of one variety of revolutionary license; they rushed with indiscriminating vehemence into the other extreme; but that too has thrown them into anarchy and completed the circle of misfortune. 'Un popolo uso a vivere sotto un principe,' says

Machiavelli, 'se per qualche accidente diventa libero, con 'difficoltà mantiene la libertà;' and quoting in the next chapter the example of Rome, he adds, 'Il che nacque da quella cor-'ruzione che le parti Mariane avevano messa nel popolo, delle 'quali essendo capo Cesare, potette accecare quella moltitudine 'ch'ella non conobbe il giogo che da se medesima si metteva in 'sul collo.'* The inference we draw from these facts is that the dominant power of the French nation has been misplaced by the revolution, and misdirected by universal suffrage; that the classes invested with the franchise were incapable of discerning their true interests; and that the classes by whom the government of the country might have been safely carried on were paralysed and proscribed by numbers. It may be worth while to trace the operation of these causes in greater detail.

Before we proceed, however, to this part of our task, we pause for a moment to point out the striking contrast to the institutions and social condition of France which is to be found in the institutions and social condition of her victorious adversary. The counterpart is complete. If France is the representative of the most advanced form of European democracy, Prussia is the representative of monarchy in its most complete modern organisation. The King of Prussia is not a tyrant or an autocrat, for he governs in strict accordance with the laws of his kingdom; but the law itself emanates for the most part from the royal authority. The Royal House of Prussia is the impersonation of the State and the central force of the nation. For two centuries that family has had the good fortune to produce a series of princes, many of them able and brave, some of them great, but all following with exact uniformity the principles of government, of policy, and of war which have raised their kingdom to its present eminence. They have had the talent and good sense to place themselves at the head of the cause of progress, and though by no means 'liberal' in the sense of a readiness to relinquish any portion of their own regal authority, they have not been slow to adopt every improvement and reform which could increase their own power and ameliorate the condition of the people. In peace and in war they have served their country with extraordinary zeal and energy. In their hands monarchy has never been suffered to degenerate into a thing of empty pageants, luxurious indulgences, or ceremonial forms. It stands erect because it is real.

The constitution of the aristocracy in Germany, and espe-

* Discorsi sopra Livio, i. 16, 17.

cially in Prussia, has never enabled it to exercise a preponderating independent influence in the State. But it has retained, even now, a very strong tradition of the privileges of birth; it stands aloof from the middle classes and the people; and it regards as its sole profession a devoted service of the State and the Crown. The army, more especially, though raised on the broadest principles of national conscription, is officered and led by the upper classes. Large families of noble birth, poor, brave, and loyal, are the natural resource of a military monarchy; and, whatever may be thought of the Junkerdom of Berlin in its politics and its manners, it will not be denied to be an element of strength to the Crown and to the army.

The civil government, which embraces with inconceivable minuteness all the relations of social life, and restrains all freedom of action, is in the hands of a powerful bureaucracy. The representative bodies, more recently introduced in Prussia, have in truth no real control over it. They are not even composed of men capable of carrying it on. On almost all important questions, their wishes and votes have been set aside and trampled on by the Ministers of the Crown with absolute contempt. Of that freedom which consists in the government of the nation by the nation, or in obedience to the will of the nation, there is in Prussia no sign, and not even a pretence. Authority subsists in its severest and most naked form.

But the people, naturally docile and submissive to acts which would produce a change of government in England, a revolution in France, and a *pronunciamiento* in Spain, are satisfied that in the long run the policy of the government is enlightened and just. They know that the administration of the public finances is inflexibly honest and frugal. They see that the government has by its zeal in the work of education made them the most instructed people in Europe; and they are perhaps unconscious that this education has so moulded their minds and very being that they are trained to habits of obedience, loyalty, and respect, not common in more democratic communities. Even the popular opinions and prevailing sentiments of the day, encouraged by the press, have been skilfully used by the government to promote the aggrandisement of the monarchy by pursuing objects marked out by national ambition.

There is something of a Spartan character in the institutions of Prussia—the authority of the kings, who are also the commanders of the people—the simplicity and frugality which all ranks have retained in an age of luxury and indulgence—the

crushing weight of public authority which shapes everything to its will and extinguishes the individual in the State—and the harsh unamiable manners formed by a life of discipline—belong alike to the ancient and the modern military State; and these characteristics were united to a stronger sense of duty, of moral obligation, and of religion, than could be found amongst the wits and philosophers of volatile Athens. The Lacedæmonians were notoriously the least courteous and hospitable of all the Greek States: art, eloquence, and poetry never flourished on their soil. Training and discipline with a view to regimental preparation and rigid obedience were and are alike the objects of the Spartan and the Prussian lawgivers. Oratory, which plays so great a part in the affairs of more popular States, was and is alike unknown and powerless at Lacedæmon and at Berlin, and the policy of each of these capitals is therefore essentially secret and self-contained. This circumstance gives a rare steadiness to their political action, and engenders a hatred of revolutions. The object of the athletic exercises of the other Grecian States, as it is in England, was excellence in games; the exercises of the Prussians, like those of Sparta, are all directed to war. Lastly, it is possible that the land laws of Lacedæmon may have had purposes and results analogous to the great land reform introduced by Baron von Stein.

A State thus constituted on the strictest dynastic principles is the antithesis of France. Accordingly, Prussia has been the most constant and bitter enemy of the French Revolution. She began the contest of the anti-revolutionary war, which led to results so disastrous to Europe, because at that period France was in all the magnificent energy of her new-born hopes of freedom, and monarchical Europe was in a stage of extreme decrepitude. Prussia more than any other State drank that cup of humiliation to the dregs. It was Prussia who put her hand to the Treaty of Basle, which first made over to France the left bank of the Rhine, since so fiercely contested. It was Prussia that accepted Hanover from the dominator of Europe. She expiated that weakness by Jena, and by seven years of excessive suffering from the French occupation. But in those sufferings her regeneration began. The structure of the monarchy and of the army was laid afresh on a broader and stronger basis. When she took the field again in 1813 she commenced a new life. In 1814 her dominions were extended till they touched the frontier of France on its most sensitive and vulnerable point, and she consented to mount guard there, which she has done with effect for more than half a century.

And when the attack was rashly, madly, renewed by France, Prussia uprose with all her ancient hatred of her revolutionary neighbour—with a lively recollection of ancient wrongs which have been studiously kept alive in the hearts of the people—and with a strong faith that the time was come when her Sovereign could claim the first rank in Germany and in Europe. The climax and consummation of this great revolution is to be found in the recent act by which the princes of Germany have been led to place the renovated Imperial Crown of Germany on the head of the King of Prussia. Hohenzollern has succeeded Hapsburg. The reluctant vassals of the Empire have acknowledged their own defeat in the celebration of a national triumph. The crown which was refused by the late King when tendered by a democratic assembly in 1849, has been accepted in 1870 as the symbol of military might. It has been purchased by great achievements in war, attended by infinite misery and suffering; and no doubt it is the dearer to the Sovereign who will wear it, as a pledge of the triumph of the monarchical principles of Germany over the democratic armies of France.

Thus, then, while France has during a lengthened period of time undergone a series of political changes, and been subject to the operation of social causes, which appear to have undermined and diminished her power as a nation, Prussia has been steadily growing under the influence of her monarchy—the supremacy of the reigning House has been raised to the highest pitch; her territories have been greatly extended; her alliances have given her the military command of Southern Germany; her population has largely augmented; her military system and armament have been reformed and carried to perfection; and she finds herself at the head of a people prepared to make enormous sacrifices for the advancement of her political objects. We give Count Bismarck credit for having foreseen these things and their results. It is our deliberate opinion and belief that he has for many years—that is, since the humiliation of Olmütz and the pitiful conduct of Prussia during the Crimean war—had steadily in view the means by which he could gratify the ambition of his country and his own, by raising her to the first rank of European Powers, and by placing the Imperial Crown on his master's head. Such an undertaking involved the overthrow of the Germanic Confederation, the violation of numerous treaties, the destruction of the whole system of the balance of power in Europe, war with Austria, concessions to Russia, defiance of England, and at last a death-struggle with France. It therefore exacted an incalculable

sacrifice of human life and property. But the man of 'blood 'and iron' knew what he meant to do, and he has apparently done it. The end is a great one. But probably no other living man would have had the force of will and the insensibility of conscience to enter upon that blood-stained path. However guilty of recklessness and ambition the French Government may have been in the transactions which were the immediate cause or pretext of the declaration of war, on which we have in our last Number freely expressed our opinion, it can never be denied that the disruption of Europe, the change in the relative position of States, and the final overthrow of the great settlement of 1815, were the results of the policy of Prussia in 1864 and 1866, guided by Count Bismarck, and we do him no injustice in supposing that he desired and intended them, and was prepared to pay the cost of them. The passions of men are, after all, but the blind instruments of the Providential government of mankind. The spectacle of human misery and helplessness would be too dreadful, but for the belief that even the crimes of nations are working to some beneficent, though unseen, end; and that there is a plan in the ultimate conduct of human affairs, infinitely more vast and just than the schemes of statesmen and the tactics of successful war.

Count Bismarck undoubtedly foresaw in 1866 the relative inferiority of Austria to Prussia in military strength, especially when attacked at once on the Elbe and on the Po; and in this respect he showed a degree of penetration shared by few persons in Europe. Did he in 1870 entertain a similar belief as to the relative strength of Prussia, aided by the South German States, and of France? That is a question to which at present no answer can be given; but it is not impossible that he may have arrived at a similar conclusion. He knew the strength of the German armies; he probably had information that the French could not place above half that number of troops at once on the frontier, and that the French reserves under the law of 1868 were not organised. He knew the character of the Emperor, the weakness of his Government, and the absence of high military talent in the army. But in addition to these personal and military considerations, there are numerous facts and arguments arising out of the condition of France herself, which might perhaps suggest the same conclusion to a man of more than common powers of discernment. To these, as they appear to us to be displayed by the unexampled and unforeseen events of the last few months, we now return, and they are the more interesting

as they raise questions of general application to the interests of society in other countries at the present day.

It has been said, and the fact will hardly be disputed, that the strong monarchical constitution of Prussia is one great element of her power. Hereditary kingship is as sacred and as valuable in the eyes of the Prussians, as if her princes came of the divine race of the Heracleids. In France, hereditary monarchy, by which we mean the indefeasible right of the head of the State to rule by descent, and to transmit his power to his next heir, perished on the scaffold with Louis XVI. Attempts have been made by each succeeding government to revive it. But these have in fact failed. No French sovereign, except Charles X., has taken the crown by succession since the commencement of the Revolution; and the right of succession, though constantly acknowledged by the law, has been so often set aside by revolutions, that no reliance can be placed upon it. 'I cannot forget,' said Napoleon III. to Lord Clarendon on the birth of his son in the Tuileries in 1856, 'that no prince born in this house has succeeded his father on 'the throne.' In fact, the duration of a dynasty in France is from fifteen to twenty years.

What, then, is the true value of hereditary monarchy? Does it conduce to the strength and stability of governments by determining the succession to supreme power, or does it detract from them by the chance of placing that power in incapable hands? The answer of a theoretical reasoner on government might admit of doubt. The answer of practical experience resolves that doubt, and for sufficient reasons. When the succession to the supreme power depends on a popular vote, a legislative preference, or a revolution, the dynastic question is continually paramount to every other consideration in the mind of the ruler. His object is to transmit or perpetuate his power, and to this object the whole policy of his reign is subservient. At any moment the change may occur. At any moment he or his heirs must be prepared to meet it. A king who ascends the throne by even the most legitimate forms of election, as William III. in England or Louis-Philippe in France, must be prepared to deal with large bodies of his own subjects who dispute or detest his authority. The Jacobites conspired against William; the Royalists and Republicans waged a factious opposition against the House of Orleans. Louis Napoleon was elected by a vast majority of the French people; but the minority, consisting of the best, the wisest, and the ablest men in the country, stood aloof from him and his government, and were throughout his reign his irreconcilable

enemies. An elective sovereign therefore no longer represents the integrity of his empire. The house is divided against itself. The divisions of party on such a question attack and weaken, not only the administrative functions of the government, but the representative of the State itself. The sovereign therefore regards a portion of his own subjects as his most formidable enemies; and should a crisis of danger occur, which ought to call forth the united action of every citizen, that is the very moment his adversaries or rivals will select to overthrow him. Francis I. after Pavia was not the less King of France in a Spanish prison. Napoleon III. after Sedan is a nameless fugitive in a foreign palace, and the State drifts in total anarchy to the verge of dissolution. The hereditary rights of the Valois were unassailable; those of the Bonapartes are a jest.

Even in the United States of America, where the periodical renewal of the supreme magistrate by election is established by law and peacefully conducted, the presidential election weakens the authority of the State and of the Ruler. It was a presidential election which caused the civil war. Another election ensued in the heat of the contest; the Americans very wisely kept Mr. Lincoln in his place. Every American President is mainly occupied with the desire of procuring his own re-election, or, if his second term of service is nearly over, of procuring the election of one of his adherents. General Grant at this moment is in the former position, and his policy is governed by it. The policy of his opponents is equally governed by the hope of defeating him and taking his place. Hence personal interests largely control and distort public measures. There is now, we are sorry to say, a party in the United States who would not scruple to plunge their country into war with England, if they thought that measure would give them a majority at the next Presidential election. The fault is not so much in the men, as in the vicious institutions which hold out such temptations to faction.

In this country, if by any misfortune the principle of hereditary monarchy were shaken, we have no doubt that the people of England have sufficient experience of freedom and sufficient respect for the law of Parliament to conduct peaceably their own affairs. But the golden bond which holds together the British Empire would be broken. The central force, which makes this nation so great a power in the world, would be dissipated. The symbol, which is recognised alike by the free settlers of Australia and by the dusky natives of Hindostan, would be lost. The outlying realms of British rule would recognise no allegiance to the elected ruler of the

English people, who might be good enough for us, but who would be nothing to them. As it is, whatever may be the defects of our political and social institutions, Great Britain may boast that for more than one hundred and eighty years the course of law and the tranquillity of the realm have been unbroken, and that, enjoying as much freedom as any people in the world, she has also enjoyed a degree of internal peace, order, and security to which no other nation can lay claim.

These examples may illustrate the value and the strength of what we mean by the principle of hereditary monarchy; and however seductive the theory of republican election may be to some minds, we defy them to replace it. All other principles of supreme government are contested and contestable, and this especially at the most critical moments. Dynastic law and tradition alone place the representative of the supreme power above every accident except that of the extinction of his race. The French Revolution in striking down the monarchy of a thousand years destroyed the tradition, and it has not been restored. They have substituted for it the ideal of 'France' —and no doubt in a country so homogeneous and so patriotic, the name is a name of power. But France not represented by any efficient lawful sovereign, or represented by a committee of declamatory lawyers carried to the Hôtel de Ville by a Parisian mob, is in fact as helpless as an idol of wood or stone. Who speaks with authority in her name? Who controls the passions and interests of her provinces with an equal hand? Who protects her? Who defends her? Who can ever direct aright the course of her policy towards the enemy or the passionate self-sacrifice of her sons? Who can make peace? Who can contract in her name? In nothing is the present contest more fearfully unequal, than in the fact that it lies between the most powerful monarchy of Europe, governed with absolute clear-sighted authority by its king, and a headless State, torn as much by internal dissensions as by foreign invasion. Prussia, too, has had her days of humiliation. After Jena, the king retreated to the Niemen and hardly found a refuge from the oppressor within the verge of his own dominions. But wherever he was, there was the Crown, there was the Sovereign, there was the State. Nothing was irrecoverably lost as long as the vital principle of the monarchy was preserved. To France, unhappily, by the results of her revolution that resource is denied; and anarchy, save where it is locally controlled by the wisdom and courage of such men as General Trochu and a few more, presents her defenceless to the enemy and unprovided for the future.

The decline and fall of the French aristocracy, as a political body, dates from a period long anterior to the Revolution of 1789. To find a race of nobles and landed proprietors leading an independent existence on their estates, and playing an independent part in the affairs of their country, we must go back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and to the time when a large portion of the best blood in France held the Protestant faith. The civil wars, the proscriptions of Richelieu, the bigotry of Louis XIV., and the corrupt court of his successor established the ascendency of the Crown, of the Catholic Church, and of Versailles. That important element in society which, in this country, has so often fought the battles of freedom against the encroachments of prerogative, perished in France; or if it retained its own privileges and possessions, these were rendered odious to the people, because they had ceased to be held for the general good. In the reign of Louis XV. the income of the noble consisted chiefly in the revenue he could draw, under various names and pretences, from those who held under him, not in the shape of rent but of charges on every form of rural labour. His agents harassed the tenants with fiscal rapacity, and were constantly at war with the customs that formerly protected the cultivators of the soil. The landed interest was everywhere poor. Nobles, ecclesiastics, ennobled citizens, and purchasers of fiefs were alike overwhelmed with debt. The rate of usury was enormous. Their condition was described by Forbonnais as that of men 'reduced to extreme penury with immense nominal 'possessions.' Accordingly wherever sales of land could be made, it was purchased with avidity. In 1760 it was computed that a quarter of the soil of France was held by the peasantry, a quarter by the bourgeoisie, two-tenths by the clergy, and three-tenths by the nobles. The subdivision of land was regarded as the best remedy for the deplorable condition of the country, and the creation of a peasant proprietary was already advocated as the panacea of the nation. D'Argenson, for instance, in a work published in 1740, which Voltaire described as the best book he had read for twenty years, insisted upon the expedient of 'reconstructing the edifice 'of society, shaken by bad laws, by the creation of a class of 'individuals who should be morally and economically inde-'pendent.' His ideal was that the land should belong to those who cultivated it. We shall see in another page of this inquiry, what are the political and military results of this system. Suffice it here to say that it was loudly demanded at the outset of the Revolution by all classes of the community;

that the nobles themselves abandoned their feudal rights as untenable; and that the change of tenures was accomplished. To this hour, this is the result of the Revolution which is most loudly applauded by French writers of the greatest learning and authority, as for example, by M. Doniol, from whose instructive history of the rural classes in France we have borrowed the foregoing facts. It is equally admired by those English writers who seek in the democracy of France the model of the reforms they desire to introduce in this country in the tenure of property and the organisation of society. We may, therefore, assume that this state of things is regarded as highly beneficial, and so undoubtedly it has proved in the improvement of the condition of the peasantry, when liberated from feudal burdens, which have happily no parallel amongst ourselves. But our object at this moment is to point out, as a simple fact, that the change involved the extinction of the social and political influence of the upper classes; for the abuses of the feudal tenures and the vices of an aristocracy, identified by its sources of revenue and its habits of expenditure with the court, had engendered throughout France a fierce hatred of social inequality, which has gone on increasing to this day, though the causes in which it originated have long disappeared. The services, therefore, which may be rendered to a nation by a class of educated proprietors and capitalists, by the performance of the public duties of their station, by the improvement of cultivation and rural administration, and by the local influence of men solicitous for the common interest of those around them, are in a great measure lost to France. There is no 'public spirit,' to use a most emphatic and characteristically English term. Even on the larger estates in the hands of those who are capable of discharging the duties of a resident gentry, the good offices of the wealthy are regarded with suspicion and hostility, as great perhaps as when those duties wore the invidious shape of feudal privileges. The result has been, to a considerable extent, to displace the educated classes from their natural position as the leading servants of the public in local and political affairs. There is a chasm between them and the surrounding peasantry, which is rarely crossed: and the peasantry would certainly refuse to recognise in the gentry the champions or representatives of their own interests.

We think this fact, which is due partly to the spirit of the Revolution and partly to causes anterior to that event, explains in some measure the extraordinary deficiency of men capable of leading, governing, and guiding the nation at this great crisis. That many such men exist in so intelligent a country

as France is certain; but their position is singularly unfortunate, for they have been proscribed for the last twenty years by a Government they refused to serve, and they are equally thrust aside by the people. The dead level of equality has passed over their heads, and as none are conspicuous, none great, the country has no tried or natural chiefs and leaders when it most requires them. We have the astonishing fact before our eyes, that at this moment, with the exception of three or four great reputations surviving from the period of Parliamentary government, there is not known to be in France a general, a statesman, or an orator of the first rank. There is not a man on whom the eyes of the whole community rest with the confidence and deference paid elsewhere to high rank, to tried honour, and to genius. Society, and especially the society of the Empire, is barren. Nor is that of the Republic more fertile.

It will no doubt be said that the Revolution of 1789 was singularly prolific of great men. A generation of extraordinary energy burst forth at the call of freedom, and filled the world for fifty years with their exploits and their renown. They sprang alike from every rank and class of society. But the men whom the Revolution called into action were not its children. They had been born, reared, and educated under the old order of things. We have now before us the descendants of the revolutionary period in its third generation—men educated in its maxims and subjected to its social discipline. These are its true descendants and its legitimate heirs. Has then the influence of the Revolution raised or lowered the character and capacity of Frenchmen? Has it enlarged their sphere of action? Has it strengthened those ties between the upper and the lower classes of society, without which national action is paralysed? Has the growth of democracy, to the exclusion of every other element, given greater union, force, and power to the nation and to the State? Down to a very recent period it was believed, and would have been maintained by all French writers, that these results had been attained. But we leave our readers to answer for themselves these questions.

It is a melancholy reflection that but little has been done by modern democracy to dignify and exalt mankind. The area of human happiness has certainly been extended by the diffusion of freedom and knowledge, and we rejoice in that result. But the creative genius and power which enlarge the boundaries of thought and action thrive not upon that level plain 'on 'which every ant-hill is a mountain, and every thistle a forest-'tree.' Democracy, it may be, bears with it the destiny or

the doom of civilisation; but nowhere as yet has it been favourable to greatness. Even in the United States, where it reigns without control, no man since Washington, who was certainly no democrat, can be said to have risen to true eminence, even under the pressure of a great crisis. The growth or manifestation of intellectual force bears no proportion at all to the spread of population and wealth. In like manner, France never was at any former time so populous, so rich in all material gifts, and apparently so prosperous as in last July; but never in all her varied history was she so destitute of greatness, whether in counsel or in arms. The same observation might be addressed to ourselves. Great Britain in 1805 had not half the population, probably not one-fifth of the wealth, and far less material culture, education, and freedom, than we enjoy at the present day. But we cannot boast that our age is more prolific of great men in statesmanship, war, literature, and science than the first decade of this century; and there are those who think, we trust erroneously, that the relative strength of the nation as compared with that of some foreign States has declined.

The turning point in the history, both of England and in France, lay in the sixteenth century, which gave the one to the Protestant, the other to the Catholic cause—the one to free inquiry, free institutions, and the virility of self-government; the other to the Romish creed ingrafted by a Latin form of civilisation on a Celtic race. Upon a comparison of Catholic and Protestant nations by the test of social development, the advantage does not rest with the older creed; and even though that creed may have lost much of its ancient authority and intolerance, the soil in which it has flourished long gives signs of exhaustion. Nevertheless, the Church of France, the Church of Bossuet and Fénelon, of Pascal and Arnauld, of Port-Royal and Saint-Maur, fills a glorious and imperishable page in the annals of that nation and of the human race. The Gallican clergy maintained their rights against the Ultramontane pretensions of Rome. They were the depositories of the learning and the piety of the realm. They upheld with eloquence and fidelity the noble principles of Christian morals in presence of a corrupt Court and a pleasure-loving people; and they discharged with no mean results their important function of the educators of the nation. The Revolution swept all this away. It was impossible to attack the Church, says M. de Tocqueville in one of his letters, without touching every fibre of the State. In losing their endowments they lost their independence. The connexion between the clergy and the higher classes of society was broken. They

became a stipendiary priesthood, without the advantages of an establishment and without the energy of free denominations. Their numbers are recruited chiefly from the ranks of the peasantry, who seek in holy orders a means of escape from the conscription, or a means of transferring to the rest of the family another parcel of the patrimonial estate. The modern parochial clergy of France are a virtuous and devout class of men. But they are narrow-minded and ignorant to excess. They are the tools of the most bigoted Ultramontane doctrines, even against the judgment of their own prelates. Their influence is confined to women and devotees, and they have almost entirely lost their control over the higher education of the country. The consequence is that the education of the upper classes of men is strangely divorced from a high system of moral and religious principle, based on the accountability of man to God, and that in place of it a course of secular instruction, regulated by the Imperial University, and based chiefly on the exact or natural sciences, has trained the minds and characters of modern Frenchmen. It is not true that the French are an immoral and irreligious people, as is too commonly supposed by those who take their notions of French life and society from the garbage of French literature, the novels of the day. In the towns and cities, and in the army, there is undoubtedly a great laxity of practice, arising from many causes. But we hold very cheap the pretensions of those who thank God they are not as those Sadducees. In the great mass of the rural population there is as much rectitude, chastity, and sobriety as in any other country. But they are a people who have lost their guides. A plain standard of faith and duty is not brought home to their doors and hearths. Their conception of duty is based on notions of filial piety and mutual interest. The sense and love of truth has been painfully weakened among them. They afford a speaking example of what an intelligent people may become when education is severed from religious principles and when the standard of those principles is lowered or obscured.

We make these remarks with diffidence and regret, for it is a most invidious task to comment on the failings of a neighbouring people, when we are conscious how far we ourselves fall short of the highest rule of life. We know how hard it is for education to combat the materialist tendency of the age, the density of population, the pressure of a thousand social ills. But though we fail—as all must fail—to reach the lofty ideal of a Christian people, we are not ashamed to avow our conviction that the greatness of a nation depends in no small degree

on the visible standard of faith and duty set before it. Take away the Bible and the activity of the Christian ministry from the people of this island, and what would they become? Yet that is to some extent the condition in which a large proportion of the people of France find themselves. The defects of such a society are precisely those which might be anticipated in a community in which the religious sanction of moral law has lost its power. A recent theological writer * who has investigated with acuteness the causes of the corruption and decay of the Roman people under the Emperors, sums them up in one expressive phrase—the separation of religion and morality. There was religion in Rome, but it was the religion of paganism: there was morality, but it was the morality of philosophers. The two great elements of social law were disunited. Something of the same kind may perhaps be traced in France, and the condition of the country presents obvious and striking resemblances to that with which we are familiar in the pages of Roman historians and Roman satirists.

We have now cursorily noticed the most important of the ancient institutions of France, swept away by the Revolution. Let us proceed to consider what the Revolution has substituted for them. It has conferred upon the people equal civil and political rights extending to universal suffrage, and these are occasionally exercised directly and in the last resort, so as virtually to supersede the representative system. It has established a system of administration, in all departments of government, which derives its strength from the central authority and not from the people. It maintains a large permanent army raised by conscription. It applies to the upper classes a system of education of which the École Polytechnique is the type; and it methodises in a high degree all the other steps of distinction and advancement in life. It encourages small landed property, and discourages large estates, by the operation of the Civil Code in subdividing property. The Civil Code, which is the true root and fertile parent of the democratic social condition of France, limits the testamentary power, and virtually divides a man's property between his offspring in his lifetime, by the indefeasible recognition of their share in it; it renders almost impossible the accumulation of wealth in a family for several generations; it proscribes, prohibits, and defeats all trusts, settlements, entails, and limitations of real and personal property; and it favours the two prevailing passions of the people—the passion for equality and the passion for the acqui-

* Irons' Bampton Lectures for 1870, p. 8.

sition of land. Under the operation of these causes and motives, the soil of France is greatly subdivided. Four or five millions of citizens and their families live by the cultivation of their own parcel of land and in the enjoyment of the political rights connected with it. They form a numerical majority in the State, and as they present an extraordinary degree of uniformity of taste, habit, and opinion throughout France, the probability is that without concert they will all act in the same manner. It was thus that, hating the Republic in 1848, they made Louis Napoleon their candidate, and ratified the *coup d'état* of 1851 by their votes. On broad principles of republican equality and universal suffrage, the peasantry are and ought to be the masters of France; and as they are vehemently opposed to the revolutionary doctrines of the great towns, the rural vote is, of the two, the basis of legality and order. That, however, is all that we can venture to say for it. It has been frequently contended that a peasant proprietary is the best guarantee against wars and revolutions—that they have everything to lose and nothing to gain by such convulsions—and that France ought therefore of all countries to be the most exempt from them. Even so acute an observer as Lord Palmerston remarked, during a visit to France he made just before the Revolution of July 1830, that 'there were too many 'millions of owners of land and funds in France to let it be 'possible that anything should happen endangering the safety 'of one property or the other.' A natural inference, but one totally confuted by experience. There is no question that the millions of French proprietors of land and *rentes* detest revolution and dread war. It is equally true that they are nominally invested with supreme power in the State by their votes. Yet they can neither avert revolution nor resist war, nor even, as it seems, oppose a bold front to them when they occur. By all accounts this hapless peasant—this unit of French society—this individual of small possessions and absolute rights, might be a very happy and inoffensive member of society, if the world were always undisturbed; but throw him into perilous and critical circumstances, and he is as chaff before the wind. And this brings us nearer to the causes which appear to us to have contributed to this marvellous collapse of a great people. The action of democratic laws and habits seems to have pulverised and disintegrated the French nation—to have destroyed at once both the strength and cohesion of its elements—and to have given birth to a race of beings too small to deal with great emergencies, and too much divided to combine to meet them.

To render this novel state of things more intelligible to the

English reader, let us contrast it with the institutions familiar to ourselves. Everything in England is organised to give permanence and perpetuity to the relations of life and property. Property is held by one man under innumerable limitations for the benefit of others not only in the present generation, but in generations to come. Few men dispose absolutely of what they possess, unless it be self-acquired. All the relations of life are based on the principle of *interdependence*—all classes, ranks, and individuals are bound each to each by mutual duties. The land is worked by a combination of the labouring man, the farmer, and the landlord. Each of them is indispensable to the other. The labourer draws his wages independent of the variations of prices and seasons; the farmer is enabled to farm 300 acres with his capital, which would not purchase thirty acres of his own; the landlord is the chief capitalist, who in the long run bears the main risk of the adventure. He has his duties to his tenants, duties to his family, duties to the public. The public funds, and all sorts of securities, are held to an immense amount in trust under family settlements, by which the immediate interest and power of the individual are checked and circumscribed by the interests and rights of others. This mutual dependence, which exists with reference to property and its uses, runs through every branch of English social life: it is the basis of our credit: it is the secret of our enormous power of association: it is the breath of public life, for it begets a sense of duty to others on the one hand, and a sense of reliance on others on the other hand.

All this is reversed by the laws, manners, and social institutions of modern France. The Code Civil prohibits all the varied forms of limitation of the right of property. It recognises but one form of property which gives the absolute disposal of it. No man holds anything subject to the claims of another; no man has reversionary or other claims over the possessions of another. One consequence of this state of things is, that although the upper classes of France and America are less rich than those of England, they spend what they have more freely; they have in fact more to spend, because their capital, as well as the income derived from it, is at their own disposal. Just as we see in England that newly-enriched persons spend their money more freely than old territorial families. In the lower classes, the desire to obtain a certain possession is increased by the sense of absolute property in it. But the owner of a small parcel of land becomes selfish and self-contained in proportion to this sense of individual power. The land suffices to maintain and employ himself and his family.

If he keep clear of the neighbouring money-lender, he is sole master of it. He owes nothing to the landlord; he asks nothing of the labourer.* His wants, his desires, and his sympathies are bounded within its limits. No doubt some advantage from this state of society is to be found in the self-reliance and independence it confers. But this advantage must be set off against the indifference it begets to the wants and claims of others. It engenders, therefore, a high degree of selfishness, accompanied by dislike and distrust of everything that interferes with it, and an indifference to more enlarged interests. To give a striking example of the effect of this state of society. The Code Civil, as is well known, compels a man to divide his land and other property equally amongst his children. The French peasant regards the extreme partition of his possessions as an evil only to be avoided by limiting the number of his descendants. He therefore restricts himself to two children. The most imperious of human passions is kept in check by this consideration. The interests of morality suffer; and the numerical strength of the population is stopped in its natural growth by a sordid view of personal interest. The effects of this check to the rural population are sufficiently obvious, and have been pointed out by us on a former occasion. Even the physical growth of the race is stunted by it. It can be arithmetically demonstrated that the conscription drains off the whole natural increase of the country, and the rural population of France is therefore almost stationary. The population of the towns tends, on the contrary, rapidly to increase by the immigration of a certain class of persons from the rural districts.† But this class consists of those who, not being holders of land, and not choosing to accept the condition of agricultural labourers, are driven away by their own families

* In the villages of Auvergne where the soil is entirely divided between small proprietors, working on their own land, the last remaining landlords or large holders have been compelled to sell their estates because they find no labourers to cultivate them. With the exception of a few smiths, carpenters, and masons, who are useful to themselves, the peasant proprietors will not allow persons not of their own class to dwell in their villages: the superfluous population, for whom there is no land, are driven away to seek employment in towns.

† In Paris alone this immigration is calculated at three or four hundred thousand men in the last twenty years. Their fate has been singularly unfortunate, for after having laboured with their hands to rebuild the capital of France with unexampled splendour, it has devolved on them to defend it, and probably a considerable number of them will be found to have perished in the siege of Paris.

and by the custom of the country to seek employment in towns. They are therefore the most discontented portion of the nation. They readily adopt the loose habits and the loose social theories current amongst French *ouvriers*: they form what is termed the *prolétariat* of France, and having no stake in the country and no interest in maintaining its institutions, they readily become the turbulent partisans of republican, and even revolutionary, principles. It is amongst this class alone that the republic has any hold; by the mass of the people it is not only not desired, but dreaded and abhorred. Yet these are sufficiently numerous and powerful in the towns to overthrow many an established authority, and to make the establishment of a stable and free government a task of great difficulty. The democracy of the provinces is conservative. The democracy of the towns is destructive. But these opposite results arise from the same cause —an intensely selfish interest.

This selfishness of the small proprietor has been described by the best writers as *individualism*. Individual property, individual independence, individual gain, is the basis of democratic institutions. Let anyone observe an assembly of French peasants on a market day. All equal, all alike, all sharing one class of interests and passions, intolerant to excess of any superiority of intelligence, wealth, or power, they resemble the atoms of which a floating mass may be composed. In ordinary times their lives are industrious and contented. But they are wholly unprepared to meet an emergency: they are governed by no public spirit or sympathy with public objects.* Beyond their own narrow field of vision, they see and acknowledge nothing but the power of the Government. Such a people is trained to live under an absolute authority; and accordingly, if their opinion is asked on the subject, it is in favour of absolute authority that their votes are given. Should that absolute authority fail in the discharge of the public duties devolved upon it, there is nothing to protect such a people from anarchy or subjugation. The life of man is so short and the powers of a single generation so limited, that it is only by adding

* To cite another illustration from Auvergne. The communal or parish roads in France are made by the commune, which levies so many days' statute labour on its own members for the purpose. In Auvergne the communal roads are detestable, sometimes hardly exist. The reason given is that no man will consent to tax himself for a benefit he would share with his neighbours. The roads made by the State and the Department are, of course, excellent, but they are not in the control of the peasantry.

together the efforts of several generations and by securing permanence and perpetuity to the results of human labour that great institutions are created. Trusts and settlements which give permanence to family property, endowments, chartered corporations, and hereditary rank, are all legal contrivances for the purpose of securing and perpetuating the benefits of labour and success. They give strength and stability to society by creating interests and powers more lasting and comprehensive than those of the present time. They are to the moral energy of man what mechanism is to force, by preserving and applying what it cannot produce. But to all institutions of this permanent nature, the spirit of democracy is opposed. It views with a jealous and hostile eye everything that it cannot control. It resists permanent and collective obligations as an encroachment on the unlimited personal freedom of the individual. It therefore weakens the traditional elements of society and readily sacrifices the past and the future to what is supposed to be the interest of the present. By one system men are raised to the power and duration of institutions; by the other institutions are reduced and contracted to the individual weakness of man. Democratic power is an essential and useful check to the abuses of authority, but it is a feeble or violent instrument of government, and the collective strength of a nation may be sensibly diminished by it.

We had already written these remarks, when it occurred to us to turn to a half-forgotten passage in which M. de Tocqueville has described with his wonted sagacity the same distinction, and traced its consequences. The page is so remarkable, and so apposite to the present state of things in France, that at the risk of forfeiting our own credit for originality we transcribe it:—

'Aristocratic institutions have the effect of closely binding every man to several of his fellow-citizens. As in aristocratic communities all the citizens occupy fixed positions, one above the other, the result is that each of them always sees a man above himself whose patronage is necessary to him, and below himself another man whose co-operation he may claim. Men living in aristocratic ages are therefore almost always closely attached to something placed out of their own sphere, and they are often disposed to forget themselves. It is true that in those ages the notion of human fellowship is faint, and that men seldom think of sacrificing themselves for mankind; but they often sacrifice themselves for other men. In democratic ages, on the contrary, when the duties of each individual to the race are much more clear, devoted service to any one man becomes more rare; the bond of human affection is extended, but it is also relaxed. Amongst democratic nations new families are constantly springing up, others are con-

stantly falling away, and all that remain change their condition: the woof of time is every instant broken, and the track of generations effaced. Those who went before are soon forgotten; of those who will come after no one has any idea; the interest of man is confined to those in close propinquity to himself. As each class approximates to other classes and intermingles with them, its members become indifferent and as strangers to one another. Aristocracy had made a chain of all the members of the community, from the peasant to the king: democracy breaks that chain and severs every link of it.' (*Democracy in America*, 2nd part, 2nd book, chap. 2.)

Again, after pointing out that freedom, and the habitual performance of public duties by the power of association, as in the United States, are the only correctives of this selfish individualism and isolation, M. de Tocqueville proceeds, in another chapter:—

'Aristocratic communities always contain amongst a multitude of persons, who by themselves are powerless, a small number of powerful and wealthy citizens, each of whom can achieve great undertakings single-handed. In aristocratic societies men do not need to combine in order to act, because they are strongly held together. Every wealthy and powerful citizen constitutes the head of a permanent and compulsory association, composed of all those who are dependent upon him, or whom he makes subservient to the execution of his designs. Amongst democratic nations, on the contrary, all the citizens are independent and feeble: they can do hardly anything by themselves, and none of them can oblige his fellow-men to lend him their assistance. *They all, therefore, fall into a state of incapacity*, if they do not learn voluntarily to help one another. If men living in democratic countries had no right and no inclination to associate for political purposes, *their independence would be in great jeopardy*; but they might long preserve their wealth and their cultivation: whereas if they never acquired the habit of forming associations in ordinary life, *civilisation itself would be endangered.* A people amongst which individuals should lose the power of achieving great things single-handed, without acquiring the means of producing them by united exertions, *would soon relapse into barbarism.*' (*Democracy in America*, 2nd part, 2nd book, chap. 5.)

This last sentence states with admirable precision the whole pith of our own argument.

Unhappily, but not unexpectedly, it was in these *débris* of the French Revolution, and amongst a people upon which democracy had exerted all its disintegrating power, without the correcting influence of freedom and self-government, that Imperialism struck root. And Imperialism as it was understood and practised by the late Sovereign of France, aggravated all the evils of democracy and indeed lived upon them. The nation sank under the influence of a corrupt personal Government, which became the sole depository of power, and

promised the people in exchange unbounded material prosperity. The press was fettered. The right of association for political objects was denied. Even the material progress of the country was purchased at the price of higher interests and proved a perishable commodity, and (to quote another phrase of M. de Tocqueville) 'the more enfeebled and incompetent the citizens became, the more active the Government was rendered, in order that society at large may execute what individuals can no longer accomplish.' There lay the delusion. There can be no strength in a Government other than the strength of the nation; and if the nation sinks in energy, morality, and independence, sooner or later the Government must share the same fate.

No example of this truth can be more striking than the condition of the French army at the outset of the war, for the army is the youthful strength of the nation, trained by the Government itself and under its immediate control. We are certain that the peasant population of France had no desire for war. They knew the price of it too well, and all their interests and tastes were opposed to it. If a *plébiscite* could have been taken on the question the votes would have been ten to one for peace. But they were powerless even to make known their opinions; utterly powerless to check the Government in its course. The Emperor appears to have supposed (perhaps erroneously) that the army did wish for war and was prepared for it. The warning voice which had come from the ranks in the last *plébiscite* had startled and alarmed him. But even the army was infected by the disease which had struck so deep into the community—no respect, no power of combination, no discipline, luxury among the officers, discontent among the soldiers, most of whom were longing to return to their parental fields. Taken from the population, the army shared the peculiar feelings of the population and its military character was decomposed by them. In no other manner can we account for the unexampled spectacle of the rapid dissolution, after two or three indecisive battles, of large bodies of disciplined troops.

The world saw in 1794 of what might be capable an army, hastily raised, but burning with the fire of revolutionary patriotism and hurled against the antiquated battalions of Germany. But nothing differs more from that enthusiastic and victorious levy than the late army of France, raised by conscription from a people intent on their own interests, relaxed by a long peace, trained in part by irregular warfare against the tribes of Africa, officered by men who owed

everything to their military rank and had no social importance. Seniority is, of course, the strict rule of promotion in democratic armies. The consequence was that all the superior officers of the French army were elderly men; their average age was from 60 to 64; the average age of the revolutionary generals of 1794 was 30.*

It was undoubtedly supposed that the natural valour and pugnacity of the French soldier would break forth with an irresistible impetus in face of the enemy on the Rhine. But this expectation was disappointed. The *dynamical* force of the army was wanting. It displayed no power of cohesion; after the first reverses, the defeated corps collapsed into a rabble; acts of astonishing insubordination marked the whole line of march; and at the last extremity both in Sedan and Metz, there was no disposition to adopt the heroic alternative of desperate, and perhaps unavailing resistance. These facts are so much at variance with the past history and character of the French army, that we cannot but infer from them that the social and political condition of the nation had debilitated the army. They appear not to be the same race of men as those valiant conscripts, mere boys, of 1814, who, in numbers not exceeding 40,000, barred the road to Paris against the Allied armies; twice broke the ranks of Blücher; and nearly decided Schwarzenberg to desist from the invasion. All democratic institutions are possessed by an intense energy at their origin and commencement. They are animated by popular enthusiasm and revolutionary power. But when these transitory elements of strength wear off, they have far less of tenacity, perpetuity, and endurance than the institutions of monarchical and aristocratic States. This observation seems to apply to their military as well as to their civil condition. Again, no armies are less likely to be animated by an intense military spirit than those which are raised by conscription from a people of peasant proprietors. Every recruit joins the army by compulsion, not to seek in it the profession of his choice, but in obedience to

* Even in point of numbers it would seem that the armies of modern France have not increased in the same ratio as the population. On the 1st January, 1678, says M. Camille Rousset in his invaluable 'Histoire de Louvois' (vol. ii. p. 477), Louis XIV. had under arms 279,610 men. The population of France probably did not at that time exceed seventeen millions. In 1870, with a population of forty millions, the number of effective French troops in the field was apparently not much greater than it had been nearly two centuries before. It is true that France suffered cruelly from the exhausting levies of Louis XIV.'s wars, and that in the course of his reign the population declined.

the law which obliges him to quit his natural position in life for several years, and tears him from the cultivation of his own or his father's homestead. He is therefore a reluctant soldier, and, far from regarding the barrack or the camp as his home, he desires nothing so much as to return to his village. The conduct of the French, both in the field and as prisoners of war, warrants the belief that these feelings had more weight with them than the passion of military glory or even the sense of military duty. The existence of a vast multitude of peasant proprietors is probably beneficial as an element of peace, but it certainly does not augment the military power of the State. No one can doubt that the late reverses of the French armies have inflicted a tremendous blow on the national pride of the people and on their absolute faith in the invincibility of their arms. But this shock does not appear to have called forth a corresponding effort on the part of the population. Everybody has noticed with surprise the surrender of populous towns to small parties of invading horsemen. The enormous lines of communication of the Prussian armies have seldom been assailed. And the travellers who have crossed France during the war have been struck by the submissive acquiescence of the peasantry under a calamity which appeared to them to be irresistible. We know very well what they feel. We can guess the fierce execrations with which they dog the track of the invader. But personal and local interests are powerful restraints on national action. The defence of Paris is heroical, and amongst the gallant chiefs of the Army of the Loire may be reckoned many of the best names of France; but the general attitude of the people has hitherto been that of despair rather than of enthusiasm.

It would be unjust to the Provisional Government of Defence and to the nation, not to admit that prodigious exertions have been made to repel the enemy, not without great hopes of ultimate success. It would be ungracious to criticise their language, or to question the wisdom of their actions, under so many difficulties, when we are perfectly convinced of the sincerity of their patriotism. The remarks we are making are not aimed at any particular persons or parties; but at the general tendency and result of that state of society which has obtained the mastery over France by the Revolution. Nothing can more completely illustrate that tendency than the fact that in a supreme crisis of fate, France finds herself governed by two or three second-rate lawyers, who owe their notoriety to readiness of speech. The country has been fed upon falsehoods, and was never suffered to know the truth until it was

too late to act upon it, because there was no man bold or strong enough to tell the truth to the supreme democracy, which shares with absolute kings the privilege of being approached with bated breath and flattered into ruin. To this hour, this poor stricken people is addressed in the language of courtiers, as if its ministers and journalists were its slaves; and it is hard to say who will assume the invidious duty of breaking the spell.

The Government of National Defence in France is represented by two men, General Trochu in Paris and M. Gambetta at Tours. No man has a higher character for personal rectitude and virtue than General Trochu. Unambitious, he has never sought the terrible responsibility which has been thrust upon him; and he could give no greater proof of patriotism than his honest resolution to serve his country and to defend the capital in conjunction with men whose political opinions have nothing in common with his own. Whatever be the result, he is one of the heroes of duty. We doubt not that he has performed a most arduous task with conscientious devotion; but he has shown no signs of the inspiration of military genius, and nothing in his past life had given him any opportunity of displaying it. M. Gambetta is a man of a different mould. He has the energy of revolutionary times. He probably shares the opinion—we think an erroneous one—that the cause of the Revolution was saved in 1794 by the violent measures of the Terrorists; and though we believe him to be entirely free from their execrable indifference to bloodshed, like them he would not hesitate to resort to almost any means of promoting his ends. The Terrorists were men who believed in the strength of violent governments, and who held very cheap the restraint of law. In the name of liberty they claimed to exercise the most arbitrary and unlimited power. This race of politicians is not extinct in France. In some of the great cities they are formidable by numbers, and when the war is over they will still present a formidable obstacle to the re-establishment of a regular government in the country. The first step to the re-establishment of such a government would evidently be the election of a National Assembly, empowered to re-constitute the State on a legal basis. To that measure, however, M. Gambetta is strongly opposed. He has done all he can to induce his colleagues to postpone it. He apparently distrusts his own ability to retain the power, conferred upon him by the mob of Paris, in presence of the representatives of France; and he prefers to exercise, as long as he can, a power which is unlimited because it has no legal character or basis. Nothing can be more absurd

or more akin to the conduct of the Republican *commissaires* of the first Republic than M. Gambetta's interference with the military commanders who still remained to France: and his language throughout has been systematically mendacious. The ascendency of such a man at such a time, who supplies the want of statesmanlike wisdom by declamatory energy, and aspires to be a Danton without the scaffold, is singularly characteristic of the revolutionary state of the country. He too is a child of 1792, destined probably to found as little as his predecessors, and not to equal either their momentary greatness or their unforgotten crimes.

M. Guizot, in whom age does not chill the fervour of patriotism or shake his faith in Parliamentary government, has recently addressed a letter to the members of the Government of National Defence, in which he does ample justice to their exertions to save the country. But he proceeds in these remarkable terms:—

'Beware of illusions: in the present state of affairs, and of yourselves, you are not equal to your task. The present war has, and can have, for us, no other object but peace; and you are doubtless well aware that the country desires peace, when it can be obtained with honour. But the enemy, in order to treat for peace, and the neutral Powers, in order to second us in obtaining it, require to have before them a complete and effective government, with a serious prospect of duration, and one which may be relied on to execute the treaties it may sign. You have neither that strength nor that character. You are an incomplete and provisional power. You have even been obliged, by the investment of Paris, to cut your government in halves—one for Paris, the other for the provinces; and these two fractions of government, materially severed from each other, have not always exhibited the same political aspect, whatever may be their mutual goodwill: the spirit of order predominates in that of Paris; the spirit of concession to disorder in that of the provinces.

'Nor can it be denied that under this government, by reason of its division, the most important questions are decided—resolutions of peace and war, levies of the people, and national loans—by one or two persons without debate, without publicity, and by the sole authority of this or that individual. What is this but another form of personal government, without responsibility subject to the control of debate, and without any pre-existing securities to the country?

'Evidently nothing but a National Assembly, freely elected by the whole country, can put an end to a state of things so imperfect, so irregular, so precarious. Such an assembly can alone, by its debates and its decisions, realise and cover at the same time the responsibility of those who are in power, and give the government the union, the support, and the strength which it requires—requires at home and abroad, for peace and for war. What is now desired, what is now demanded of the Republic, as it was formerly demanded of the Constitutional

Monarchy, is the government of the nation by the nation. No negotiation can be carried on without it. Where, but in a National Assembly, capable of transporting itself to any part of the territory and causing the influence of its presence and the sound of its voice to be everywhere felt and heard—where else, I say, shall we find that common centre and source of action necessary to give effect to the will of the nation?'

We cordially concur in these sentiments; and we would fain cherish the hope which M. Guizot expresses that such an Assembly will again bring forth from obscurity into light and power those estimable and able men who once formed the nucleus of the Government of France—men who are not fitly described by the name of any dynastic party, but who are at once conservative and liberal, asking nothing of the Government but to restore peace and order, the authority of the law, and a certain measure of freedom. Unhappily, M. Guizot himself admits that this worthy portion of the community has almost always shown itself too timid or too submissive to offer an effectual resistance to those who either trample on liberty in the name of order, or sacrifice order to what they term liberty. The history of the French Revolution has been the history of the conflict of these two extremes. The *juste milieu*, as M. Guizot perseveres in styling his own party, has fared but ill between them. And even now, for the reasons we have given at some length in this article, we entertain but a faint expectation that the moderate and intelligent men of the middle classes will recover strength and energy enough to rescue the country from the grasp of the ignorant and the violent. Yet that is the problem to be solved before France can be restored to permanent peace, prosperity, and freedom.

We shall now leave our readers to draw their own inferences from these phenomena, and to answer as they please the questions —Is not France, as she now exists, the true child, in the third and fourth generation, of the democratic Revolution of 1789? Is not her present failure to be traced to permanent causes, even more than to temporary accidents, which indeed must themselves spring from such causes?

But ere we conclude we cannot but express the profound sorrow with which we witness even the momentary eclipse of the brightest planet in our system. With all the faults of her rulers and the failings of her people, France remains incomparably the most original, ingenious, and vivid of the Continental nations. When we remember what her literature has done for the world in the last three centuries; with what depth of insight and keen edge of discernment she has sounded and

dispelled a host of errors; with what sagacity she has pursued every path of scientific research; with what lively skill she has popularised the arts; with what energy she has advocated the liberties of mankind, her conquerors of the hour are no more worthy to be named beside her, than the Macedonians were to rival the glory of Athens. She may indeed have been over-eager to assert a political influence in Europe; but the influence of her language, of her tastes, of her genius, of her sympathies, and even of her manners, reached and will reach from the Tagus to the Volga.

It cannot be forgotten in this country that the joint influence of France and England in the Western Alliance has been for forty years the mainstay of the Liberal cause in Europe. 'Paris,' said Lord Palmerston in one of his happiest moments, 'is the pivot of my foreign policy.' It has been the good fortune of the generation to which we ourselves belong to root out those sentiments of mutual aversion and hostility which had subsisted between the two countries for so many ages. That alone has been by far the greatest and most important fact of this age, for to it we owe, till the present time, the peace of the world and the peace this country still enjoys. In that period of time, a multitude of difficult questions have arisen. They have almost all been solved in the sense desired by the Liberal Government of Great Britain with the active concurrence of France, and without that concurrence we should have found ourselves called upon to withstand alone the policy of the Northern Courts, which has been almost invariably opposed to ours. Thus it was that Belgium was constituted; that by the Quadruple Treaty the succession to the Crowns of Spain and Portugal was fixed in the constitutional line; that Greece was protected against Russian ascendency; that in South America the River Plate was opened; that the rights of European nations were defended in China by the allied armies, and commerce placed under the guarantee of political treaties; that peace was restored in Syria; that the great contest against Russia was carried to a successful issue in the Crimea, and the Black Sea neutralised by the Treaty of 1856; that the independence of Italy was established by the arms of France, but with the cordial concurrence and moral support of this country; and that our own commercial relations with France were opened and extended by a Treaty which has been a beacon of free-trade to the world. During the Indian Mutiny, far from taking any unfriendly advantage of our difficulties, France gave her cordial goodwill to us in that battle of civilisation against barbarism. During the American Civil War the iden-

tical policy and conduct of the two States was strictly regulated in concert, and in the affair of the 'Trent' France declared promptly and unequivocally in our favour. Nor can we forget in this enumeration, that the two countries have repeatedly expressed in common, though unfortunately in vain, their conviction that the destruction of Polish nationality has been the cause of lasting evils to the best interests of Europe, which are apparent in the politics of the present hour.

Occasional differences of policy have at times arisen. France stood aloof from our Syrian intervention in 1840, and from our proposed Danish policy in 1864; she detached herself from us in the Spanish marriages and the Mexican expedition. We think that in each of these cases she was wrong; but these differences produced no permanent evil results, whereas the acts of joint policy we have just enumerated stand and remain for the benefit of the world. In all of them we have had the active co-operation of France. We have not had the co-operation, or the good wishes, of any other European Power.

It would be the height of ingratitude if we could now forget these mutual services, which do honour alike to the Government of Napoleon III. and to the Governments which preceded him. But there is too much reason to believe that we shall not be allowed to forget that the blow which has struck down France, has deprived England of no inconsiderable part of her influence abroad. The maritime strength of this country, when combined with the military strength of France, had a prestige and a force, which proved fatal to the strongest autocrat of Europe, and were not to be openly resisted by his successors. That fortunate combination is for the present paralysed in one of its limbs, and those who suffered by it are not slow to take advantage of the change. Already the diminution of the force which supported the treaties maintaining the independence of the Ottoman Empire, has been supposed to warrant an arrogant demand to set them aside. It is presumed that public law has lost its authority, since the aid of France can no longer be invoked in support of it; and whatever power Great Britain may put forth in defence of what she conceives to be just and right, she has for the present lost the support of her most efficient ally.

In spite, however, of all that is past, France has still the moral energy to carry on this great contest for national independence. Victory is the prize of those who can make war longest: and if aught of her ancient spirit remains, she will not treat as long as a stranger treads her soil.

ART. II.—1. *The Life of Rossini.* By H. SUTHERLAND EDWARDS. 8vo. London: 1869.

2. *Mémoires de Hector Berlioz; comprenant ses Voyages en Italie, en Allemagne, en Russie, et en Angleterre.* Paris: 1870.

THE biographies and autobiographies of musicians, whether creative or executive, make up a group of books, the interest of which equals, if, indeed, it does not outvie, that of the lives of artists who have passed with the world (and not altogether causelessly) as a more thoughtful and lettered company of men —the painters. To name only some half dozen among many examples—there are few pleasanter works of their class than Grétry's Memoirs, which, however, are known to have been re-written, if not altogether written, by Marmontel. Even the oppressive heaviness of Dr. Jahn's four volumes cannot extinguish the interest of Mozart's life, with its brilliant opening, its revelations of one of the sweetest and most fascinating natures ever bestowed by good fairies on a genius, and its melancholy close. Canon Schmidt's biography of Gluck—the Bohemian forester's child, who had to struggle through a life of some sixty years ere his colossal genius expressed itself in that classical yet not austere form, which by its perfection will remain to be a model so long as dramatic music shall exist—is full of character and of anecdotes twenty times told; yet not once too often. Who has not heard of the feuds to which the appearance of Gluck's works at the Grand Opéra of Paris gave rise; of the energetic championship by him of Marie-Antoinette of Austria, his countrywoman; of the heat with which the most brilliant wits and encyclopædists marshalled themselves on his side, or against him in favour of his rival, the gentler Piccini? The life of Germany's best song writer—the irregular, uncouth, and magnificently gifted Schubert, whose genius is only now beginning to be understood —by Herr Kreissle von Helborn, translated into English, with wise retrenchments, by Mr. A. Coleridge, is no less rich in pictures of a strange and singular existence. We ourselves reviewed not long ago the romantic career of Carl Maria von Weber. A more individual revelation has hardly ever been put forth than the autobiography of Spohr—that heavy German not without genius; shrewd in observation; untiring in industry, excellent in the desire to gather manifested by him—but portentous in the all-engrossing self-importance, which comfortably restricted his sympathies to his own performances and triumphs.

And who is there, whether he be musical or unmusical, that can refrain from referring, with as much affection as admiration, to Mendelssohn's letters, which—even in the mutilated form they must, for the present, wear in publication—can hardly be overpraised as a treasury of wit, wisdom, poetical enthusiasm, pictorial clearness of touch, admirable common sense, and revelations of the healthiest home affections that ever beat in mortal breast? But these can only be adverted to briefly and in passing;—the present task being to offer some notice of a biography and an autobiography, each, after its kind, as peculiar and as vivid as any contained in the library devoted to Art, with its manifold and significant forms of expression.

No greater contrast could be imagined than the works and fortunes of the two musicians here to be considered. Both men made some stir in their world; the one as a real, the other as a self-imagined, man of genius. The life of Rossini, after a few years of early struggle, hardly, it may be, felt as a hardship by him, was a life of as much ease and enjoyment as one poet out of a hundred is privileged or permitted to lead. His singular, almost instinctive, clear-sightedness enabled him to avoid most of the sunken rocks on which, so to say, many gifted men have writhed and perished. His happy temperament, not without a strong tincture of indolence, enhanced every enjoyment which Fame, Love, and Fortune could minister. As we shall see, he knew how to grow old wisely. The life of Berlioz was, from the cradle to the grave, the career of a pretender, passed in a whirlwind of corroding ambition, of fierce defiance and arrogant self-assertion; a life not denied such good chances as belong to a more genuine notoriety, but poisoned by overweening vanity, passing by its exaggeration into cynicism and utter despair. The record of this by himself, besides being a book psychologically curious, is one of painful interest and instruction to any youth about to enter the chequered career of musical effort and creation.

A biography of Rossini, such as shall possess permanent literary value, is a book still to be written. The inflated yet meagre sketch by M. Stendhal, published while the Pesarese master was still in the young freshness and brilliancy of his fame as a composer—the catch-penny pamphlets which have appeared in France and Germany, the silly art-novels of which the composer has been the hero—rather say, the victim—are, one and all, unsatisfactory. The newest attempt, that before us, by Mr. Sutherland Edwards is ambitious in form, but has very little value as indicating research, or shrewdness and delicacy

of musical perception. Further, the author has been strangely neglectful in hurrying out his book. The misprints contained in its pages go far to render it valueless to anyone who cannot correct the text, or interleave it with annotations. Meanwhile, the large amount of floating material, existing in the form of anecdote, reminiscence, and correspondence, is well worth the labour of being brought together and sifted. Should this be ever accomplished, the result of the effort will be to place Rossini as a man of genius, generosity, culture, and intelligence on a pedestal far higher than he can be said, till now, to occupy in public estimation. He was sensual, it is true; brimming with farcical humour; too little scrupulous in administering the comfort of false praise to those who beset him; but that he had strong serious preferences and opinions, a width of special and general knowledge, a wealth of generous sympathy with all true fellow-musicians, are truths and characteristics not to be forgotten by any who had the opportunity of approaching him, or the desire of studying him closely in his relations with art and society.

An attempt was made some years since, by the publication of a pedigree, to claim for Rossini the honours, such as they are, of ancestry. One of the Russinis—to follow the old spelling—was governor of Ravenna in the 16th century. The heraldic arms on the family escutcheon are said to have been made up of three stars, a hand holding a rose, and a nightingale; picturesque foreshadowings of the greatness of him who was to ennoble the name. Gioacchino was born, to the humblest of humble fortunes, on the 29th of February, 1792. His father was merely trumpeter to the town of Pesaro in the Romagna; his mother, who had a beautiful voice, sang in the small local theatres. The two led a precarious, wandering life, to the maintenance of which their boy was expected to contribute. At the early age of seven years he played the part of second, to his father's first, horn in the opera orchestras. At the age of twelve, he was brought under the notice of Professor Tesei, of Bologna, who, for two years, gave him lessons in pianoforte-playing and singing; his voice being then rarely beautiful. When he was fourteen he directed the music for a strolling opera company. In 1807 he returned to Bologna,—there studied composition under Padre Mattei, and added to his knowledge of the pianoforte by making acquaintance with one Prinetti, an eccentric, half-mad professor, who used to sleep at night in the town arcades—propped up against some wall, and who pretended to play the scales with his finger and thumb only; in this the precursor of one Herr Haberbier, whose empirical

freaks of the kind amused our London world only a few years ago. In 1808 Rossini was selected, as the best student in the Lyceum, to write the show Cantata annually presented to the public by the establishment. The success of this—a 'Pianto 'd' Armonia per la Morte d' Orfeo'—led to his appointment as director to the Philharmonic Concerts of the town and to his directing performances of Haydn's 'Creation' and 'Seasons;' and thence to his intimacy with the composer's symphonies and quartetts. Better studies for a modern musician could not be named; since for purity of style, limitless variety of resource, and such total absence of mannerism as provides against—if it do not preclude, imitation—they are unrivalled. Certain biographers of the transcendental or sensational schools, who will have wonders at the expense of truth, have been used to represent Rossini as one of those heaven-born men of genius who owe nothing to culture. If such human creatures there be—an assumption which may be gravely questioned—Rossini, at all events, was not one of the number. He retained everything that he learned, with a memory as tenacious as his readiness of comprehension was quick and piercing. But that his studies had been as sound as they were versatile cannot be doubted.

The first Italian opera produced by Rossini was a trifle in one act, 'La Cambiale di Matrimonio,' given at the Teatro San Mosè of Venice in the year 1810. His last work of the kind was 'Semiramide,' written also for the 'Sea City' in 1823. More than thirty operas were written in the interval, with a rapidity which is all but miraculous, the composer's known indolence of temperament and the excellence of the fruits of his labour considered. He was used to speak of not having been hurried over 'Semiramide'! because it took him only some thirty days to write that opera. It is true that when he was at work for Italy, he availed himself of his right to employ in any new production the best pieces of music which had belonged to his former operas flung out without success; and the pedants and small composers jealous of his fame, on this ground, accused him of having 'written himself out;' a charge brought against every man whose creative genius is prolific;—against Handel the gorgeous and unscrupulous—and, in another time and a less limited world, against Scott, ere one half of the novelist's career was run.

No former thirteen years of musical production for the stage by one man ever yielded so much, to delight, to intoxicate, and to revolutionise the public of Europe, as Rossini's operas. The swarm of rival composers, swept away by the force of the

new enchantment, looked on it with bitter envy. Only two among them may be said to have stood their ground. One of these was Pacini, who died recently at a patriarchal age, having poured forth hosts of productions in every style and form; —among the last and most ambitious, his Symphony a few years ago written for the solemnity at Florence, when Dante was commemorated and his statue was placed in the Piazza di Santa Croce. The other was Mercadante, still living, whose best works, though more carefully composed than Pacini's, and showing worthier aspirations, rarely rise above a certain ample and stately mediocrity, and whose less good contributions are at once vapid and heavy. Donizetti and Bellini and Signor Verdi belong to another dispensation, if not to a later period. Both Pacini and Mercadante, throughout their long prolific career, traded on Rossini's forms—amplifying or varying them, as Rossini had done in the case of Mosca's and Paër's—but adding little or nothing original to the singer's library.

There are amateurs of all countries still extant who can distinctly remember the commotion caused by the outburst of a genius so audacious and so fascinating as Rossini's. The cant of criticism was in some small degree justified by licenses and slips of the pen which could be cited in his hastily improvised scores; but it was embittered beyond its wont by personal narrowness and envy, not in England only, but also on the Continent. Spiteful and gross attacks against the sorcerer, who was turning so many heads and melting so many hearts—by the pedants and the pedagogues, who ordered their judgments as they had made their works on 'the principle of the pyramid,'—were circulated by the thousand. What did they all avail? The writers only fevered and weakened themselves, and further confused every one's perceptions of what is old and what is new—of right and of wrong—by their forcibly feeble attempts to arrest the course of a triumph which was irresistible. The composer, who could afford to be careless of jealousies in proportion as he was rich in resources, heeded little the heavy noise made by his disappointed contemporaries and his stupid critics,—and went his own way.

What was worse—this wicked impenetrable being, who was driving Dulness and Envy into bilious frenzies, had been endowed also by partial Nature with a handsome presence, a shrewd wit, and that tongue of a charmer, which few women whose world he frequented were able or cared to resist. His gallantries were countless; and, after he had added celebrity to

his other fascinations, it may be said without scandal that they were courted wherever he went. He was married twice; his first marriage secured to him an ample competency. *La* Colbran, then reigning as Sultana of the Theatre San Carlo at Naples, had amassed money there. She was a magnificently handsome woman, and is described as having been in her best days a grand and accomplished singer. For her the best and most ambitious of Rossini's Italian operas were written. The money in her purse, and the gains reaped in England during a visit made in the luxurious times of George IV., who distinguished the artist with the most marked courtesies and favours, laid the foundation of a fortune subsequently largely augmented, during Rossini's residence in Paris, by his labours for the Grand Opéra. On the death of Madame Colbran Rossini, the composer married again. Of this marriage, the lady being still living, it would not be decorous to speak; save by calling attention to the confidence and affection confirmed by the composer's testamentary disposition of his fortune. This, on his widow's decease, will, with some exception, ultimately revert to Rossini's native town Pesaro, for the foundation of a music school. It is characteristic that the clause of the will in which the bequest is prescribed, enjoins that the holders of certain endowed scholarships shall be selected and rewarded in proportion as they display instincts for melody.

Trait upon trait could be laid together, anecdote after anecdote told, letter after letter cited, and still the portrait of one of the most representative men of his country and of our time would be left incomplete. One or two marking facts, however, may be put on record. While Rossini was exquisitely alive to the enjoyment of every luxury purchaseable by money, he was anything but greedy of gain. Higher sums have been realised in this country by a single waltz tune, nay, by one of those miserable amateur English ballads, which English artists of worth have dishonoured themselves by singing for hire, than by any one of the operas produced by Rossini before he arrived in Paris. And yet the list of these includes 'Tancredi,' 'Il Barbiere,' 'La Cenerentola,' 'La Donna del Lago,' 'Zelmira' (to our thinking, his Italian masterpiece), 'La 'Gazza Ladra,' 'Mosè,' 'Otello,' and 'Semiramide.' His physical indolence was as great as his mental activity. His 'Barbiere' was written by him during a few days passed by him in bed—under pressure and in presence of the artists who were to appear in the opera. Some of his original music is irretrievably lost, including an overture in the Spanish style. This was replaced by the present prelude, which had

already done duty in one or two previous operas. Rossini was a keen lover of the pleasures of the table; he cherished the superstitions of the Italian folk, and feared the Evil Eye. He feared railways still more; and when he removed himself for the last time from Italy to Paris, he insisted on being dragged through the long journey in a carriage as safer than and therefore preferable to the new-fangled mode of conveyance. He was at once cultivated and ignorant—petty and noble, sensual yet simple—a man of wonderful acuteness, yet free from disguise; in brief, as brilliant an example of contradictions existing in the same human being as the world has ever seen. Not content with being conversant with the past music of all styles and countries, he was to the last willing, nay eager, to make acquaintance with all that was passing in the world from which he had retired, and he expressed his sympathy or antipathy with a direct clearness there was no misunderstanding. Certain of his opinions recorded were curious examples of prejudice. He was used to speak contemptuously of Bach, as a tiresome fugue writer, little foreseeing, it may be, the painful efforts in that form of composition which he was about to introduce in his last Mass; but he enjoyed and revered Handel. His enthusiasm for Mozart knew no bounds; he appreciated Beethoven and Weber and Mendelssohn as they deserved.

In his intercourse with other musicians, in the assistance of his contemporaries and successors by counsel, sympathy, and time, not seldom wasted on the ungrateful and unworthy, Rossini was shrewd, generous, cordial, and patient. When he was actively engaged in the management of the Italian Opera at Paris, he was resolute in bringing forward Meyerbeer as a stage composer; and, though that astute and unscrupulous Prussian virtually displaced him at the Grand Opéra of Paris, the two men, if not precisely sincere friends, remained on cordial terms so long as their lives lasted. It may be added that Meyerbeer did not repay Rossini's kindness after the fashion recommended by Benjamin Franklin—namely, by giving corresponding encouragement, in his turn, to younger artists. Rossini was prescient, acute, and kindly in doing justice to the brilliant genius of M. Auber. He loved Bellini—the composer who may be said, by the operas 'Sonnambula' and 'Norma,' to have thrust him from the Italian stage—as though the young Sicilian had been his son. Not long before his death he received a letter from one of the hundred new Italian composers whose presumption keeps pace with their impotence, requesting him to accept the dedication of a new 'Barbiere,' and hoping that no offence would be taken at the attempt.

To Signor dell' Argine's modest petition the master wrote an answer paternal in its indulgence, fraternal in its courtesy;—acceding to the request, and recalling how, in his own youth, he had ventured to treat the same subject, though that might have been thought occupied and closed by Paisiello's popular opera. It was admirable to see with what an electric readiness Rossini, when an old man, yet not indifferent to the concerns of others, could point out the strong and the weak points in any manuscripts submitted to him; with what justice he could suggest the remedy needed, no matter what the style or the subject of the work. Never was praise more exquisite in its discrimination, never was blame less mortifying in its sincerity, than his.

'For years,' writes a great singer and musician, who has long disappeared from the scene of her successes, 'I enjoyed the inestimable advantage of his friendship—steadily shown to me as an *artiste*—in advice and help. But in this, Rossini was equally generous to all musicians of every nation; and he made so light of these favours that many seemed to forget that they were such. Never was there a man more simple and unaffected in his manners. He was at once quiet and cheerful; as delightful to the young and inexperienced, as to men and women of the world having talents different from his own. His wit and satire, though keen, were so polished as seldom if ever to offend, unless it were the over-pretentious. He had a sweet and equal temper even under provocation, and a gratitude amounting almost to religion, for any favour, great or small, by which he conceived himself to have benefited.'

Of course, acting as Rossini did, from impulse rather than principle, and revelling in the consciousness of humours which might kindle antipathies, this great genius was sometimes unjust in his judgments—too often insincere in his commendations. As an instance of his injustice, he was wont to speak disparagingly of the greatest female dramatic singer of our time—Pasta—dwelling ungenerously on the natural defects which not even her indomitable genius could wholly subdue, and forgetting the splendour of interpretation which she had thrown into his works. There has been no *Tancredi* or *Semiramide* like herself. This prejudice was made all the more unpardonable by the indiscriminate bounty of his toleration. Clamorously beset as he was by all manner of musical empirics and pretenders, and, whether from good nature or from indolence, unwilling to refuse access to anyone, Rossini gave out written praise with a facility unworthy of a real artist and an honest man. He was wont to say in explanation, that none of those whom he addressed—already acquainted with his cypher—could fail to distinguish between such words of course as warrant nothing, and

such credentials as indicate real value. But his insincerity bore hard on the poor, self-deceived, pretending creatures, whose belief in the recommendation was as implicit as their after disappointment must necessarily be cruel. A collection of his testimonials would be a curious contribution to the literature of Art—one far more humiliating to the giver than to his recipients. It is sad but true that in no social transactions of daily recurrence are duty and responsibility so unscrupulously overlooked—by men, too, who would recoil with abhorrence from every thought of double-dealing—as in the writing of such false letters of credit.

Thus much of the man. Of the musician and his works it is not easy to speak, owing to what may be called the confusion which marked his artistic life, especially at the time when he was throwing out inspiration after inspiration without effort to meet the wants of the hour. It would be difficult, probably impossible, to draw out a correct and chronological catalogue of Rossini's Italian operas; and the task, if completed, would destroy those theories of ripening and development which critics of a certain order love to build up and lay hold upon. An instance or two may be given in addition to those already cited. It is known that an early Oratorio, 'Ciro in Babilonia,' furnished a chorus to 'Aureliano in Palmyra,' which afterwards took the form of *Almaviva's* opening air in 'Il Barbiere.' One of the same forgotten works contained the germ of that stupendous *finale* to 'Moise'—the French 'Mosè,' which, as an example of climax, rising by degrees till a final delirium of excitement is arrived at, stands alone and supreme among a thousand similar pieces of musical effect and passion. Several of Rossini's operas must have died and made no sign, and, in any event, have been inexcusably overlooked by his biographer. Among these was 'Bianca e Faliero,' which, nevertheless, contains a duet in his most stately and florid style, and a quartett with chorus, 'Ciel 'il mio labbro,' only outdone in vigour and progressive brilliancy by the *finale* from 'Moise,' just referred to. Of Rossini's *cantatas*, most of them produced on the spur of the moment for some temporary purpose, and the best thoughts of which may have been used later in more substantial works, no complete list exists.

His manner of working has been censured as dishonest and careless, savouring of indolence and contempt of his public. That he appropriated from the works of other composers whatever form or phrase struck his fancy is not to be denied. As has been said, he had no scruple in improving one or two marked rhythmical

phrases, first indicated in the overtures of that arch-intriguer Päer. Mosca, a second-rate composer, now entirely forgotten save by the title of one of his operas, 'I due Pretendenti delusi,' used to lay claim to the invention of the *crescendo*, subsequently used to excess in Rossini's operas. But most men prodigal in musical productiveness and rich in their own genius have been thus unscrupulous. Handel's habits of wholesale unblushing appropriation are well known. Mozart, the affluence of whose invention and science is almost unparalleled, could borrow from Gluck's ballet of 'Don Juan' the supernatural music in the cemetery scene of 'Don Giovanni.' Weber has been accused of pillaging a forgotten composer Böhner, who perished in misery and madness brought on by disorderly conduct. The reminiscences, probably unconscious ones, which Mendelssohn's works contain could be numbered by scores. Meyerbeer reproduced 'Paddy Carey,' an Irish national air, in the orgie which closes 'Le Prophète.' Haydn and Beethoven are probably the only two composers that could be named who owed little or no inspiration to anyone save themselves. It is only the narrow-minded, who find it easier to note coincidences of fancy than to comprehend and set forth individualities of style, that can dwell on these admitted truths in a grudging spirit. Let them be made the most of, and the drawback on the glory of the masters of art is too small to be worth counting. There is enough originality in the introductions to Rossini's overtures—such as those to 'L'Italiana,' 'Il 'Barbiere,' 'La Gazza,' 'Tancredi,' 'Le Siége de Corinthe,' 'Guillaume Tell,' to compensate for all the plagiarisms and appropriations which the bilious and pedantic have magnified into monstrous sins against good faith and true art.

It is to be observed, however, that so soon as a position of settled importance and dignity was insured to Rossini, rescuing him from all the shifts and necessities of a precarious life—so soon as he received his appointment at the Grand Opéra of Paris—he began to finish his compositions with scrupulous self-respect. This his operas 'Le Siége de Corinthe,' a reconsideration of 'Maometto Secondo,' 'Le Comte Ory,' in which the occasional piece written for the coronation of Charles X., and represented by such a galaxy of artists as could not now be gathered were the world of singers ransacked, was adapted and perfected for the stage, his 'Moise,' and, most of all, his 'Guil-'laume Tell,' attest. None of these new scores are chargeable with borrowed matter. But their maker confided in his special musical genius too arrogantly: he heeded too little what he set—nay, it has been said, he absolutely turned away from subjects

in which the dramatist might have shared honours with the musician, and to such a forcible tragedy as 'La Juive'—perhaps the best serious opera book in being—preferred the 'Guillaume 'Tell' of M. Jouy, in which the inspiriting Swiss legend was only rescued from utter nullity and dulness by the ingenious counsels and suggestions of a refined and poetical opera-singer, Adolphe Nourrit. His habit of mistaken selection is only an expression in another form of the insolence of Catalani's husband, who demanded for the formation of an opera merely 'my wife and five or six puppets.' The music was to supersede the story—to make the acting a matter of secondary interest. In his generation Bellini was—and later, Signor Verdi has been—far wiser and more careful in the selection of their themes for the stage.

During his residence in Paris, though Rossini entirely withdrew from the theatre—whether from pique or self-knowledge it matters little—he amused himself diligently by composition. One or two of the works thus produced, such as the 'Stabat' and the 'Soirées Napolitaines,' may be included in the list of his best writings. Not so his attempts at pianoforte music; these are flavourless and ineffective, betraying timidity and inexperience. The latest public offering presented during his lifetime was a 'Chant des Titans,' written for the Great Exhibition of Paris and not heard of since. The 'Solemn' or 'Little' Mass, with the strange cynical dedication originally prefixed to it by him—though it was touched and retouched by him during many later years—is somewhat flat and laboured as compared with most of his music. But a like character may be applied to most of the later efforts of men who were originally the most facile and fertile in the production of their ideas. When they have ceased to be spontaneous—when they pause to weigh, to measure, to reconsider—they have too often lost power, without arriving at any solid excellence sufficient to compensate for the weakness of a languid inspiration.

Such are a few among the many characteristics, whether he be considered as an artist or as a man, which distinguished the greatest composer for the musical stage whom Italy has ever produced. The justice of the future will not be wanting to Rossini and to his works, the influence of which has been far wider and deeper than pedants have admitted or superficial admirers have dreamed. Their vogue, for the moment, has largely gone by, because they contain too much of what is sensuous and perishable, and because the conditions of musical execution have changed; but that the Master's fame will last so long as

Music lasts, must be admitted by every one who studies the chronicle of art and its achievements with honesty and genial sympathy for everything that is good after its kind.

We have now to turn to as painfully interesting a book as the library of Autobiography contains; and to consider the story of a man's life, told by himself with such an agony of self-exaltation that it is impossible to withhold pity, akin though that be to contempt. There is no want of vivacity in the narrative—but a prevailing want of veracity, such as must always distinguish works professedly written for effect. Like other egotists who have accused themselves of vices in which they indulged at the utmost sparingly, Berlioz had no disinclination to parade the prejudices and the extravagances which marked his feverish career, to blow the trumpet of exaggeration before his own small talents—being, in his own fancy, another Lara, another Childe Harold; one of those chartered beings whose mystical supremacy and power are to strike astonishment into the hearts of men—a musician deriding such old pedants having paunches (the coarse phrase is his, not ours) as Bach and Handel—the superior to Mozart, the equal of Weber, the continuer of Beethoven; a man playing an artist's part who led a stormy, defiant, and not very honourable life, chequered by some flashes of success, corroded by unjustified ambitions and jealousies and violent passions—to be closed in misery pitiable to contemplate—in a death which no one lamented—in a grave which no pilgrim will visit as a shrine.

The key to the unlovely peculiarities and characteristics of Berlioz may be found in the portrait which faces the title-page of these public confessions. In this, as in the well-known likeness of Cowper, may be read, by anyone versed in physiognomy, the signs of mental distemperature, the story of a sword wearing out its scabbard. Were not some such interpretation of the kind to be accepted, the impression produced by this book in respect to its writer would be simply odious.

Hector Berlioz was born in the year 1803 at la Côte-Saint-André, a small town in the department of the Isère. His father was a physician; like many of his profession, a liberal—not to say a free-thinker; a good and just man, somewhat addicted to opium-eating. His mother was a devotee, who did her utmost to train up the boy in the Roman Catholic faith. During the first seven years of his life her prayers appeared to be answered. Her son received impressions of mystic solemnity, not without their sensuous beauty, which never utterly wore out. But a spirit of rebellion soon began to manifest itself. He flung off the

yoke of Superstition—he learned what he pleased and how he pleased. Although he was moved to hysterical enthusiasm by certain passages in the classic poets, such as the tragedy of Dido's fate told in the 'Æneid,' his principal delight was in books of travel and wild adventure among savage people, and in shadowing out discoveries and hair-breadth 'scapes, of which he was to be the hero. But these violent desires and delights were soon to be replaced by others. Before Hector had reached the ripe age of thirteen, the boy imagined himself to be furiously in love with a Mademoiselle Estelle Gautier; and the throes and fevers of this fancy are recorded in paragraphs which have a suspiciously 'false air' of similar confessions by Rousseau and Byron. By this time, however, the stirrings of a more real passion had made themselves felt within him. His father, who determined that he should be a physician, bribed him to study osteology and anatomy by the somewhat illogical presents of a flageolet, a flute, and later a guitar. But the boy sate up at night secretly to study, without a master, Rameau's treatise on harmony, and to put down notes, as other boys have done before and since, fondly imagining them compositions. No matter; he was to be forced into medicine. His sentimental disgust to all the needful studies and physically revolting experiences which must be mastered ere medical skill is reached, is dwelt on by Berlioz in his most spasmodic manner. We have a right to question its sincerity; observing as we do in later pages of the book, how he may be said to have gloated over details which could have been recorded by no man having within him one touch of human delicacy—one spark of that real reverence with which the anguish of Life and the repose of Death should be regarded. Nothing (to cite one instance) can be imagined more coarsely revolting than the passage describing the exhumation and burial in the same grave of his two wives.—Among other of his collected writings is an attempt at an art-novel, 'Euphonia,' the catastrophe of which is needlessly brutal, and ghastly in no common degree; such as could only have suggested itself to an imagination thoroughly depraved. And yet throughout his autobiography Berlioz parades himself as endowed with the most exquisite impulsiveness of feeling and perception—too nobly sensitive to be happy, or to succeed as the callous herd are content to do.

Berlioz was sent up to Paris to study Physic on a scanty allowance. It was perhaps hoped that the scantiness of the home subsidies on which he was to live and study might prevent the aberrations so sincerely dreaded by his father, so superstitiously by his mother. But the reckoning was as vain

as are most reckonings of the kind. Berlioz neglected the dissecting-room for the 'Danaïdes' of Salieri (with Spontini's Bacchanal introduced), and the 'Stratonice' of Méhul, at the Grand Opéra;—where Madame Branchu was singing and Bigottini exhibiting her admirable pantomimic powers. He got access to the library of the Conservatoire, and there devoured the scores of Gluck, for which he had 'an instinctive 'passion.' The question was presently brought to an issue. The young man would be a musician, not a provincial doctor; and, in spite of the aversion of his relations, succeeded in carrying his point. A fellow-student at the Conservatoire introduced him to Lesueur, with a grand *cantata* written by him as credentials. The French master pointed out the total absence of logical construction and grammatical training in this ambitious essay, and recommended him, with as much patience as kindness, to enter upon a severe and systematic course of study. Berlioz expresses his gratitude, as in duty bound to do, for the gracious intentions of his adviser; but in the very next breath breaks out into a sneering lament over the time wasted by him in learning and unlearning 'antediluvian 'theories,' and in forcing himself to admire the service-music furnished by the French Court composer to the chapel of the Tuileries. Far easier than to master the precepts of art, and on these to form and found a style of his own, was it for Berlioz to spoil paper by violent pretences at composition. The first of these which came to a hearing was a Mass produced at the Church of Saint-Roch, the worst portions of which (he says) were those the most admired by Lesueur, being imitations of his own weak writing. The Mass failed, says our autobiographer, largely owing to the shameful badness of its performance. He re-wrote and corrected it; resolute to bring it to a second hearing. The news of the failure, however, reached his parents, who taunted him as one having mistaken his vocation, and threatened to stop the supplies. It was necessary to prove them in the wrong by bringing forward the corrected work successfully. But the means were not forthcoming. Acting on a friend's advice, he wrote a petition for assistance to Chateaubriand; who in courtly phrase, regretted inability to lend either money or countenance. Chance befriended him better in the person of an amateur of noble family, M. Augustin de Pons, who was at that time rich, and who having been present when the Mass was butchered at the Church of Saint-Roch, volunteered to lend its composer the money required to obtain a better result at a second performance. The Mass was repeated and went magnificently—thanks to this timely succour. On looking back, Berlioz candidly

confesses in his Memoirs that the music was not worthy of a hearing. The sequel to the misplaced generosity of De Pons was sad. He lost his fortune; and after some years of struggle for an existence by giving music lessons, committed suicide in the utmost misery. Berlioz endeavoured to serve him, by naming him from time to time in the 'Journal des Débats,' unable, he avers, to do more for his early benefactor. But this was the misfortune of the unhappy being throughout his life. Never was man more munificently assisted by others, never did artist do less in repayment, by holding out the hand of assistance and sympathy to those of a younger generation.

Another feather in the cap of this turbulent youngster—here set forth with great complacency by himself—was his quarrel with Cherubini, who had just entered on his duties as Director of the Conservatoire, and had there established a system of order eminently necessary to the well-being of that school, which conduced in great measure to its value and excellence as a great European establishment. The Italian was not the most amiable of men; but an enthusiastic neophyte might have endured the strictness in authority of a musician who could write 'Les Deux Journées,' and that grandest of modern classical operas 'Médée.' The anecdote here told only makes the scholar's insolence—not the master's punctiliousness—ridiculous. Berlioz rejoices in detailing the revenges with which, in after-life, he was able to commemorate this petty quarrel. But from first to last, he was more willing to provoke than to disarm opposition. His father, who bore his absurdities and violences with wonderful patience, was, in the end, disappointed and wearied into leaving him to his own resources. To eke out his scanty means, he took service as a chorus-singer at the Opéra Comique, like many of the chorus there, without a voice.

Passing over many adventures, we may come to the year 1830, when Berlioz made a step forward, by arranging for the July Festival 'La Marseillaise' with a double chorus and huge orchestra. The colossal success of this led to his acquaintance with that strange man Rouget de Lisle. There was a project that the two should lay violent hands on 'Othello,' as the subject of an opera. Having, after four years of competition, at last succeeded in gaining the first prize at the Institut, for a Cantata on the subject of 'Sardanapalus,' Berlioz was condemned to the privilege of two years' residence at Rome. Nothing is more characteristic than his outburst of ignorant sarcasm at the reward for which he had competed, unless it be his account of the first execution of his Cantata, the final scene

of which missed fire 'owing to the accursed stupidity' (we are quoting his own words) of the orchestra.—'Sardanapalus,' however, was not to end without an explosion, made by its author, in a fit of sublime rage, throwing his score at the heads of the players—upsetting the music desks, and terrifying Malibran. At a subsequent concert, a second performance went over more correctly. At this the 'Fantastic Symphony' was performed, to the great delight of the Abbé Liszt, who attested his admiration by transcribing it for the piano. Satisfied, it would seem, by his success, the Laureate-elect did his best to evade the detested condition of two years' residence in the Eternal City. Like Madame de Staël, he hankered after the kennel of the Rue de Bac. There was nothing to be learned for the musician in Rome. Some one made the same disparaging remark in Mendelssohn's hearing. 'Nothing?'—was his answer. 'There is Rome to be learned!' A proof of the truth of this saying is absolutely to be found in the music of our arrogant Frenchman, whose two best works are the overture to 'Le Carnaval Romain,' and the opera 'Benvenuto 'Cellini.' That Italy yielded him other inspirations beside these, the 'Romeo and Juliet' symphony, and the opera 'Beatrice and Benedick' remain to attest.

But Paris had other and greater attractions for Berlioz than the Grand Opéra or the library of the Conservatoire. The French capital had been startled out of its wonted indifference to foreign things by the invasion of a company of English actors, who made Shakspeare the rage. At the head of these was Miss Smithson, a handsome woman and a forcible actress, who in England had never arrived at such reputation as was gained by the Kembles and Miss O'Neill, and who may be described as now forgotten here. By one of those chances of fortune which are described in the adage of a Prophet's honour, Miss Smithson became popular to excess among the French; and our young stage-stricken student conceived the sublime idea of winning and wearing so rare a prize. Berlioz beset this Juliet with advances and protestations in season and out of season,—to the disgust of her guardians and the terror of herself;—made desperate efforts to gain her attention and favour, by offering to her notice performances of his works which even the Parisians had hardly learned to endure, still less to relish. It is true that this all-devouring passion did not prevent its owner from indulging in other amours, the details of which are cynically hinted at by him, as so many pleasing follies of youth. At last, however, no help was to be found. The young Parisian Laureate was compelled to endure the official reward for

which he had contended; and set forth to the Eternal City, in a mood of stormy yet sulky resolution, neither to enjoy nor to profit by anything which was to be seen and heard there.

Probably no inmate ever arrived at the Villa Medici so utterly unmanageable and unsympathising as Berlioz. That establishment for beneficed students was then presided over by the good and gifted Horace Vernet, whose geniality and refined artistic nature, according to universal testimony, exercised an influence to the benefit of everyone who approached him. Hardly had Berlioz crossed its threshold and run the gauntlet of curiosity and mockery to which every new comer was exposed, than he resolved on returning to France: having been stung into misery by the silence of a certain wicked woman—who had superseded Mademoiselle Estelle and Miss Smithson! To her indifference an outbreak of calumnious accusations and menaces succeeded; and a fit of delirium on the part of the would-be Childe Harold. It was in vain that Horace Vernet condescended to reason with such a madman. Home to France Berlioz would go at the risk of being struck off the list of students. His travelling provision was singular,—including, among other matters, a pair of pistols, poisons in readiness for suicide, and a suit of woman's clothes for some undisclosed purpose. Possibly, the tale is in large part a figment; at all events, we are forthwith told how his madness calmed itself, and his gloomy courage oozed out, by the time that he reached the Corniche—how the pilgrim wrote a penitent letter to Vernet begging to be forgiven—how a kind and paternal answer came in due time; and how Berlioz went back to his prison-house,—it is to be hoped, having left on the way his drugs and his feminine gear.

The chapters of these Memoirs devoted to Italy are alike affected in style and empty of matter. He appears to have taken slight pains to profit by his sojourn in the South. With a self-conceit not rare in his countrymen, he disdained mastering the language, or studying the works concerning which he could so complacently deliver his depreciating dicta. He had particular pleasure in decrying Palestrina's music; complaining of its want of innate significance in the fitting of sound to sense; entirely overlooking a fact not to be gainsaid, that one half of all musical expression and meaning of every given sequence of notes lies in their execution;—and that the same identical phrase may be turned to the purposes of joy or sorrow, inasmuch as it is delivered with triumphant boldness or languishing pathos. No more instructive study could present itself than the comparison of his pert and jejune remarks on

the Sistine music with those of Mendelssohn, his fellow-student in Rome. Both were struck by the slenderness of its melody; but the young Prussian could delight in it for the sake of its pathetic harmonies, and the wonderful manner in which these were drawn out and enhanced by performances regulated according to the original traditions. The impertinence of the young Frenchman becomes more characteristic when his estimate of his own compositions is taken into account. They are of little or no value (or, to put it otherwise, scarcely comprehensible), he owns, unless he was at hand to direct and animate the performance. Every other conductor who has lent himself to the ungrateful task is either placarded as incompetent or damned with faint praise.

The hated time of reward and exile went over, and at last Berlioz was free to return to Paris, there to commence that struggle with life, in which he was only partially victorious. It was complicated by the return of old passions and desires. The glory of the Shakspearian idol whom he had worshipped was now on the wane. The English actress had somewhat declined in public favour; she was heavily in debt; and her situation had been rendered desperate by a serious accident, which precluded the possibility of her again appearing on the stage. It was under these changed circumstances that Berlioz renewed his old offers of marriage to Miss Smithson. This is the one generous transaction of his life. After some hesitation and discussion on the part of her family, his offers were accepted. The marriage, as might have been foreseen, proved ultimately a most unhappy one. The man was moody and violent, incapable of curbing his inclinations in whatever direction they led him. The woman was selfish, jealous, and it has been said, intemperate. For a while, however, they fought on in company. With the view of eking out his resources, Berlioz became a newspaper critic. Such a position must always be perilous to anyone who, besides criticising, desires to create. Nothing in this book is more characteristic than the cynicism of the revelations of Berlioz on the subject. He consented to fulfil an avowedly loathsome task in order to earn money;—as if the calling were not one only to be carried through by severe reference to the standards of truth and duty. That, when thus exercised, it proves one of the least gainful occupations in which literary skill and fancy, borne out by special knowledge, can engage themselves, is sadly true—nor less so that, therefore, there clings to it a perpetual temptation to favouritism and venality, hard to be resisted by any save those whose mental tone and moral standard

are high. Berlioz turned its privileges and temptations to account with considerable adroitness. His style was bright, lively, and pungent. His allusions and illustrations were original, if often eccentric; his parade of knowledge was as skilful as if the knowledge had been deep or extensive; his assumption of courageous honesty imposing. He managed to make himself followed and feared, and had no scruples to prevent his misusing the privileges of one in authority. What he suffered in forcing himself to write mystifying reports of musical works which he despised and could not recollect is not, he tells us, to be described. The suffering, it may be suspected, was not fatally keen; at best, degrading to the manhood of him who consented to endure it for lucre. What he gives us to understand is, that the influence which his spirit of caustic mischief or enthusiasm (perhaps both) exercised on the leaders of journals made propitiatory measures necessary. Uncouth and ill-comprehended as his own music was, it was thought advisable to throw sops to Cerberus. Berlioz was commissioned by Government to compose grand compositions for state festivals; by the managers of the Grand Opéra—that centre of admirable theatrical creations—to write for the theatre. How abominably he was treated on both occasions—how the official authorities cheated him of his just gains, and the theatrical managers conspired to make his operas fail—are told by him with a rancour of misrepresentation which is ruefully significant. Impossible was it for one like himself to admit on retrospect that his works had not in them the elements of success; easy to revile and vituperate, though not *in formâ pauperis*. His merit as an artist considered, it may be deliberately asserted that few men have been more generously upheld and considerately treated than himself;—few have made a better market of their pretensions and outcries against the stupidity or injustice of those who refused to appreciate and to praise them.

Most signally was the first of the above assertions illustrated by the exceptionally munificent caprice of Paganini. That singular man of genius, not without a strong intermixture of charlatanry, is reputed to have been generally as miserly as he was skilful in gathering his enormous gains. But after hearing some of the strange, confused compositions of the Frenchman, the Italian attested his admiration with a sincerity past doubt. Hailing Berlioz as the successor and continuer of Beethoven, Paganini placed a large sum of money—twenty thousand francs—at his disposal; a timely succour. That this was not the only act of liberal kindness ministered to Berlioz at critical junctures of his career his own narrative records. But he was

throughout more willing to dwell on his troubles and agonies than on good offices for his support and solace.

His professed detestation of the critic's duties has been mentioned, and especially of those which had relation to the Opéra Comique of Paris. A current anecdote, which has never been contradicted, and which, if false, ought to have been indignantly set right by so high-minded a person, throws some light on the matter; besides having reference to one of the decisive transactions of his life. The theatre in question numbered among its artists a certain Mdlle. Recio; by Nature endowed with no requisite for success, beyond that of the eager and sinister beauty of a harpy. She managed to fascinate Berlioz —she clung to him with a desperate closeness, till the death of his wife enabled him to legalise the tie by marrying her. The story as one among a million would not have been worth recalling, save for the sake of the anecdote connected with it, which, as has already been said, was never contradicted. Till her marriage Mdlle. Recio was kept on the list of paid artists at the Opéra Comique, on the express understanding that she was never to sing, and that her protector should do all that his pen could do in praise and support of the theatre and the works given there. Everyone who could be hurt by the exposure is dead; otherwise it would have been withheld.

A word or two more may be said on these criticisms, the shallowness of which is only equalled by their insincerity. Berlioz knew nothing of Bach, nothing of Handel; yet sneered at them magnificently as 'hommes de ventre.' Mozart was to be tolerated as a man who might have written good things, had he not been the slave of conventionalisms. Rossini was long an object of his noble hatred. It would have given the 'marvellous 'boy' real delight, he assures us, could he, with an infernal machine, have blown up the theatres which were degraded by the abominable triumphs of the Italian. The inevitable counterpoise to these stupid antipathies was an immoderate deification of two composers—the great Gluck; the less great Spontini. Neither could do any wrong; neither would bow to the vile and vain herd of their interpreters. And yet, with a candour which is as cynical as it is inane, Berlioz reminds us how Gluck sanctioned the interpolation of an Italian *bravura* by Bertoni, in his 'Orfeo,' and allowed Gossec to complete his 'Alceste.' It may be questioned whether of the two is the worse—vulgar abuse or vulgar fetichism. The two, however, are bad Dead-sea fruits,—and they grow on the same tree.

With the year 1841 commenced the brightest period of the life of Berlioz—that in which he travelled with his compositions

through Germany and Russia. His success in both countries has been appealed to by his admirers in proof of his sterling merit. But there is nothing in which the influence of tradition has been longer lived than in the impression of German sincerity and superiority in musical judgment. That there must be still something great, true, and real existing in the country of Bach and Handel, and Haydn and Mozart, and Beethoven and Weber, has been maintained as earnestly as if the story of Art were not a story of periods—of rise and glory and decadence; of a Raphael succeeded by a Battoni; of the northern Cathedrals exhausting, it may be said, the romance, fancy, and constructive variety of Gothic architecture, and superseded by a bastard Palladian school calling itself classical. The 'young 'Germans' have attested their sense, feeling, and knowledge by sneering at the old masters of Art, in favour of the muddy inanities of Schumann, and the presumptuous extravagances of Wagner, whom, by the way, Berlioz criticises with a caustic severity—suspicious to say the least of it, his own practices and performances considered. That the respect for law and order, without which Society becomes a chaos, and Literature and Art drivel and rave, fancying themselves simple or sublime, has been weakened throughout Germany, is a sad and serious truth. It was no wonder, then, that Berlioz should by the destructive party there be regarded as an inspired prophet,—as a new and shining light; and that his productions, aided by his presence, should excite noisy wonderment among those bent, so runs the jargon, on emancipation; that difficulties should be smoothed in his path, and the great ones of the earth should combine to do him honour. That he took no interest in the music of the country ancient or modern, as compared with his own harps and cymbals and drums, is well known. When he was a visitor at Leipzig he made a show of curiosity concerning the choral compositions of Sebastian Bach, which are preserved in the Thomas *Schule* there. They were forwarded for his inspection by Mendelssohn. The packet was returned, and with it the judgment of Berlioz. The seals of the packet had not been broken.

The original proofs of Beethoven's C Minor Symphony were in Leipsig during the visit of Berlioz, and examined by him. In these pages it is demonstrated that the excrescence of two bars in the *scherzo*, which has been so much discussed, was simply a printer's oversight—the composer having cancelled them; and allowing, perhaps because of his deafness, their performance to pass without notice. On this excrescence Berlioz had solemnly dilated in print, as a wonderful stroke of genius, worthy of all praise. It is almost needless to add,

that he had not the honesty to withdraw his panegyric; even after the error in his *data* had been set before him. So, later, when that greatest work of modern times, Mendelssohn's 'Elijah' was performed in London, Berlioz, who had never heard it before, or heard it after, left the concert-room at the conclusion of the first part, not to return. But he wrote, nevertheless, of the Oratorio.

There is some amusement to be found in his letters devoted to Germany, reporting his successes and his enthusiasms; telling in one place how the hem of his garment was kissed, and in another, how students were suffocated by their adoration, till they were unable to express it. But it is evident that as time went on, these delights palled. It may be conjectured that a gnawing sense of their unreality began to be felt by their object. At all events he became more and more moody and arrogant as years went on—increasingly irritated, his friends tell us, by the slightest question or criticism; closer and more closely wrapped up in the personality, which proved like the garment of Dejanira, a shroud which had within itself distemperature and death.

His last effort of any importance was the completion of his huge opera 'Les Troyens,' the text of which was his own. When it was completed Berlioz wrote a letter to the Emperor of the French, entreating his patronage and interference with the authorities of the Grand Opéra, in order to get the work performed, and offering the book of 'Les Troyens' to the inspection of his Imperial Highness. On the failure of this bold measure, that energetic and spirited manager, M. Carvalho, was rash enough to produce the second part of 'Les Troyens,' which is a complete opera in itself, with a lavish expenditure entirely disproportioned to his means. That the opera was carefully and liberally set forth we can bear witness, and it enjoyed what may be called 'a success of curiosity' during a few performances. But, with some indications of grandeur and beauty, the score and the story contained too many passages ridiculous, uncouth, and impossible of execution; and to these, of course, Berlioz clung with an infatuated perversity. No paragraphs in this strange book by him are more instinct with vanity and acrimony than those in which he turns on the manager who had risked so much in his behalf, because, after losses such as no theatre can brave, the opera was abandoned. Its unhappy author took this failure terribly to heart; even to the unsettlement of such reason as still remained to him. From the time of the failure of 'Les Troyens' he renounced composition. On the death of his second wife, he repeated the

extravagances of his boyhood by addressing passionate love-letters to Mde. Estelle, after having for years lost sight of her. That lady—now a grey-haired widow—was naturally more scared than gratified by the rhapsodies of such a suitor, and put them aside with a gentle and womanly pity. Subsequent to this rejection, there was nothing left for the unhappy crazed man. His decay and death were mercifully hastened by an accident; but he was to the last compassionately ministered to, and principally by friends whose patience he had tried to the utmost. The saddest epitaph which can be marked on any gravestone might fitly have been his—'He died unregretted.'

The musical value of Berlioz as a composer has, to our thinking, been sufficiently indicated in the tale which has been condensed from the data furnished by himself. To complete the statement of the case, however, it may be as well to hear himself in the matter. Communicating to a friend, late in his life, that which was intended for publication, and setting himself forth as the victim of envy and misconception,—

'I have had,' he says, 'for many years past, new enemies, owing to the superiority which has been willingly ascribed to me as a conductor of orchestras. The players, by the exceptional talent displayed by them when under my direction, by the warmth of their demonstrations, and by the words which have escaped from them, have in Germany made almost all the orchestral conductors hostile to me. It was for a long time so in Paris. My Memoirs show the strange effects of the jealousy of Habeneck and of M. Girard. So, again, in London, where M. Costa has made an underground fight against me wherever he can plant his foot.'

On the last falsification of the truth we are in case to offer a distinct denial—if the words of Berlioz are to be relied on—having heard him express, and seen expressed most strongly in his hand-writing, his thorough appreciation of the zeal and generous assistance which Sir M. Costa, as a conductor, brought to bear on the production of his 'Benvenuto' at Covent Garden Theatre. Not till after the signal failure of that opera before our public, was the mischance ascribed to the malice of an Italian cabal.

To continue our extracts from this wonderful confession of ability, virtue, and honour:—

'I have had,' says M. Berlioz, 'to fight with a famous phalanx of enemies, as you will admit. Do not let me forget the singers and the solo players, whom I call to order, rudely enough, when they allow themselves irreverent liberties in the interpretation of master-works; nor the envious, who are always ready to be in a rage should anything produce itself with a certain brilliancy. But this life of struggle, this opposition, at the time present reduced within reasonable limits, has a

certain charm. I delight, from time to time, to break down a barrier in place of surmounting it. This is the natural effect of my passion for Music—a passion always at white heat, which is never for an instant satisfied. The love of money has never, under any circumstance, been mixed up with this love of art. I have always, on the contrary, been ready and eager to make every kind of sacrifice in my search for beauty, or to protect myself from the contact of certain miserable commonplaces which have been crowned by popularity. . . . I perceive, I have not said anything concerning my manner of writing. . . . In general my style is very bold, but it has not the slightest tendency to destroy any of the constructive elements of art. On the contrary, I seek to increase the number of these. I have never thought, as has been so insanely pretended in France, to make music *without melody*. This school now exists in Germany, and I have a horror of it. It is easy for anyone to convince himself that without even confining myself to take a very short melody as theme for a piece of music, as often has been done by the greatest masters, I have always taken pains luxuriously to lavish melodies over my compositions. It may be fair to contest the value of these, their distinction, their novelty, their charm—it is not my place to appreciate these—but to deny their existence, is, I maintain, bad faith or stupidity. Only, seeing that these melodies are often of great dimensions, childish intelligences, with their short sight, cannot clearly distinguish their forms,—or they are married with secondary melodies, which, according to the same childish intelligences, obscure their contours,—or, to conclude, these melodies are so unlike the little absurdities called melodies by musical people, that one cannot give the same nature to both. The most prominent qualities of my music are passionate expression, inner ardour, rhythmical excitement and unexpectedness. When I say passionate expression, this signifies expression in a frenzy to reproduce the inner meaning of the subject, even when the subject is totally without passion, and the matter in hand is to express soft and tender sentiments, or calms the most profound. It is this sort of expression which persons have found in the "Childhood of Christ," and, above all, in the celestial scene of "Faust," and in the "Sanctus" of my "Requiem."'

With regard to the 'Childhood of Christ' a curious anecdote may be told: its author wrote the second part of the work as it stands (the only one of the three which has any value), professedly in ridicule of the melodists, and palmed it off on the public as the work of a forgotten composer. The parody pleased more than any of the earnest efforts of its writer had done. Berlioz then conceived the idea of extending it, and added what is now the third portion, namely, the arrival of the Holy Child and His parents in Egypt, a luckless example of his worst manner—grim, confused, pretending, and unmelodious—and conceived his work finished. On mentioning it to an acquaintance, the latter suggested that, to complete the subject, the terror from which the fugitives had escaped should

he expressed or narrated. Berlioz caught at the suggestion eagerly; and added that which is now the first part, picturing the madness of Herod and the Massacre of the Innocents. The music to this is simply hideous, and, conjointly with the peroration, smothers the beautiful and delicate simplicity of the central portion of the Trilogy. It is characteristic that a fact like this should have been omitted; but a like disingenuousness runs through the entire record.

Enough has been said of this book; not too much, because it may possibly find readers and believers among the young and the lawless of all countries, and especially because the disease, which has gone far towards destroying a beautiful art in Germany, is spreading among the rising musicians of England. As a body, we are happy to believe and to know that they are far higher and truer in moral tone than Berlioz; but that they are too willing to defend in Art that which is impure and chaotic, specious because it is strange, and easy to produce because small poetic genius is demanded by it, is a fact discouraging to those who conceive progress to mean completion, not destruction. If any are tempted, by the comments here closed, to consider how far health and happiness are insured by such a career as that of Berlioz, we have not written them in vain.

ART. III.—*Reports of the Select Committees on the Public and Private Business of the House of Commons*, 1837, 1848, 1854, 1861.

THE House of Commons may be regarded from two separate points of view, and as fulfilling the duties of two different and distinct positions. It may be called, on the one hand, a Deliberative, and on the other, a Legislative Assembly. Under the first aspect, it performs functions varied in their character and degree of importance. At one time, it debates and decides upon matters of national, of European, even of world-wide interest; pronounces upon the policy of a Ministry, and expresses by its vote the tendency of public opinion in the nation which it represents. At another moment, it entertains questions of individual grievance, constitutes itself the Bar before which slighted merit or unappreciated talent may plead their cause, and acts as a mighty and far-reaching Court of Appeal to which every person who feels himself aggrieved, without legal remedy against the aggressor, may fly for succour and sympathy, if only he can succeed in

finding some Member of Parliament sufficiently bold and benevolent to advocate his cause. For the due discharge of the functions specially appertaining to its deliberative character, the House of Commons is eminently qualified, and is probably susceptible of little improvement. It possesses a number of members able, and only too willing, to bring fully to its notice every conceivable subject, and to magnify the importance of every topic which they undertake so to introduce. It contains within itself, moreover, those who are qualified to speak with authority upon all the great questions of the day, and men who represent every phase and form of opinion which has any tangible hold upon the country. From the highest down to the most insignificant matter which is deemed worthy to occupy its attention, every question receives the freest and fullest ventilation at the hands of the House of Commons. A British subject cannot be insulted abroad—an inventor cannot be pooh-pooh'd at home—a criminal cannot be executed—nay, a boy cannot be convicted of robbing an orchard or a poacher punished for snaring a rabbit, without the prospect of a Parliamentary debate, and a thorough investigation of the case in all its bearings. No doubt, by means of this appeal, wrongs are sometimes righted and injustice prevented; perhaps, as a still more frequent result, the illusory nature of complaints is exposed, the unsubstantial character of alleged grievances shown, prejudices removed, and the public mind satisfied by the open discussion which has thrown light upon a doubtful subject. At all events, it is a great thing to know that for half the year at least, there is a Court of Appeal sitting for everybody, and that upon all subjects of public interest information may be obtained by interrogatories of Ministers or substantive motions, which during the recess can only be gathered in a less authentic form from the columns of the newspapers.

If, therefore, Parliament existed only for the above-mentioned purposes, there would be little necessity for criticising its forms of procedure and general course of action. But it is in its legislative capacity that grave and serious complaints must be advanced against it. In a country containing such vast and complicated interests as our own, the work of legislation can never stand still. Subjects after subjects crop up, one upon the other, requiring legislative action; the enactment of new laws is no less necessary, year by year, than the alteration and amendment of existing statutes; and it is with regard to its legislative capacity—its ability to dispose of these subjects promptly and wisely—that our Parliamentary

machinery has become sadly out of gear. Not that our legislators can be accused of idleness, as the following ten years' table will exemplify:—

	Public Acts.	Local and Personal Acts.
There were passed in 1861 . . .	134 . .	249
" " 1862 . . .	114 . .	227
" " 1863 . . .	125 . .	238
" " 1864 . . .	121 . .	329
" " 1865 . . .	127 . .	382
" " 1866 . . .	122 . .	363
" " 1867 . . .	146 . .	209
" " 1868 . . .	130 . .	182
" " 1869 . . .	117 . .	159
" " 1870 . . .	112 . .	72

The first thought which springs to the mind of anyone who reads this list of legislative results arrived at during the last ten years will probably be the reverse of uncomplimentary to our legislators. Indeed, not only does the amount of labour entailed in the annual passing into law of some 125 Public Bills appear at first sight to be such as should place the labourers above and beyond the censure of criticism, but the question suggests itself whether too much instead of too little may not have been done—whether the principle of 'let well alone' might not have been wisely applied to sundry subjects upon which legislative action has been taken, and the complaint which should in reality be made be directed rather against the over-zeal than the under-performance of the House of Commons. But, paradoxical as it may appear, the very number of Public Bills introduced and passed into law goes to prove the charge. Some of the Bills so passed are of a formal and ordinary nature, annually taken through their several stages without discussion or division. But not a few are Bills solely introduced to amend defects in existing statutes which are almost entirely attributable to the haste with which the original measure has been carried through the House, and to the impossibility of Bills receiving adequate supervision and correction of details at the hands of so large a body as the Committee of the whole House, to whose criticism every Bill is of necessity submitted. Again, there is a class of Bills, many of which would probably either be rejected, or passed in a very different form, if more closely scanned and scrutinised, but which glide easily and quietly through their several stages, simply because they refer to matters which are of interest only to a limited portion of the community, or to subjects little cared for or understood save by their promoters, who forward them by judicious

choice of times and seasons, and work them on to the statute book with comparatively little notice from the general body of the House of Commons or the public. These several classes will be found to comprise no inconsiderable number of the Acts passed in any one ordinary session, and will reduce to a comparatively small number those which fairly come under the category of Acts relating to subjects of general and national importance.

But the real criterion of the legislative capacity of the House of Commons is not so much the number of Bills which have been passed, with or without discussion, during any given year, as the number which have been introduced and withdrawn for lack of time, and the quantity of subjects upon which legislation has been generally and frequently admitted to be necessary and has yet been again and again postponed from session to session. At the present moment, the amount of promised legislation is something positively appalling. Scarcely a department of the Government which is not pledged up to the eyes, without taking into account those questions of interest which have fallen into the hands of private Members, and will by them be again introduced. There is some faint hope, since the Irish Church and Land Bills have been settled, that Ireland may not require the whole of the energies of Parliament to be devoted to her own special business during the coming session. But Irish education looms darkly in the future, and, whenever it is to be dealt with, will occupy no small portion of legislative time. It can hardly be hoped, moreover, that some amendments or alterations in the Acts lately passed will not be found necessary as time progresses, and these, however trivial, are sure to necessitate discussion. But even should this surmise be wrong, various other Irish questions lurk behind, and 'the Sister 'Island' will probably be occasionally heard of during the debates of the year. Meanwhile Scotland has been already murmuring, and will murmur still more loudly, unless some attempt is made to deal with the various matters upon which she requires legislation. The 'Parochial Schools' Bill, which the Lords so unkindly knocked on the head at the close of the session of 1869, must, in some form or another, be revived and passed, and the various measures of greater or less importance which successive Lords Advocate have from time to time announced, but announced only to withdraw, must at length receive attention. England, long-suffering England, meekly advances her claim to legislative consideration in 'the 'good time coming,' and the questions which concern her

interest specially, and the interest of the empire generally, are indeed multifarious. Lord Hartington is doubtless devoting the whole of the recess to the elaboration of that great Ballot measure which, it is understood, will form the *pièce de resistance* of the Government during the session of 1871, and is intended to eradicate bribery and intimidation, protect the voters, purify the constituencies, and make a contested election inexpensive and pleasant to everybody. The War Office and the Admiralty will also be expected to be ready with measures which shall provide us with an improved system of defence without an undue addition to the taxation of the country. At any rate, our defences will occupy much of the time of Parliament in the coming session, and both of these great departments will have urgent Bills of their own. The Home Office has enough work on its hands—promised and semi-promised work—to occupy the whole of this and several future sessions. Nor are the Board of Trade and Poor-Law department much behind. Trades' Unions, Pollution of Rivers, Licensing, Turnpikes, Highways, Prison Ministers, Mines Regulation, Game Laws (England and Scotland), Petroleum, County Financial Boards, Local Taxation, Salmon Fisheries, Inclosure of Land, Sanitary Acts, Merchant Shipping Acts Amendment, Compulsory Pilotage Abolition, Valuation of Property—these are some among many subjects upon which hopes of legislation have been more or less unequivocally held out, and upon most of which Bills have actually been brought in, partially discussed, and defeated for want of time to consider them. We have seen the number of Public Acts passed during the ten years terminating upon the 1st of January, 1871. But the catalogue of Bills introduced (to say nothing of those promised, but not forthcoming) during the same period will give some idea of the work undertaken and not performed by the House of Commons:—

		Public Bills.	Withdrawn.
There were introduced in the Session	1861	273	139
" " "	1862	254	140
" " "	1863	278	153
" " "	1864	244	123
" " "	1865	254	127
" " "	1866	260	138
" " "	1867	318	172
" " "	1868	256	126
" " "	1869	267	150
" " "	1870	264	152

This is of itself a somewhat astounding catalogue. And when it is considered that some of the Bills withdrawn related to

subjects of infinitely greater importance than many which were passed, and that the list of measures postponed for want of time rather increases than diminishes year by year, it becomes apparent that there must be something radically wrong in the machinery of our legislative constitution. Nor is the evil by any means confined to the postponement of useful legislation, or to the passing of imperfect measures whose imperfection necessitates future amendment and the expenditure of more time and labour. The system under which there are annually introduced double the number of Bills which can by any possibility be passed, is one which entails an amount of labour upon our statesmen which the human frame can scarcely stand. In the exercise of their responsibility, Ministers annually decide what measures they will as a Government submit to Parliament, and which are the subjects most urgently requiring legislation. But inasmuch as any Member of Parliament may ask leave to introduce any measure upon any possible subject, and as the custom of the House of Commons and the rule of the House of Lords is to permit any member to 'lay 'upon the table' and 'read a first time' his Bill, the time and attention of members of the Government are necessarily employed upon a variety of subjects apart from and beyond those upon which they judge legislation to be necessary, and this too when that time and attention are imperatively needed for questions of greater importance.

It is indeed marvellous to see how the health and strength of Ministers endure throughout the trials of a protracted session. With a heavy pressure of departmental work to occupy them during the day, they are expected to be in their places continually throughout the evening sittings of the House, and no mercy is shown them by those 'independent' members who are responsible for most of the late sittings of the assembly which they adorn. That the sittings are late is pretty generally known, but no one who has not carefully watched the proceedings of Parliament is aware of the measure of fatigue which our statesmen have to undergo. The last three sessions tell their own tale:—

	Days.	Number of Divisions.	Divisions after midnight.	Hours sat after midnight.	Average duration of sitting.
				h. m.	h. m.
The House sat in 1868 . . .	118	168	30	90 15	7 8
„ „ 1869 . . .	119	160	61	124 15	7 50
„ „ 1870 . . .	120	244	78	130 45	8 13

There are some interesting but alarming conclusions to be drawn from the above table, which embraces, as will be seen, one year of the ante-Reform Bill Parliament, and the two years of the House of Commons elected by household suffrage, which, we were told, was to outshine its predecessors in the amount of hard work which it would perform. From the tables previously given, it will have been discovered that whilst an equal number of Bills has been introduced, a less average number has been passed by our Reformed House. From the present table we gather that our household-suffrage senators keep rather worse hours than those who have gone before them, and that the tendency to late and long sittings has rather increased than diminished. Alas! that there should be yet another reflection to make! The eminently practical men who were to be sent to Parliament by the new constituencies are as fond—or fonder—of talking than those of the unreformed House of Commons. In 1868 the number of members who took part in the debates was 424, and this, be it remembered, was a session in which members, about to face their constituents immediately, were naturally anxious to display their oratorical powers and prove their Parliamentary manhood as much as possible. But the first session of the new Parliament showed an increase of elocutionary ardour, and no less than 462 members shared in the debates. And this brings us to consider the evil which lies at the root of all the mischief in our Parliamentary system, so far as it affects the legislative action of the House of Commons. It may be summed up in one simple but comprehensive word—'Talk':—'There was 'not so much and such constant talking in the House then 'as there is now,' says the accomplished biographer of Lord Palmerston in speaking of an earlier day in the history of the House of Commons. 'People did not take up the morning's 'reports of the debates and again put them down, lost amidst 'the wilderness of common-place remarks of common-place 'men on common-place subjects, which, in the flattering way 'it has become the fashion to adopt in speaking of ourselves, 'we call business-like speaking, but which in reality is for the 'most part twaddle, and prevents or impedes the transaction of 'business.'*

Six hundred and fifty-eight gentlemen form much too large and unwieldy a body for the prompt and satisfactory transaction of business under the most favourable circumstances. But six hundred and fifty-eight gentlemen permitted to talk without restraint or limitation upon every subject which comes before

* Bulwer's Life of Lord Palmerston, vol. i. p. 78.

them, become a body so unfit for the transaction of business that it is really wonderful how they ever transact any business at all. And the problem remains still to be worked out, whether, without depriving the House of Commons of any of its dignity and efficiency as a deliberative assembly, the talking-power of its members may not be so guided or restrained as to improve its capacity for those legislative functions with which it is intrusted by the nation.

The talkers of the House may be divided into several classes. First, there are the official members, who are obliged to talk, and who must of necessity occupy a portion of the time of the House in explaining and developing the measures which they have to introduce and defend, and in opposing the crude projects and objectionable proposals which are not unfrequently introduced by others. Then, secondly, there are the leading members of the Opposition, the ex-ministers, and a few other men whose age and experience entitle them to be heard upon any subject of general importance. Next we may reckon as a third class certain men who, having been returned by some particular interest, or having some special knowledge of a particular subject, speak only when that subject is under discussion, or the interests of those whom they represent are directly affected. These men are always listened to with respectful attention, and often furnish valuable contributions to the debates of the House. But three classes remain, for whom so much can hardly be said. These are, the aspiring statesmen, the lawyers, and the gossips of the House. By the first designation we would describe those who have really 'taken up' Parliament as a profession, who desire office, and seek to make their desires and qualifications known by oratorical efforts. They are not a very numerous class, and, though sometimes tiresome, are rather to be encouraged than blamed if they would endeavour to divest themselves of their tendency to 'trespass upon the House' somewhat too often. The lawyers are, perhaps, upon the whole, less loquacious than might be expected from men who are talkers by profession, and occupy less of the time of the House than might be feared from their number therein, which is considerable. Nevertheless, they sadly lack the art of condensation in their oratory, and not unfrequently interpose long-winded harangues in debates which could do very well without them. In fact, if the species attorney may be included in the genus 'lawyer,' there is more than an average amount of garrulity proceeding from this class in the House of Commons. But the gossips are the largest and worst class of all, com-

prising as they do those who talk for their constituents, those who talk for the pleasure of seeing their speeches (fortunately greatly curtailed) in the morning papers, and those who appear to talk for talking's sake alone. Among this class are men whose vanity seems to lead them to consider themselves an authority upon every subject which comes before the House, and who, if interrupted by expressions of impatience, sometimes turn round and attempt a dignified rebuke to the interrupters, as if it were the latter who were in error in giving effect to the public opinion of the House, instead of themselves who were wasting the time of the country and obstructing the progress of business. Some of these gentlemen are highly respectable, and might properly be included among our third class upon certain subjects, did they not unhappily reduce themselves to the level of the gossiping class by continual interference upon numerous other matters about which they know comparatively little, and upon which nobody wants to hear them. It would be invidious to name any gentleman who is in the habit of offending so often as to be rightly numbered among the 'gossiping' class, especially when we recollect that 'naming' a member of the House of Commons is the last and most terrible penalty which the Speaker is entitled to inflict under the most serious contingencies. But taking from many 'habitual criminals' in this respect, two gentlemen from either side of the House, none of whom have ever occupied an official position, and who are certainly not among the leading orators of the day, we find that—

	In 1868.		In 1869.	
Mr. A. addressed the House	116 times	upon 41 subjects,	88 times	upon 30 subjects.
„ B. „ „	66 „	45 „	61 „	47 „
„ C. „ „	39 „	19 „	47 „	33 „
„ D. „ „	41 „	26 „	55 „	23 „

This information, gathered from the veracious record of 'Hansard' (which occasionally omits certain short observations made by a member, but never credits or discredits him with a speech which he has *not* delivered) tells its own tale. These instances are impartially selected, and might easily be multiplied. It is by no means intended to be inferred that the gentlemen in question are the worst of their class, but they are examples of a number of others who have not the virtue of modesty or reticence, nor the faculty which would enable them to perceive that, upon many of the subjects upon which they speak, they do not possess such special or superior knowledge as would justify them in occupying public time by the exercise of their sweet voices. The fact is, that they have

unfortunately caught the talking complaint, and have it badly. It must be observed that the speakers upon every subject are by no means always those who know most about it, and those to whom the House would therefore like to listen—such men are often prevented from speaking by the intrusive nature of those of the gossiping class, who love to hear the sound of their own voices, and forget that they are sent to Parliament for other and better purposes than to convert the House of Commons into an arena for egotistical display, and a school for that elocutionary improvement of which most of them certainly stand greatly in need. Of course something must be forgiven on the score of constituents. Some constituencies are dissatisfied unless their representative occasionally shows that there is 'some-'thing in him.' But this pressure is greatly overstated and over-rated. Constituencies are wiser than they are said to be, and are generally satisfied if their member speaks when local interests are affected, and votes in the right lobby upon party divisions. The idea that they require to see his name among the daily occupiers of the time of the House is a mistake which, unless fostered and encouraged by the member himself, is rarely to be found among influential constituents, and is easily combated (if it exists) when occasion requires.

Whether or when the House of Commons will come to the determination, or will be forced by the public opinion of the country to put some restraint upon its own talking power, is a question which time alone can decide. Until it does so, its legislative machinery will never work as it should do, and the boast of the Englishman that he belongs to a practical nation will continue to be practically refuted by the conduct of the representative assembly of his country. The time which is wasted in talk is something marvellous to those who regard the House of Commons as a body intended and intending to do the work of the nation. And still more marvellous is the manner in which the House constantly and tacitly allows its time to be thus wasted, and its patience tried by orators neither of the first, second, or third rank, and sometimes upon subjects the discussion of which can by no possibility lead to any useful result. Indeed, the only time when a successful attempt to 'put down' a tiresome speaker is ever made occurs at the magic hour when the internal cravings of the legislative stomach overpower the outward politeness and long-enduring patience of the listeners. Even this attempt, however, frequently fails, for if a loquacious bore has only 'brass' enough (and in this they are seldom deficient) he may and does brave the storm, with the certainty that when the hour has once

arrived which summons his tormentors to pleasures more enjoyable than the mental delights which he has to offer to them, he or any other of his kind may prose or rant away (whichever it may be) for two good hours without fear of further interruption.

It will here be well to call attention to the regular routine of the House of Commons, its hours of work and rest, and its division of time. The House of Commons assembles at a quarter before four o'clock upon Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays, and at twelve o'clock on Wednesdays. On the latter day the sitting terminates at six, and even if a debate be in progress, and an orator in the midst of his speech at a quarter before six, at that instant the Speaker rises, the orator must stop short, and the debate closes for the day, to be resumed whenever its originator can find an opportunity. The length of the sittings upon the four other days of the week is limited only by the pleasure, or powers of endurance, of the House; but at any time when, the attention of the Speaker having been called to the circumstance that there are not forty members present, he, after counting, finds this to be the case, the House immediately stands adjourned, having been (according to the customary phraseology of Parliament) 'counted out.'

At a certain period of the session (which is annually becoming earlier) the above arrangements are departed from, and the House begins the practice of 'morning sittings.' Until the reign of the Disraeli Ministry, these sittings commenced at twelve and lasted till four, at which hour the House adjourned till six, and then resumed business. The ordinary dinner hour of an English gentleman does not occur between the hours of four and six, and the difficulty of procuring at the latter hour the continued attendance of members who were looking forward to their dinner at half-past seven or eight being considerable, Mr. Disraeli initiated a change, which, though much criticised, has certainly proved beneficial. He proposed that the 'morning sittings' should commence at two, last till seven, and the House resume at nine, by which means members of the Government would be able to attend at their offices for a longer time before the sitting of the House, and members generally would find time to eat their dinners in comparative comfort at their usual hour during the temporary adjournment. The only objection to Mr. Disraeli's alteration lies in the occasional difficulty of reassembling forty members so immediately after dinner as nine o'clock, and several unexpected and undesirable 'counts out' have consequently taken place, generally at the instance of

some of the non-working members, who delight in such mischievous pranks, and are ready to throw the blame upon the Government afterwards. But the remedy is exceedingly easy for such an evil, for if the House were to pass a standing order forbidding a count out until half-an-hour had elapsed after the recommencement of the sitting, but allowing the sitting to recommence without reference to the number of members present, a 'count' could only occur when, for some reason or another, there was a real indisposition on the part of the House to proceed with business. When we come to consider the remedies which may properly be applied to the defects of the existing system, it will be necessary again to refer to the present hours during which the sittings of the House are held. The first question, however, which requires consideration is the division of time between the Executive Government and the 'independent' portion of the House, because much hinges upon the nature of that division and its practical working. Nominally, Mondays, Thursdays, and Fridays are given to Government; Tuesdays and Wednesdays to independent members; on the former of the two last-mentioned days, 'notices 'of motions,' on the latter, 'orders of the day' having precedence. But this statement by no means expresses the real state of the case. Complaint is frequently made towards the end of the session, and even before, on the part of 'indepen-'dent' members, that the Government ask for and obtain the Tuesdays for the purpose of carrying on important debates which have not been concluded upon the Monday, or for the prosecution of some urgent Government business. Moreover, the Leader of the House is frequently pressed to 'give a day' for the consideration of some question of interest which is in the hands of a private member, and the difficulty experienced by the latter class in bringing forward motions and in prosecuting through their several stages Bills under their charge, is the subject of common and frequent complaint. But, in reality, it is the Ministers themselves who have much reason to complain of their own lack of power to transact Government business, and to push forward measures which they consider to be of urgent necessity. The introduction of the most important measures of the session necessarily falls upon members of the Government, and the greatest difficulties are thrown in their way, owing to the defective arrangements for the transaction of business, backed and aggravated by the unrestrained license of 'talk,' to which allusion has already been made. The arrangement of business in the House is not only defective in depriving those members, official or non-official, who are in

charge of measures, of proper facilities for advancing them through their stages, but in rendering it absolutely uncertain whether a Bill or 'motion' which is 'down upon the paper' is actually coming on or not.

Members rise open-mouthed to complain of some unfortunate gentleman who has had his Bill down constantly on the notice paper, and has brought them to the House night after night without proceeding with it. No one, probably, regrets the circumstance more than the individual against whom the complaint is made; it is not he, but the system, which is really to blame. Of course, no perfect system could be devised; that is to say, no system by which, in a large popular assembly, particular business should always be brought on at a certain hour, and every member should be able to fix the exact time at which he would bring forward his Bill or motion. But, if the House so willed it, much might be done to obviate the evils and inconveniences of the present state of things. It has been pointed out, that the Government and the private members have a cross-fire of complaint—the one against the other. The truth is, that whilst the division of the House of Commons' time apparently gives three days to the executive and two to private members, in reality the latter have a much larger, and the former a much smaller, share of time at their disposal. Take, for instance, the session of 1869, in which the Government had even more than its usual share of time, owing to the determination of the House to conclude the Irish Church Bill without driving it over to another year. During that session, after deducting the days occupied in swearing-in members in December, the House sat 111 working days, of which twenty-three were Fridays, forty-five 'Government 'days' other than Fridays, and forty-three 'private-members'' days. The Government took all, or part of, four Fridays and two Tuesdays for debates upon the Irish Church Bill, giving in return 'facilities' to private members upon several Government days. But not only were the occasions few and far between upon which any progress in 'supply' was made upon a Friday, but, taking the different occasions during the session (Fridays included) upon which the motion was made for the Speaker to leave the chair, in order that the House might resolve itself into Committee of Supply, no fewer than eighty-six different subjects were discussed, at greater or less length, upon the said motion. So that in considering what is the amount of time actually placed at the disposal of the executive Government during the session, it must be taken into account, first, that Fridays have come to be practically consi-

dered the property of private members; and, secondly, that a 'supply' night is always liable to be similarly appropriated. Hence it is that the necessity for 'morning sittings' arises, in order that some progress may be made with the business before the House, and that even with this assistance, the stages of different Bills are inconveniently delayed and postponed from day to day, until not unfrequently a measure is lost which would certainly have received the sanction of Parliament had it been possible to have obtained time for its consideration. Moreover, Government is continually reproached by private members for not 'taking up' some subject upon which legislation is necessary. To such reproaches there is but the one, stereotyped reply—'want of time, and pressure of more urgent 'business.' Everybody appears to be dissatisfied with the present state of confusion, uncertainty, and procrastination, but nobody has the courage to suggest a remedy. Vainly, and unjustly, do aggrieved members attack the Government, never appearing to take into account that their own privileges must of necessity be curtailed if Ministers are to be enabled to bring forward more measures, and to press them with more regularity and greater rapidity. Not that Ministers are by any means free from blame. They are, of course, responsible for the arrangement of the business of the House, and it is to them we must look to take the initiative in making, or at least proposing, salutary reforms. Hitherto, however, not only have they abstained from doing so, but have annually introduced so many measures that the passage of all of them through Parliament was quite impossible.

One would have supposed that, as one result of the 'cabi-'nets,' which commence in November, and are held at intervals through the winter, an understanding would be arrived at between the different departments of the executive as to the number of Bills which could be introduced with a probability of success, and as to the relative urgency of the subjects which each department had under consideration. Instead of this, however, it would really appear as if there was some jealous rivalry between the different public offices, and that each was anxious to block up the way of the other by the introduction of its own measures. When the 'Massacre of the Innocents' arrives (which is the somewhat irreverent term applied to the withdrawal of numerous Bills occurring towards the end of every session), one cannot but feel a double sorrow—for the loss of certain of the measures themselves, and for the additional loss of valuable time which has been caused by their introduction and discussion, with no reasonable probability of

their passing through their several stages before the dispersion of the House at the approach of the inevitable 12th of August. In the session of 1869 more than twenty of the Bills introduced and withdrawn were Government Bills, relating to subjects admitted to require legislation. It must be allowed, either that Ministers were to blame in consuming time by the introduction of so many Bills, for the passing of which they were not prepared to make arrangements, or that the system which prevented such arrangements from being made was in itself faulty and defective. As each session advances, the evils of the system, or want of system, become more glaring—twenty, thirty, forty Bills stand upon the 'orders of the day' for the same sitting, and it is generally impossible to guess, even approximately, the hour at which any particular order may come on for discussion. Indeed, 'outsiders' must regard with astonishment the want of method and precision which characterises the proceedings of the 'First Representative Assembly 'in the world.'

It must not be supposed, however, that the attention of the House of Commons has never been directed to its own shortcomings, or that efforts at improvement have not occasionally been made. Such a supposition would at once be negatived by the reports of no less than four Select Committees which have sat upon the subjects referred to in this article within little more than thirty years. In 1837 a Select Committee sat, 'to consider 'whether, by any alteration in the Forms and Proceedings of 'this House, the Despatch of Public Business can be more 'effectually promoted.' This Committee, presided over by Mr. Poulett Thomson, made two recommendations to the House, both of which were adopted. They proposed that the practice of moving amendments upon any order of the day (often totally irrelevant to such order) should be abolished, and no amendment permitted, except that 'the other orders of the day, or any parti-'cular order, be now read.' They also proposed to limit the power of giving notices in advance, and recommended that 'no 'notice should be permitted to be placed upon the order book for 'any day beyond the fourth notice day after the day on which 'such entry is made.' Both these changes were undoubtedly in the direction of improvement; but the value of the first and most promising has been greatly diminished by the increasing practice of moving amendments of a comparatively trifling nature upon the motion for Supply. Still, so far as they went, the changes were beneficial, and for eleven years the House rested content with this attempt at self-reform.

In 1848 came another and more important attempt. In that

year a Select Committee was appointed 'to consider the best 'means of promoting the Despatch of Public Business in this 'House,' and upon that committee sat eighteen of the most eminent men of the day. The present Speaker, Mr. Evelyn Denison, was called to the chair, and, after sitting for nine days, a report was presented to the House which will repay perusal. The witnesses called were the then Speaker (now Lord Eversley), Mr. Curtis, of New York (who had been for four years a member of Congress), Mr. Randall, of Philadelphia, and M. Guizot; so that the Committee had an opportunity of comparing the different systems of the American House of Representatives, the French Chamber of Deputies, and the English House of Commons. The report of the Committee commences with a recapitulation of private bill legislation and committee work with which we are not at present concerned, although it may be remarked in passing, that the constant demand upon the energies of members which is created by the large number of public committees annually appointed, together with the requirements of private bill committees in addition, form no inconsiderable part of the labours of a working member of the House of Commons; and as in this, and all other similar cases, it is 'the willing horse that does the work,' it is the best and most useful members—saving always those high officials who are necessarily exempt from committee work—upon whom falls the chief weight of the burden.* In fact, the report goes on to remark that 'this great amount of committee business, and 'the heavy demand it makes on the time of members, must be 'borne in mind in considering the course of public business in 'the House itself.' 'Heavy demands,' indeed! as may be believed when it is told, that in the session of 1869 there sat 37 select committees, upon which 258 members served (many of them on two, three, and even a larger number of committees), and 202 private bills were introduced, of which 160 received the Royal assent; whilst in the session of last year 42 select committees sat, occupying 309 members, and 211 private bills were introduced, of which 167 received the Royal assent. It can scarcely be surprising that the next few lines of the report should run as follows:—'The thin

* A 'Select Committee' is at present composed of 15 members, and not unfrequently of 17, or even 21, upon a subject of more than ordinary interest. This number is inconveniently large for the examination of witnesses and transaction of other committee business, and its reduction to 11, which was suggested in 1854, is well worthy of consideration.

'attendance in the House from the hours of seven to ten 'o'clock, *necessary in some degree from the exhaustion of the 'morning labours,* interferes in an important manner with the 'progress of debates. The leaders of parties and the chief 'speakers commonly decline to address the House during those 'hours, and the debates are consequently spread by adjourn-'ments over more nights than they would otherwise require.' In plain English, people who work all day cannot do without their dinner at night, and orators to whom the House will listen do not care to harangue before empty benches. Precisely the same state of things obtains in the present day—1871 will be found to differ in no respect from 1848 in this particular; and the only question to be decided is, whether our household suffrage Parliament will be found to have sufficient energy, self-restraint, and practical good sense to grapple with this and other inherent vices of the system. The very next words of the report describe the present condition of things with perfect accuracy:—'The business of the House seems to be con-'tinually on the increase. The characteristic of the present 'session has been the number of important subjects under 'discussion at the same time, and adjourned debates on all of 'them. This intermingling of debates, adjourned one over the 'head of the other, has led to confusion, deadening the interest 'in every subject, and prejudicing the quality of the debates 'on all.' True—most true; but let us hasten on to the remedies which were under the consideration of the committee of 1848, and inquire how far they—or such of them as were not recommended or adopted at that time—may be worthy of further consideration to-day.

Two main remedies appear to have suggested themselves to the minds of the committee, or, at all events, to have been considered by them—first, the *cloture*; second, a limitation of the time during which any member might address the House. 'La cloture' was practically in use both in the French Chamber of Deputies, as long as it existed, and, under the name of 'the previous question,' in the House of Representatives in Congress. The proceeding in the French Chamber was thus described by M. Guizot:—'A member, or two mem-'bers call, "La cloture;" the President puts it to the vote; 'if any member objects, he can speak against the cloture; one 'only can speak, and no reply is allowed, and then the Presi-'dent puts the question, "Must the debate be closed?"' In the House of Representatives the previous question is in this form, 'Shall the main question be put?' 'It appears' (says Mr. Curtis) 'that on the previous question being de-

'manded, it must be supported, or, as the phrase is, seconded, 'by a majority, and, on this being ascertained, the Speaker 'announces "The previous question is demanded by the 'House." If it should pass in the negative, the subject under 'debate is resumed, if in the affirmative, the debate ceases, and 'the amendments having been considered, the main question 'is put to the vote without debate.' The 'previous question' in Congress is not applicable when the House is in Committee, but the limit of speeches to one hour (which exists in Congress but not in the French Chamber) is applicable to every stage of a measure. All three witnesses gave their opinion strongly in favour of the power of closing debates. M. Guizot stated that before the establishment of the cloture in the French Chamber, the debates were 'protracted indefinitely,' that since its introduction 'all subjects have been amply and fairly 'debated,' the power has 'never been abused,' no 'serious or 'honest complaint has been made against it;' and he considered that it was 'an indispensable power,' without which the business in the French Chamber 'could not have been conducted 'satisfactorily.' Mr. Curtis informed the Committee that the rules—both for the calling for the previous question and the limitation of speeches—were adopted session by session; that he thought 'the approbation of both parties, and the practical 'adoption of those rules, was the highest evidence of the sense 'entertained of their value and usefulness,' and that he knew that 'the most intelligent and experienced gentlemen in the 'country approved both of the previous question and the one-'hour rule.' Mr. Randall likewise approved of both rules, giving it as his opinion that 'it was absolutely necessary, in 'order to carry out the business, to have the power of closing 'the debates.' In spite, however, of this evidence, neither the cloture nor the speech-limitation rule are to be found among the recommendations of the Committee of 1848. It will be curious to examine their reasons for dissent from the conclusions arrived at by the legislative assemblies of France and America. These reasons are given at length, the Committee having evidently considered that the advantages of the French and American system were too great and too obvious to be summarily rejected. They commence, therefore, by pointing out the material difference between the three Representative bodies, both in constitution and mode of transacting business, calling to mind that in the United States a great part of the legislation is conducted by the legislatures of the respective States, whilst in France important measures are considered in the bureaux before they are discussed in the House. 'It is

'also of importance to recollect,' say the Committee, 'that the 'circumstance of Her Majesty's Ministers having seats in the 'House of Commons renders the subjects of discussion more 'various and comprehensive than in legislative assemblies in 'which members of the executive Government are not per-'mitted to be present, and where the debates are of a less ad-'ministrative character.' If by the above passage is meant to be conveyed (as would certainly appear to be the case) the assertion that the British House of Commons is a more important assembly, and discusses matters of greater magnitude, than its sister assemblies, it is difficult to discover how this fact should militate against the employment of means to restrict useless talk and to prevent waste of time in the more important, which have been found so efficacious and unobjectionable in the less important bodies. To an ordinary capacity it would appear that the greater the dignity of the assembly and the interest appertaining to the subjects discussed, the more desirable it is that the discussion should be carried on in the best possible manner, and should neither be clogged by lengthy speeches from loquacious nobodies, nor protracted beyond reasonable limits against the sense and feeling of the majority of the assembly. A better argument is involved in the allusion to the difference in the 'quorum' required in Washington and in London. In the House of Representatives, a majority of the House constitutes a quorum; a majority therefore is always present, and consequently the risk of an unjust surprise, by which a comparatively small minority could dispose of an important measure by a sudden and well-arranged demand for the previous question, is considerably diminished. This difficulty, however, is by no means insuperable, and might be overcome by a judicious limitation of the powers of applying the cloture, if for sufficient reasons it should be adopted in the House of Commons. The only other argument really employed by the Committee against the power of limiting speeches and debates is the certainty that, even as matters stand—or stood in 1848—'a far greater amount of business is transacted 'by the English House of Commons than by the Chamber of 'Deputies of France, or by the Legislative Assembly of the 'United States.' It is difficult to grapple with such an argument as this, which in no respect deals with the merits of the proposals under consideration, but simply makes it a matter of complacent self-congratulation that, having a great deal more work to do than our neighbours, we do more than they do, in spite of the inferiority of our system. It has never been denied that much work is got through, somehow or other,

by the House of Commons; but that is not the point under consideration. The question is, whether the work is sufficient in quantity and quality, whether it is done in the best possible manner, and whether the method of its performance may not be greatly improved, if we can bring ourselves to make certain alterations, even though they should involve the necessity, so painful to our proud insular spirit, of taking a lesson from somebody else.

The Committee of 1848 made many recommendations of considerable value, which have been more or less adopted by the House of Commons. The proposal that 'when leave shall 'have been given to bring in a Bill, the questions of the first 'reading and printing shall be decided without debate or 'amendment moved,' was a proposal the principle of which had indeed been considered and avoided by the Committee of 1837, but one leading so directly to economy of time, that we are led to wonder, first, why it had never been adopted before, and, secondly, why it should not be carried somewhat further now. If the object and scope of a Bill is explained by the mover in asking leave to introduce it, and its principle is discussed, and either accepted or negatived upon the second reading, why should another debate and division upon the principle be again permitted, upon the question that the Speaker do leave the chair, which motion is made for the purpose of considering the details of the measure in Committee? The only valid argument for the continuance of this double discussion upon the principle of the Bill is based upon the possibility of the second reading having been carried by a surprise; but if for the sake of guarding against such an event, the division upon the question of going into Committee should still be allowed, the gain would be infinitely greater than the evil if at that stage at least the debate were prohibited. Several other recommendations were made by the Committee in the direction of economy of time, notably that which provided that when the House had once resolved itself into Committee upon a Bill, the Speaker should, when the Bill came on again as an order, forthwith leave the chair as a matter of course. They appear, however, to have shrunk from any stern application of the knife to the root of the disease. Their reasons cannot be better described than in their own concluding words:—

'It is not so much on any new rules, especially restrictive rules, that your Committee would desire to rely for the prompt and efficient despatch of business by the House. *The increasing business*' (hear, oh ye talkers of 1871!) '*calls for increased consideration on the part of mem-*

bers in the exercise of their individual privileges. Your Committee would desire to rely on the good feeling of the House, and in the forbearance of its members, and on a general acquiescence in the enforcement by the Speaker of that established rule of the House which requires that *members should strictly confine themselves to matters immediately pertinent to the subject of debate.* Your Committee, however, venture to express an opinion that the satisfactory conduct and progress of the business of the House must mainly depend upon Her Majesty's Government, holding, as they do, the chief control over its management. They believe, that by the careful preparation of measures, their early introduction, the judicious distribution of business between the two Houses, and the order and method with which measures are conducted, the Government can contribute in an essential way to the easy and convenient conduct of business. They trust the efforts of the Government would be seconded by those of independent members, and that a general determination would prevail to carry on the public business with regularity and despatch.'

For these reasons the Committee of 1848 abstained from any recommendation to limit the talking privileges of members of the House of Commons.

Then came a Committee upon the same subject in 1854, which entered into a careful and elaborate inquiry. Its Chairman, Sir J. Pakington, evidently impressed with a sense of the growing difficulties in the way of the effectual transaction of business, proposed a report which recommended many and considerable alterations. One paragraph of this report ran as follows:—

'Your Committee believe that without any improper encroachment upon the privileges of members, and with advantage to the interests of the public, abuses and evasions of the rule of the House, which are now permitted, might be checked; questions now necessary might be dispensed with; *opportunities for debate might be reduced; and privileges now insisted upon might be safely relaxed.* Your Committee consider it most desirable that by these or other means the work of legislation should be expedited, and the duration of the Parliamentary Session should be abridged.'

Among the alterations suggested by Sir John Pakington were several directed against the practice of raising debates by means of trifling amendments upon the motion for Supply, the repetition of motions for adjournment, and other obstructions to the progress of public business. Unfortunately, however, Sir John Pakington was too ardent a reformer for his associates upon the Committee, who, finding an exponent of their milder opinions in Sir George Grey, adopted his alternative report, and professed their 'deep regret that in the great majority of 'the proposals' of their chairman they were 'unable to con-'cur.' They made nine recommendations, which they were

candid enough to admit were, 'with two or three exceptions, of 'minor consequence,' but they abstained from substantial reforms with a delicacy akin to timidity. They could not, indeed, deny the existence of imperfections in their cherished system. They went so far as to observe that 'the Committee entertain 'no doubt of the great and increasing amount of the business 'of the House, and they are of opinion that it is desirable that 'the forms of the House should from time to time be recon-'sidered, in order to remove any needless obstructions to the 'despatch of business.' But they were still more impressed with the 'necessity of great caution in effecting changes in a 'system sanctioned in its main features by long experience and 'national respect;' and, whilst they acknowledged that 'the 'alterations adopted on the recommendation of the Committee 'of 1848 had been attended with beneficial results,' they shrank from any bolder advances upon the same path; they 'concurred 'entirely' in the opinion of that Committee that they should rely upon 'the good feeling of the House and the forbearance 'of its members;' and they concluded with a pious hope that a perusal of the evidence appended to their report would 'produce a salutary influence, and lead to a more general 'determination on the part of members to contribute to the 'efficient and satisfactory despatch of business, by avoiding 'whatever tends to interfere with the order and regularity of 'debate, and by cordially supporting the Speaker in enforcing 'a compliance with the spirit as well as letter of the rules by 'which the proceedings of the House are governed.'

But yet another attempt at self-reform has been made by the representatives of the people. In 1861 a fourth Committee, consisting of twenty-one members, and having for Chairman no less considerable a person than Sir James Graham, sat for eight days, and produced an exhaustive report. Their commencement, however, was inauspicious to the cause of reform; for, after alluding to the proceedings of the three Committees to which allusion has been made, and speaking of the recommendations of the Committee of 1854 as 'to be regarded rather 'as supplementary aids than as decisive changes,' they continued in these words:—

'On all these occasions, the House and its committees have proceeded with the utmost caution. They have treated with respect the written and the unwritten law of Parliament, which for ages has secured a good system of legislation, perfect freedom of debate, and a due regard for the rights of minorities. This *respect for tradition, and this caution in making changes, have proceeded on the principle, that no change is justifiable which experience has not proved to be necessary*, and

that the maintenance of the old rules is preferable to new but speculative amendments.'

It is obvious that a Committee which entertained so deep a reverence for tradition and so conservative an aversion to change was little likely to inaugurate any sweeping reforms in the rules and orders of the House of Commons. It is therefore not surprising that their very elaborate report should conclude with four recommendations of so small and meagre a character as certainly to deserve no more than the epithet, 'supplementary' which they had applied to the suggestions of a previous Committee. And yet, strange to say, throughout the whole of their report, the Committee of 1861 appear to have had their attention fixed upon the principal defects of the existing system, and to have groped about for remedies as if they were all the time longing to lay hold of and apply them, but were continually hindered by their superstitious dread of change and reverence for the traditions of the past.

The 'want of certainty in the management of the business of 'the House,' and the delay caused by frivolous amendments on the motion for supply, were considered and dealt with at enormous length by this Committee. An excellent remedy, suggested by the present Speaker, was mentioned only to be rejected. It was the Speaker's opinion that 'upon the four 'great heads of the Army, the Navy, the Revenue Departments, 'and the Civil Service, the House, having once gone into 'Committee, might, on that same head of Estimates, resume 'its deliberations in Committee without any question being put.' The Committee, however, contented itself with 'anxiously 'considering the policy of imposing some such check.' It recorded the great and increasing delay of business, and confessed that 'it cannot be denied that these multiplied pre-'liminary motions are a serious obstacle to certainty in the 'proceedings of the House,' and then it fell back upon the time-honoured fact that 'the statement and consideration of 'grievances before Supply are among the most ancient and 'important privileges of the Commons,' and, after a careful balancing of pros and cons, decided—to recommend nothing!

The waste of Friday also came under the notice of the Committee of 1861. Here again the Speaker suggested an improvement, to be obtained by providing that at a given hour the question of adjournment, if not previously decided, should be put, and the voices taken. This, however, appeared to the Committee to be a 'compromise,' and (horrible idea!) a 'new 'principle,' and it was therefore rejected, after a division, by ten to eight, and a recommendation made to the effect that

the House should on Friday stand adjourned to Monday without motion made, but that Friday should be a Government day, the motion for Supply or Ways and Means standing first among the Government orders. This recommendation was adopted by the House, and, inasmuch as amendments can be moved on the motion for Supply as easily as they could formerly be moved upon the motion for adjournment, has naturally made not the slightest difference in the waste of time on Fridays. The rest of the report of this Committee consists of minute examination into the details of the business arrangements of the House, and carefully-stated objections to almost every change of any magnitude which could have been proposed. One useful recommendation was made—namely, that Committees of Supply might be fixed for every day in the week upon which the House met instead of being restricted as theretofore to 'Monday, 'Wednesday, and Friday, and any other day on which orders of 'the day shall have precedence of notices of motions.' Another proposal, obviating the necessity of re-committing to a committee of the whole House a Bill which had been referred to a select committee, completed the recommendations of the Select Committee of 1861, who, like their predecessors, closed their report with a declaration of their reliance upon 'the forbear-'ance of members in the use of forms which respect for ancient 'usage leaves unaltered,' and, in their last paragraph, struck the key-note of the anti-reform spirit which had inspired their deliberations:—

'Your Committee, like preceding committees on the same subject, have passed in review many suggested alterations, but, like them, have come to the conclusion that the old rules and orders, when carefully considered, and narrowly investigated, are found to be the safeguard of freedom of debate, and a *sure defence against the oppression of overpowering majorities. Extreme caution, therefore, in recommending or introducing changes is dictated by prudence. These rules and orders are the fruit of long experience; a day may break down the prescription of centuries. It is easy to destroy—it is difficult to reconstruct.*'

With these splendid platitudes, framed in the 'woodman-'spare-that-tree' mould, the efforts of the Committee of 1861 finally culminated, and after their recognition of the evils of the existing system, and their long examination into the many suggested remedies, this Committee, with a generous confidence in the future forbearance and discretion of members of the House of Commons, forbore to recommend any more stringent rules of restriction or limitation of talking power. How far their confidence and that of previous committees has been justified may be gathered from the increased difficulties which

have to be encountered in the performance of the work of each session; and yet, with all these difficulties, it must be admitted that a vast deal of discretion and forbearance is actually displayed and exercised by hon. members. If this were not the case, no business would ever be done. Unfortunately, as it is the wisest people who mostly display these good qualities, it follows that many of those persons to whose want of them the waste of time and the delay of business are attributable, are *not* the wisest, and it is on their account that the question of restriction has to be entertained. Surely, if the 'forbearance 'and discretion' of members may be trusted in the matter of restraining themselves from idle talk, it is hard to say that the majority of the whole House might not be trusted to refrain from the application of the cloture except when it became really necessary. If the cloture were proposed, session by session, as a standing order, any abuse of its power would speedily lead to its repeal or modification; but such is the sense of fair play existing in the House of Commons, that in all probability it would never be put in force except in cases where the public opinion both of the House and the country would thoroughly endorse its application. Further, it would not improbably exercise a deterrent effect, both upon obstructive individuals and factious minorities. The rights of a minority are never to be disregarded in a representative body, but due care should be taken that they do not become the wrongs of a majority, which is too often the case in the House of Commons. Indeed, the power which is at present possessed by a small minority is absurdly great. What can be more inconvenient as well as ridiculous among a body of reasonable beings, than that when a given subject has been submitted to their consideration, upon which a proportion of five, eight, or ten to one pronounce a certain opinion, the defeated minority should be able, by divisions again and again repeated, frequently only upon motions for the adjournment of the debate or the House, purposely avoiding the main issue, to defeat the will of the majority and prevent the progress of the measure? Over and over again does this occur in the House of Commons, and not unfrequently overworked officials and the officers of the House are kept in their places till daylight by the obstinacy of a few members, who endeavour, by this straining of the forms of the House and their own privileges, to defeat, or at least postpone, some measure against which the more legitimate weapons of discussion and argument have proved powerless in their hands. How many weary hours would have been saved —how much rest gained for men whose strength of brain and

body are the nation's property—if the cloture had been in force during the last twenty years of the British Parliament! It is well known that the lives of some of our best statesmen have been shortened by the late hours and arduous labours of the House of Commons, and it is impossible to judge of the amount of mischief done to the public service by this overtaxing of the energies of public servants. Lord Palmerston was in the habit of staying to the last in the House, and at a very late period of his life would walk round the division lobby at two or three o'clock in the morning more cheerfully and jauntily than many younger men. But all men have not the vigorous constitution of Lord Palmerston, and, although the present Prime Minister never spares himself in the public service, and would be the last man to desire that an alteration in the rules of the House of Commons should be made for his sake, it is impossible not to feel that the unnecessary protraction of the sittings of the House tell sensibly upon him during the session. Why should England's best lives be sacrificed to the exigencies of a system which has nothing but antiquity to recommend it? What is the advantage to the country of maintaining forms which allow twenty men to successfully oppose the will of two hundred, and why is the House of Commons afraid to trust itself with the power of putting an end to a nuisance and displaying itself before the eyes of the country as an assembly in which some consideration is given to the ordinary rules of common sense? Besides, the cloture, if adopted, might be so guarded and regulated as to avoid the objections which appear to have been present to the minds of the Committee of 1848; and its application might be restricted to certain specified stages of a Bill or to particular classes of business, so as to reduce to a minimum any possible inconvenience. But the precise limitations, if any be necessary, may be the subjects of careful discussion; the point at which we aim is to induce the House of Commons to have sufficient self-confidence to venture some length at least upon the path of self-improvement and self-restraint of which the cloture is the sign-post.

The limitation of individual speeches is a matter somewhat more difficult. Although it is said to have worked well in the American House of Representatives, it is a rule not to be adopted without much consideration. It has been suggested that the proposer or seconder of a motion or Bill, and the official who replies, should not be limited, but that the 'one 'hour's rule' should apply to every other speaker. If this principle were adopted at all, the limit must undoubtedly be to a shorter time, in order to be at all effectual in so large an

assembly as the House of Commons. A quarter of an hour, or a twenty minutes' limit, would give ample time in most cases, and the gain would be considerable. But then, after all, it is not always the longest speeches which are the most tiresome. Fancy a debate upon a question of international law in which Sir Roundell Palmer, being neither mover, seconder, nor official, was limited to twenty minutes, or a great political question upon which Mr. Disraeli had to address the House under the same conditions! In such cases it would be the public, and not the orator, upon whom the loss would fall, and although there might either be a tacit understanding on the part of the House with regard to particular individuals, or a special suspension of the rule upon the occurrence of a debate of particular interest, yet it is impossible not to foresee that a state of things at once invidious and inconvenient might arise under such a rule. Still, the existing evil is so great that, unless other means can be discovered, a trial of this rule or of some approximation to it may, ere long, become necessary.

But apart from these two remedies—the cloture and the limitation of individual speech—it is worth considering whether there are not other suggestions which may be made. The large number of measures annually introduced has been pointed out as one of the evils of the present system. Is it absolutely impossible to curtail the number? It may be alleged that it would be an unheard-of infringement of the privileges of Members of Parliament if every hon. member were not at liberty to air his crotchet and introduce his Bill. By all means let him do so; deprive no man of his right to 'lay upon the table of the 'House' his pet scheme or favourite measure. But when the exercise of the privilege begins to clash with the effective working of the public service, let the privilege of the individual give way to the interest of the community. It is an empty and vague privilege, too, as regards the individual, if it only enables him to take his Bill through one or two stages and cannot prevent it from being jostled out of being by its pushing and crowding neighbours. It is neither vague nor empty, however, as regards the interest of the public, if it prevents other measures of greater public utility from being duly considered and passed. Perhaps it is presumptuous to make a suggestion upon such a point, but it appears not impossible that considerable public advantage would be gained by forestalling the 'massacre of the innocents' in a defined and regular way. A committee, analogous to the Committee of Selection, or, if deemed desirable, composed of a larger number of members, might be appointed at the commencement of every session.

To this committee should, at a given period (say the first week of re-assembling after the Easter recess), be referred the consideration of the position of all Bills introduced up to that time, and they should be required to report upon the state of the book of the House, and to recommend the withdrawal of such Bills as appeared likely to occupy the time of the House without a reasonable prospect of becoming law. Many objections might and doubtless would be urged against the delegation by the House of so much power to a limited number of its members. Still, serious diseases must be encountered by strong remedies, and, strong as may be the remedy here suggested, it is one which could scarcely fail to be in a great measure effectual. The members of such a committee might safely be trusted to banish personal and political 'predilections 'from their minds in dealing with the Bills before them;' they would be guided by considerations of the progress which each Bill had already made in its passage through the House, by the amount of public interest attaching to it (as evidenced by the number of petitions presented upon the subject-matter, and the expression of public opinion through the 'ordinary 'channels of information'), and by the time likely to be occupied in the discussion of its future stages. Their judgment would moreover be affected by the question whether the Bill was one which came before the House for the first time, or which related to a subject which had been well and frequently ventilated in previous sessions, so as to be ripe for legislative decision. Besides, the powers of the House might be delegated, not completely and peremptorily, but only in such a degree and to such an extent that the recommendations of the Committee should be submitted to the House, and their decision, in any case which might be challenged, put to the vote and affirmed or reversed accordingly, though without discussion upon the subject-matter of the Bill to which it referred. The appointment of such a Committee as the above, which might be termed the 'General Public Bill Committee,' or 'the Public Bill Revision Committee,' would be attended with the most beneficial results, and would lead to the clearing of the Order Book and the attainment of greater regularity and certainty in the despatch of business.

In the Committee of 1854, Sir John Pakington proposed that a 'Committee of the whole House on Public Bills' should sit two days in each week at some period after the Easter holidays, for the purpose of taking Bills through Committee, and it was thought by high authority that 'the sittings of such 'Committees might be separated from the sittings of the

'House itself, and that such Committees should have the 'power of adjournment.' It may be observed, however, that such a rule would in effect be little more than a formal adoption of morning sittings by sessional order, instead of, as at present, by special order of the House upon the demand of the Executive. For, if important Bills were to be taken through a Committee of the whole House, members would attend equally as now, and the form rather than the reality would be changed. But a Committee composed of leading men on either side of the House, exercising an impartial judgment upon the questions before them, and keeping steadily in view economy of time and the requirements of the public service, would not fail to command the respect of the House. The details of this suggestion would require close examination, and might be manipulated in such manner as to maintain as far as possible the privileges of individual members without impairing the efficiency of the remedy; but the adoption of this or some kindred plan would go far to obviate the chief inconveniences of the present system.

Another improvement might be adopted as an alternative, if the House of Commons should shrink from the above-mentioned scheme as one of too violent a character. Bills might be sent, after their second reading, to a Select Committee as a matter of course, and dealt with by such Committee instead of by the Committee of the whole House, being returned to the House to be considered, as amended, and read a third time. There are several reasons, however, which may be urged against this proposal: the Select Committees would be so numerous that many Bills would have to be considered without the advantage of being criticised by men in whose judgment the House would generally confide; at present, some such men are placed upon every important Committee and upon any Select Committee to which an important Bill is referred, but their number is of course limited and their power of serving on Committees not inexhaustible. If Bills were considered and returned to the House without the presence upon the Committee of some such men, discussions upon their clauses 'as amended' would be inevitable and prolonged. Moreover, the House would be exceedingly loath to part with its privilege of discussing the details of any considerable measure in full Committee, and it seems more reasonable to limit the number of measures to be considered than to restrict the means and opportunities of careful examination before they become law.

But apart from such alterations of system as have been

already suggested, there are several minor changes, both as to forms of procedure and times of sitting of the House, which would not be without their advantage. It has been pointed out that much time is occasionally lost by repeated motions for adjournment on the part of a pugnacious and obstinate minority. The House has so far recognised the desirability of limiting this power of obstruction as to oblige the obstructors to vary their form of motion, so that when an adjournment of the debate has been negatived, that motion cannot be immediately repeated, but the adjournment of the House is moved instead. This is an awkward and utterly inefficacious attempt to prevent the hindrance of business, and if any attempt is to be made at all, it would be better that it should be one of a more sensible and practical character. Let it be a standing order, that when a motion for adjournment has been defeated upon division, the main question shall at once be put, and a division taken without further debate; the change might even be carried further with advantage, and if an adjournment be moved, no other speaker be allowed upon the motion except the member who makes it and the member in charge of the Bill in reply.

Many trifling alterations for the better might be made in the hours of sitting. The House, when it meets at a quarter to four, is occupied till half-past four (and often till a later hour at the commencement of the session and on special occasions) with the receipt of petitions and the transaction of 'private business;' then follows the presentation of petitions, which in its present form is little more than a sheer waste of the time of the House. Members who have petitions to present, if they are especially enamoured of their own voices, or have constituents in the gallery, rise in their places, state the nature of their petitions and the localities from which they emanate, and then march up to the table of the House and deposit them in one or other of two large bags which hang on either side of the table. Members of a more retiring disposition, and with a greater sense of the value of time, deposit their petitions in the said bags without speaking. In both cases, the whole number of petitions is subjected to examination by a Committee of the House, those which are informal are rejected, and all the rest duly registered in the votes as having been received, a list of them sent to every member, and any which are deemed of sufficient importance printed at length. Publicity in the newspapers is obtained by handing to an officer of the House, 'behind the chair,' a slip of paper, on which is inscribed the name of the member presenting the petition and

the particulars thereof; so that in reality no purpose whatever is served by the waste of ten or twenty minutes which frequently occurs through members rising in their places to present petitions, save the possible gratification of individual vanity and the affording an opportunity to a shy member of trying the effect of the sound of his voice in the House. If a petition of unusual interest is intrusted to any member, he might be permitted to give notice of his intention to present it publicly and do so accordingly, but as a general rule there can be no reason why petitions should not be placed at once in their appointed receptacles at the table, and the time of the House saved in this respect. After petitions, at half-past four, come 'notices of motions,' and then 'questions,' the number of which is not unfrequently considerable, and their character multifarious. It is often five or half-past five, sometimes even later, before the real business of the day—or night—begins. The delay interposed by 'private business' might be avoided without difficulty. It is only the first stages of Private Bills which are thus taken, a Private Bill being referred as a matter of course to a Committee of five Members unless opposed and defeated upon its second reading. Why should not these stages be taken before a small Committee of the House instead of occupying the time of the whole House in formal proceedings? If unopposed, there could be no objection to this course, and if opposition was intended, due notice should be given to the Committee, who should then refer the second reading of the opposed Bill to the decision of the whole House. As the occasions of opposition to this stage of a Private Bill are comparatively rare, the House would be able, as a general rule, to begin 'notices of motions' and 'questions' at four instead of half-past four; and it is worth consideration whether it would not be sufficient to allow half-an-hour or three quarters for this process, so that the House, having assembled at a quarter before four, might proceed to the first order upon the notice-paper at half-past four or a quarter before five, the Speaker rising and calling upon the clerk at the table to read that order at the stated hour, even if 'questions' should not have been brought to a conclusion before.

Upon Wednesdays (a day on which the 'cloture' would, if adopted, be probably put in force very frequently) the rule of the enforced adjournment might with advantage be changed to an enforced division upon, or withdrawal of, a measure, unless the adjournment should be moved and carried by a division. The practice of 'talking out' a Bill would thus be put an end to, and questions settled which are under the present rules kept

hanging over the heads of members, Wednesday after Wednesday, if once the aforesaid practice has been successfully employed. As regards changes in the times of sitting, if the proceedings in the House itself were alone to be considered, it is probable that the change most likely to conduce to the expeditious despatch of business and the shortening of the duration of sessions would be the adoption of the hours of what are now called 'morning sittings' as the daily business-hours of the House, with the alteration already suggested as to the restriction upon 'counts.' There are, however, two strong reasons which would weigh against such a reform; its inconvenience to Government officials and professional men, and the hardship upon those members who, being engaged upon committees, could not, without neglect of duty, be present at the debates of the House. This inconvenience is felt in no small degree when, under the present *régime*, 'morning sittings' begin to be held; and its extension would be strenuously resisted. The House might gain something by meeting at three, the committees taking eleven instead of twelve as their usual hour of meeting; but even this change would be a balance of inconveniences, and would fail to affect perceptibly the principal evils of which we complain. Neither could any arbitrary rule be safely adopted, in addition to that already suggested, as to the particular hour at which one class of business should cease and another commence, or at which a division upon the question of going into Committee of Supply should certainly be taken. The House, by the establishment of such a rule, would be parting with, instead of, as in the adoption of the cloture, taking additional power, and this would be frequently found inconvenient. A discretion must be left with the House in its general arrangement of business, and it is to enable and facilitate the exercise of this discretion that the cloture is recommended, inasmuch as its absence leaves too much to the discretion—or indiscretion—of individual members, to the weakening of the power of the House itself. Further than this, the limitation upon motions for adjournment, the appointment of a general Public Bill Revision Committee, and the restriction upon the power of 'counting out,' seem the most feasible alterations that can be suggested, the curtailing of individual speech being left 'looming in the future' as a possible contingency. One still larger reform remains to be noticed—namely, the question of allowing a Bill partly discussed and dropped for lack of time, to be revived in the succeeding session, and taken up at the stage which it had already reached. This point was considered, and an adverse opinion expressed, by the Select Committee of 1861. It admits of much argument on either side, but it is purposely left

untouched in the present article, as having reference not only to the forms and proceedings of the House of Commons, with which we have attempted to deal, but to the general course of legislation in both Houses of Parliament. There can be no doubt that the adoption of such a reform would, with proper safeguards, be attended with very considerable results in the direction of the more rapid progress of legislation, but it is one which might be accepted or rejected quite apart from the alterations in the internal arrangements of the House of Commons which have been herein suggested.

To all these and to any other remedies which may be proposed, there will doubtless be many objections raised and maintained. 'Interference with the freedom of debate' will be held before our eyes as a terrible bugbear. We shall be told that we seek to limit the power of the independent portion of the House of Commons, and to fetter the free action of the Representatives of the People. Solemn warnings will be given us against increasing the tyranny of a majority and invading the sacred rights of a minority. Moreover, we shall be laughed to scorn as the proposers of alterations to which the House of Commons will never consent, and which would involve a departure from the first principles of the British Constitution. Well—be it so. The British Constitution has lasted for many a long year, the longer and the stronger, probably, from its susceptibility of continuous improvement and its adaptability to the ever-altering requirements of succeeding ages. At the present moment, the evils which we have pointed out in the legislative system of the House of Commons are great and prominent. If no remedy be applied, they will become more and more intolerable. It is for Parliament to determine whether a remedy can be found, or whether it is better that the country should suffer and the course of useful legislation be for ever impeded, rather than that the much-abused freedom of speech among legislators should be curtailed and tradition invaded and disregarded in any particular. Sooner or later the change must come, for, after all, common sense is a characteristic of Englishmen, and common sense will not for ever endure to see good measures postponed again and again, and perhaps finally deteriorated in their passage into law, merely because the House of Commons lacks the moral courage to exercise some legitimate restraint upon its own members, and chooses that the time of the country should be wasted, and defects in the law remain unaltered, sooner than exert itself to that self-reform which the voice of public opinion and the dictates of ordinary intelligence have long declared to be imperatively necessary.

ART. IV.—1. *A History of the Sepoy War in India*, 1857–1858. By JOHN WILLIAM KAYE, F.R.S., Author of the 'History of the War in Affghanistan.' Vol. II. London: 1870.

2. *Cawnpore.* By G. O. TREVELYAN, Esq., M.P. London: 1865.

MR. KAYE'S new volume (the second) of his 'History of the Sepoy War,' being almost exclusively a narrative of events, evidently written after a careful investigation of facts and collation of authorities, would have given us still greater pleasure than we have derived from it, if we had not observed, scattered here and there through its pages, several intimations that the author intends to avail himself of some future occasion to substantiate his theory that the outbreak of the Sepoys was but the efflorescence on the surface of the passionate hatred of British rule burning in the veins of native Indian society. Thus at page 234 he says, speaking of the rural districts round Benares, 'It was not merely that the mutinous Sepoys, hanging about 'the adjacent villages, were inciting others to rebellion (this 'was to be expected), but a great movement from within was 'beginning to make itself felt upon the surface of rural society, 'and for a time all traces of British rule were rapidly disap-'pearing from the face of the land. Into the real character 'and general significance of this movement I do not purpose 'here to inquire. The investigation is an extensive one, and 'must be deliberately undertaken. It is enough in this place 'to speak of immediate results.' And again, at page 290, he quotes in support of his text the well-known Red Pamphlet (the author of which, as we have reason to believe, will not thank Mr. Kaye for reviving the notoriety of this clever production of his 'hot youth'), 'If this had been a military out-'break, as some have imagined, if the dispossessed princes and 'people of the land, farmers, villagers, ryots, had not made 'common cause with the Sepoys, there is every reason to be-'lieve that but a portion of the force would have revolted.'

But we have too high an appreciation of the merits of Mr. Kaye's work as a whole, and our feelings towards him as an author are too kindly, to suffer us to enter again into the lists of a controversy which, notwithstanding the passages above quoted, he has professed to eschew in his preface to the present volume. It is much more pleasant to follow his narrative with the admiration that it deserves.

'Odimus accipitrem qui semper vivit in armis,'

and we are content to postpone the conflict of opinion till he strikes the first blow.

There is one point, however, upon which we believe it to be essential to the truth of the history of the eventful year 1857, that we should dispute a position which Mr. Kaye appears to have taken up, though we do not see that he directly affirms it. He has devoted the forty-two first pages of his book to details of the views of the British Government, in India and at home, with respect to the removal of the once royal family of the Moguls from the palace-fort of Delhi, and to the disputed claims of the oldest and youngest sons of the possessor of the nominal sovereignty to the succession. This laboured exordium, if it mean anything in connexion with a work which has for its subject the Sepoy War, must be intended to imply that the war was stimulated and encouraged by the occupants of the palace, if, indeed, it did not owe its origin to their intrigues. For what other object could the old king, his three elder sons, their insolent boy-brother, and his termagant mother have been brought at such length and with so much pomp upon the scene at all? This whole chapter is out of place in the history, and the length at which the futile intrigues of the Queen-mother are dwelt upon is almost the only blemish in Mr. Kaye's volume. That he should have thought it worth while to give room to the gossiping dialogue between the young prince and Mrs. Fleming, the serjeant's wife, shows how hard he was driven to connect these intrigues with the Sepoy War.

We do not believe that there was any complicity between the Sepoys who mutinied at Meerut and the inmates of the palace at Delhi. We do not believe that there had been any previous understanding between the two parties, nor that when the Sepoys broke out their subsequent march to Delhi was the result of a foregone determination. On the contrary, there is good evidence to prove that it was seriously debated whether it would not be the better plan to proceed to Bareilly. We quoted in our review of Mr. Kaye's first volume, Lord Lawrence's statement, forming part of his judgment upon the ex-Emperor, that 'Nothing has transpired on this trial, or on any 'other occasion, to show that he was engaged in a previous 'conspiracy to excite a mutiny in the Bengal army;' and since no one will question Lord Lawrence's acumen, and as his means and opportunities of forming a correct opinion on the subject were certainly unrivalled, we have gladly fortified our own convictions by a reference to him. His letters on the subject are now before us. Speaking of the Sepoys' debate,

after leaving Meerut, whether they should march to Delhi or Bareilly, he writes:—

'I heard the story from Moohun Lal (Burns's Monshee, in Cabul), and it was confirmed by all which I gathered subsequently in Delhi. Mohun Lal was in Delhi when the Sepoys first entered it, and he told me that they talked openly on the subject. The story was something to this effect. A Sepoy said, "Why hesitate where to go? Delhi has a fortress, an arsenal, a treasury, the King, and there are no European soldiers. That is the place to make a stand."'

Again:—

'My own impression is that neither the King nor any of his family had really anything to do with the mutiny in 1857, in the first instance, though the latter, as did many Mahomedans, went in with great zeal against us, after the mutiny broke out. I do not even think that the family had much influence with the mutineers during any period of the war, not even during the siege of Delhi, though the King's name was a tower of strength in various ways for a long period. Had the mutiny succeeded, a new race of chiefs, for the most part, would have sprung up among the leaders, whom the mutiny would have brought to the front, and this was generally felt.'

We trust that after this the public will hear no more dark hints and mysterious imaginings, little more tangible than Lord Burleigh's celebrated shake of the head, about plots against British domination hatched and contrived in the palace of Delhi. The Sepoys must have been weak indeed, assuming that ever they had formed any definite plans before they broke out, to have put any trust in the idle and dissolute scions of *ci-devant* royalty who herded in that Court. That the King or the more active of those who used him as a puppet may have entered at a period shortly antecedent into feeble and futile intrigues with the Shah of Persia is very probable, but neither of the two could have afforded the smallest real assistance to the other. The pity is that Mr. Kaye should have wasted so much of his time and so many good pages upon a subject so unworthy of his pen. If the space which those pages occupy had been transferred from the beginning to the end of the book, he need not have postponed to a future occasion his narrative of that most important event—the triumphant conclusion of the siege of Delhi.

So much for differences of opinion. We gladly turn to those subjects of the deepest interest to all who have hearts to feel for the bitter sufferings undergone, and to admire the brilliant heroism displayed by the sons and daughters of our race—by the latter no less than by the former—displayed alike in doing and in enduring under the most adverse circumstances, and

against the most fearful odds. But before we turn to the pages of Mr. Kaye's volume, there are one or two points of great importance upon which we desire to offer a few observations.

The first is, that although the 'prophets of the past' have been numerous and loud, the outbreak of the Sepoys burst, with the rarest exceptions, like a thunder-clap in a cloudless sky, upon all connected with India, both at home and abroad. That great and good man, Sir Henry Lawrence, had, perhaps, the most distinct prescience of the impending danger. In former days, Sir Charles Metcalfe used to insist frequently that the British power had no surer foundation than a barrel of gunpowder; but, though we have often listened to his forebodings, we do not remember that he specially questioned the fidelity of our native troops. But as Mr. Kaye has observed, in more than one passage, the general sentiment was one of confident, if not of blind security. Our best officers, men who, like Ewart, Platt, and Spottiswoode, had served in the command of Sepoys throughout their career in India, entertained these feelings without a doubt. All these men, and many others, paid with their lives the penalty of their confidence. Colonel Ewart was cut to pieces, with his noble wife, as he was carried, sick and wounded, down to the Ghât at the evacuation of Cawnpore.* Colonel Platt, not believing that his long-trusted regiment had risen in mutiny, or confident that he could quell their discontent by his presence, rode down, with his adjutant, to the lines of his regiment at Mhow, where both were murdered. On his table, after his death, were found a few lines of a letter which he had begun to write to Sir Henry Durand, then the Political Agent at Indore. They ran thus:—'All right, both cavalry 'and infantry; very khoosh (happy) and willing.' Just here the despatch was cut short by the announcement that his horse was at the door, which was to carry him to his death. Colonel Spottiswoode destroyed himself when he was informed that his favourite regiment was to be disarmed. When General Cotton had announced to the commanding officers of the Sepoy regiments at Peshawur his intention to disarm them, 'Then,' Mr.

* Some letters of this brave and God-fearing couple were published. Mrs. Ewart wrote on the 28th of May:—'John still hopes to hold his 'men together, so does Major Hillersdon his (the 53rd N. I.). Indeed, 'no commandant seems to believe that his men can be false.' And Colonel Ewart on the 31st of May:—'I and my officers continue to 'sleep in the Quarter Guard of the regiment, which we have done ever 'since the night of the 21st instant.'

Kaye says, writing upon the authority of Colonel Edwardes, 'there arose a storm of remonstrance. Protesting their entire 'confidence in the fidelity of their men, these Sepoy command-'ants clamoured vehemently against the threatened disgrace 'of their regiments; and one declared his conviction that his 'corps would never submit to lay down their arms, but would 'rise against the order, and resolutely attack the guns;' and though the order was most happily and successfully carried out, so strong were the feelings of the officers, that Colonel Edwardes states, in his official report, 'as the muskets and 'sabres of the once-honoured corps were hurried uncere-'moniously into carts, it was said that here and there spurs 'and swords of English officers fell sympathisingly upon the 'pile.' We learn from Sir Robert Montgomery that the same feeling prevailed at Lahore, when Brigadier Corbett had determined to disarm the Sepoys stationed there. The officers, he writes, 'went about wringing their hands, and saying, '"What an awful shame. Never was so monstrous a step '"taken. The good, loyal men to be thus disgraced!"' Sir Robert adds, 'we should all have been murdered, nevertheless, 'unless we had acted promptly.' Such evidence of the general feeling might be sufficient, but it is necessary to cite one more instance, because it was boasted, at the time, both in the House of Commons and elsewhere, that the late Sir Charles Napier was the single prescient individual who foresaw the coming storm, and warned the Government of its danger. It will be seen that the fact was precisely the reverse.

'This is a vast army, and it is in a good state of discipline, complete in its equipments, full of high courage, and a high military spirit reigns through all ranks. . . . . Our service is extremely popular, and the troops faithful to a proverb.

'I have heard that Lord Hardinge objected to the assembling of the Indian troops for fear that they would conspire. I confess I cannot see the weight of such an opinion. I have never met an Indian officer who held it; and I certainly do not hold it myself: and few men have had more opportunities of judging the armies of all three Presidencies than I have. Lord Hardinge saw but the Bengal army, and that only as Governor-General, and for a short time. I have studied them for nearly eight years, constantly at the head of Bengal and Bombay Sepoys, and I can see nothing to fear from them except when ill-used; and even then they are less dangerous than British troops would be in similar circumstances.'*

We have dwelt on this point at some length, first, because the

* Sir C. Napier's Report on the Military Occupation of India, dated 27th of March, 1849.

Government, both abroad and at home, has been charged with culpable blindness in not having foreseen and guarded against the great calamity that was about to befall it, and, still more heavily, the people under its charge. But no man can see better than his eyes. Those who might have enlightened the Government were themselves stone-blind. Like Sir Charles Napier, they told the Government the smooth things which they themselves fully believed, and how was the Government to believe otherwise, when they had the almost uninterrupted experience of a century to support their confidence? And, secondly, we are strongly desirous to place this state of general opinion, in regard to the fidelity of our native army, broadly on record, because we feel that the absence of preparation for such a fearful outbreak as burst upon us at the hottest season of the year 1857, ought in reason to raise our appreciation of the promptitude, the dauntless courage, and the constancy of the men, civil as well as military, who set their backs to the wall when 'the enemy came in like a flood,' and fought the battle out to its bitter end. If ever Englishmen deserved well of their country, the men who came to the front in this great struggle for mastery do so deserve. On many occasions, as when Henry Lawrence was surrounded at Lucknow, when Herwald Wake and his gallant comrades held the little billiard-house at Arrah against the thousands surging around them, or when Colonel Sherer and his officers of the 73rd Regiment at Julpegoree, well supported by Mr. James Gordon, the brave young magistrate, kept the great body of their men to their colours throughout the crisis, in spite of the evil example set by a few, they must assuredly have hoped against hope. Those only who know, by painful experience, what the months of the hot season are at Delhi, even when they enjoy the shelter of a good house, are competent to appreciate the endurance exhibited by the gallant soldiers who spent those months upon the rocky ridge overlooking the city, the tedium of their long expectancy being relieved solely by the almost daily sorties of superior numbers, armed and drilled to perfection by their former commanders. Yet, although, as we have said, the Government and Military Departments were alike unprepared for the outbreak, and although the mutiny had cut off the besiegers from all communication with the country to the southward and eastward, we find no mention of an insufficient supply of food, of green unroasted coffee, or of horses, in the agonies of hunger, gnawing other horses' tails. These extremes of unprovidedness were confined to a siege conducted on the sea-board by a force supplied with transports innumerable,

and with all the markets of the Mediterranean open to their requisitions.

But although confessedly taken by surprise, the Government was, in one most essential respect, by no means unprepared for the internecine struggle forced upon it. In some of the most important positions, its defence was in the hands of men qualified in the highest sense to deal with the unexpected catastrophe. Of Lord Canning we shall have occasion to speak more at large in the sequel. But, with comparatively rare exceptions, no staff upon which the crisis compelled him to put his trust broke under the hand of the Governor-General. Lord Elphinstone nobly fulfilled his arduous and hazardous duties at Bombay. Lord Harris did well all that he had to do at Madras, to which Presidency the mutiny happily did not extend. Of those who held the Punjab in their iron grasp, of the great chiefs Lawrence and Montgomery (of whom the former said that he never saw him dispirited but once, and that was when he feared that a regiment of Sepoys who had murdered their officers had not been properly pursued); of the band of brothers who kept the gate of India at Peshawur, and afterwards contributed so materially to the capture of Delhi—Cotton, Edwardes, Nicholson and Chamberlain—of McLeod, Becker, Richard Lawrence, Cooper, Ricketts, James, Barnes, and other younger officers — civil and military, it is superfluous to speak. But for their courage and energy Delhi could not have been taken, and our hold upon Upper India would have been lost for a time. Sir Bartle Frere proved himself fully competent to confront the imminent dangers to which he was exposed in Sind—and that is no mean praise. Lucknow was victualled by the foresight of that great soldier and statesman, Sir Henry Lawrence, and defended to the death by his indomitable valour. To the merits of Mr. Cracroft Wilson, the Judge of Moradabad, Lord Canning bears testimony in his Minute on 'the services of 'civil officers and others' in the following terms: 'I name him 'first, because he has the enviable distinction of having by his 'own obstinate courage and perseverance saved more Christian 'lives than any man in India. He did this at the repeatedly 'imminent peril of his own life.' The great city of Benares was kept in peace and quiet by Tucker and Gubbins, who displayed in a high degree the calm heroism of endurance. Lord Canning warmly acknowledges in the Minute above cited the services rendered to him by Sir Frederick Halliday, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, throughout the crisis. He was, the Governor-General states, 'the right hand of the

'Government of India for many months. As the head of the 'Government I feel myself deeply indebted to him.' We have already spoken of the conspicuous gallantry displayed by Mr. Wake at Arrah, in defending the building fortified for the nonce by his brave comrade, Mr. Boyle, the engineer on the East Indian Railway; but we must not forget to notice, as it deserves, the heroic self-devotion with which Sir Vincent Eyre, at the head of a handful of men, chased away from their expected prey three regiments of Sepoys and the swarming retainers of Kooer Singh, who had beleaguered the little improvised fortress.

Many other officers of the Government—civil servants and military men in civil employment—rendered equally valuable service according to their opportunities. Speaking of the North-Western Provinces, Lord Canning says:—

'The pressure of the revolt upon these provinces was severer and longer than in any other part of India, Oude alone excepted; but whilst in Oude our Government was entirely swept away, in the North-Western Provinces it retained its hold of many chief points of the country. These were held, single and isolated in a sea of rebellion; and that this was possible is due to the indomitable courage, devotion to duty, and fertility of resource which have marked the conduct of the officers of the Civil Service of India throughout this terrible time.

'They have been worthily aided and rivalled by military officers on detached employ, and by many gentlemen not connected with the Government; but it is due primarily to the officers of the Civil Service that the landmarks of British authority throughout the districts of the North-Western Provinces were not overborne in the flood.

'Of the whole body (Lord Canning states), although civilians by profession, or holding for the time civil offices, the duties which they have performed have been, for the most part, full of peril and toil. Only some few of them have been called on occasionally to take part in the operations of the army, and have thereby had the satisfaction of seeing honour done to their names in the Gazettes of the day. But there are others who have been distinguished by conduct in front of an enemy which would make any army proud of them. They have organised levies and led them; defended stations, kept in check large disaffected communities, reassured the wavering, and given confidence to the loyal. Many of them have, in the service of the State, carried their lives in their hands for months together.'

It would be ungenerous not to call special attention to the fact briefly alluded to by Lord Canning in his Minute, that many gentlemen, and others of humbler station, upon whose services the Government had no claim, 'aided and rivalled' the efforts of the responsible authorities not only to quell the insurrections and outrages to which the mutiny of the Sepoys gave rise and encouragement, but to grapple with detached

bodies of the armed and disciplined mutineers. Several of these onslaughts were eminently successful—as, for example, that led by Sir George Yule upon the mutineers passing through the Bhaugulpore Division; and they tended not merely to the discomfiture of the mutineers, but to reassure timid non-combatants as to the strength and stability of the British Government. For the wandering and plundering Sepoys, like the bands of Spartacus of old (whose depredations are commemorated by Horace), were a terror to the peaceable inhabitants, and were never welcome to any but those who rejoiced at the opportunity of resuming their hereditary habits of violence and rapine, as soon as the court of the magistrate was closed, and deeds of darkness could be committed with impunity.

But this happy presence of strong men at the posts where their courage and prompt judgment were most needed was not the only circumstance of encouragement to those who felt that they were called on to play the man in a cause so righteous, not merely for the support of British ascendency, but for the protection of helpless women and children. There were other events, which all men must regard as fortunate and many men will consider Providential, that ranged themselves on the side of the British in the hour of supreme trial. Of these one of the chief was the conclusion of the war with Persia, identical in point of time with the outbreak in Eastern India, which enabled the Government of Bombay to despatch two English regiments to Calcutta without even landing them from the vessels that had brought them from the Persian Gulf. A second favourable circumstance was the peace and quiet that reigned at that period at Madras and in Ceylon, Burmah, and the Mauritius, thus rendering a large portion of the British troops stationed in those quarters available for service in Bengal and the North-Western Provinces. Thirdly, the recent erection of the lines of electric telegraph, one of which, extending from Meerut to Lahore, afforded to the authorities at the former station the means of apprising Sir Robert Montgomery that the Sepoys had broken out into open and sanguinary mutiny—intelligence which, arriving before the news could reach their sympathising comrades at Lahore, enabled Montgomery and his gallant coadjutor, Brigadier Stuart Corbett, to disarm, without shedding a drop of blood, four native regiments, strong enough, and probably ready enough, if they could have taken their officers by surprise, to massacre all the Europeans at the Station, and greatly to endanger, at least, our hold upon the whole Punjâb. Again, the hereditary anti-

pathy felt by the Sikhs against the men of the North-East, but especially against Delhi, where the saints of their faith had in former days been tortured and slain, led them to co-operate enthusiastically with their English rulers in all the measures taken to quell the insurrection. And, last but not least, the golden opportunity of stopping, with the patriotic consent of Lord Elgin, five British regiments on their way to China, without the aid of which Havelock could not have avenged the massacre at Cawnpore, and have driven the tiger Nana Sahib from his bloody lair; nor could he and Outram have relieved and reinforced Lucknow, and paved the way for the eventual rescue of its brave and sorely tried garrison.

For these great national benefactions Englishmen both in India and at home may well be deeply thankful to Almighty God, since he must be a very determined sceptic who can ascribe such a series of favourable coincidences to blind chance. From how different a point of view Sir Robert Montgomery regarded the course of events in the Punjâb, the concluding passage of his Mutiny Report will evince:—

'But it was not policy, or soldiers, or officers, that saved the Indian Empire to England, and saved England to India. The Lord our God, He it was who went before us, and gave us the victory over our enemies, when they had well-nigh overwhelmed us. To Him is all the praise due for nerving the hearts of our statesmen and the arms of our soldiers; for keeping peace in this part of our borders; and for finally giving us the mastery against all human probabilities, and contrary to all rules of warfare. To Him, who holds all events in His own hand, and has so wondrously over-ruled all to our success and to His own glory, do I desire, on behalf of myself and all whom I represent, to express my devout and heartfelt thanksgiving.'

These sentiments of intense and unaffected piety prevailed amongst a very considerable number of the Englishmen who governed and saved India in that crisis.

Whether of purpose or unconsciously, and because the thrilling tale that he had to tell demanded such a treatment, Mr. Kaye has followed pretty closely in the framework of this history the model set by Mr. Carlyle in his account of the French Revolution. That is to say, there is no consecutive and connected narration of events, but in its stead a number of vivid and spirit-stirring tableaux, representing the most striking scenes of the terrible tragedy. Thus, in the present volume, the outbreak at Meerut and the irruption into Delhi, the mutinies at Benares and Cawnpore, the heroic but vain defence of the untenable position taken up at the last-men-

tioned place, the massacre of its gallant defenders, followed by that of the women and children, the victories achieved and the vengeance inflicted by the force under Havelock, the striking events which took place at Lahore, when the Sepoys were disarmed, as well as at several other points in the Punjab, and the opening and progress of the siege of Delhi almost to its triumphant close, are depicted by Mr. Kaye with a degree of vigour and manifest reality which cannot fail to add greatly to his already high reputation as an historian. We shall not pretend to give our own weaker versions of the several stories so well told, but gladly present them to our readers in the glowing colours employed with such effect by Mr. Kaye.

Of the outbreak at Meerut Mr. Kaye writes:—

'It will never be known with certainty whence arose the first promptings to that open and outrageous rebellion of which these sounds and sights were the signs. What meetings and conspiracies there may have been in the lines—whether there was any organised scheme for the release of the prisoners, the burning of cantonments, and the murder of all the Christian officers, can be only dimly conjectured. The probabilities are at variance with the assumption that the native troops at Meerut deliberately launched themselves into an enterprise of so apparently desperate a character. With a large body of English troops—horse, foot, and artillery—to confront them in the hour of mutiny, what reasonable hopes could there be of escape from swift and crushing retribution? They knew the temper and the power of English soldiers too well to trust to a contingency of inaction, of which the past afforded no example. There was not a station in India at which an outbreak of native troops could appear to be so hopeless an experiment as in that great military cantonment which had become the head-quarters of the finest artillery regiment in the world. But this very feeling of our overpowering strength at Meerut may have driven the Sepoys into the great panic of despair, out of which came the spasm of madness which produced such unexpected results on that Sabbath night. There had been for some days an ominous report, of which I have already spoken, to the effect that the Europeans were about to fall suddenly on the Sepoy regiments, to disarm them, and to put every man of them in chains. In fear and trembling they were looking for a confirmation of this rumour in every movement of the English troops. When, therefore, the 60th Rifles were assembling for church parade, the Sepoys believed that the dreaded hour had arrived. The Third Cavalry were naturally the most excited of all. Eighty-five of their fellow-soldiers were groaning in prison. Sorrow, shame, and indignation were strong within them for their comrades' sake, and terror for their own. They had been taunted by the courtesans of the Bazaar, who asked if they were men to suffer their comrades to wear such anklets of iron; and they believed that what they had seen on the day before was but a foreshadowing of a greater cruelty to come. So, whilst the European soldiers were preparing themselves for church parade, the native troopers

were mounting their horses, and pricking forward towards the great gaol.

'Then it became miserably apparent that a fatal error had been committed. There were no European soldiers posted to protect the prison house, in which were the condemned malefactors of the Sepoy army. The prisoners had been given over to the "civil power," and an additional guard, drawn from the 20th Sepoy regiment, had been placed over the gaol. The troopers knew what was the temper of that regiment. They had no fear for the result, so they pushed on, some in uniform, man and horse fully accoutred; some in their stable dresses, with only watering rein and horse-cloth on their chargers, but all armed with sabre and pistol. Soon under the walls of the gaol—soon busy at their work—they met with, as they expected, no opposition. The rescue began at once. Loosening the masonry around the gratings of the cells in which their comrades were confined, they wrenched out the iron bars and helped the prisoners through the apertures. A native smith struck off their chains, and once again free men, the eighty-five mounted behind their deliverers and rode back to the lines. The troopers of the Third Cavalry at that time had no other work in hand but the rescue of their comrades. The other prisoners in the gaol were not released, the buildings were not fired, and the European gaoler and his family were left unmolested. . . . . Among those who on that Sunday evening rode down to the Sepoys' lines was Colonel Finnis, who commanded the Eleventh; a good soldier, beloved by officers and by men, he had the old traditionary faith in the Sepoys which it became those who had served with them and knew their good qualities to cherish. Strong in the belief of the loyalty of his regiment, Finnis, with other officers of his corps, went into the midst of them to remonstrate and to dissuade. He was speaking to his men, when a soldier of the Twentieth discharged his musket and wounded the Colonel's horse. Presently another musket was discharged into his body. The ball entered at his back; he fell from his horse, and a volley was fired into him. He died "riddled with bullets." Thus the Sepoys of the Twentieth had slain the Colonel of the Eleventh regiment, and the bullets of the former had been scattered in the ranks of the latter. For a little space the two regiments looked at each other; but there was no doubt of the issue. The Eleventh broke into open revolt, and fraternised with their comrades of the Twentieth. . . . . That something might have been done to save at least a portion of the regiment we know. Captain Craigie, at the first sound of the tumult, mustered his troops, ordered them to accoutre themselves as for a parade, and when they had mounted, galloped down to the gaol, accompanied by his subaltern, Melville Clarke. They were too late to prevent the rescue of the prisoners; but not to set a grand example. Craigie and Clarke kept their men together and brought them back, with unbroken discipline, to the parade-ground of the regiment. And during that night many acts of heroic fidelity were written down to the honour of Craigie's troop. They had faith in their Captain; and it has been truly recorded of Craigie and Clarke, that "these gallant Englishmen handled the troop as if mutiny were a crime "unknown to their men."'

Mr. Kaye has commented in terms of just censure upon the very mischievous indecision and inactivity of the military authorities on the night of the outbreak, which permitted the mutineers to march away to Delhi without the loss of a man, although there were a regiment of English infantry and another of cavalry quartered at Meerut. We well remember the incredulity with which the news of a mutiny consummated with impunity, under such circumstances, was received in this country. The limits of this Article do not permit us to enter at length upon the subject, but we cannot refrain from drawing attention to a deed of remarkable daring performed by an officer in bringing a blood-stained criminal to justice. Mrs. Chambers, the wife of the Adjutant of the 11th, had been brutally murdered on the night of the 10th of May, and a butcher residing in the Great Bazaar was believed to have committed the crime. The lady's husband was lying *hors de combat* from his wounds, but his friend, Lieutenant Müller, of the same regiment, took upon him the duty of an avenger. He drove to the Bazaar, tracked out the suspected murderer, put a pistol to his head, and carried him off to the European lines, from the midst of those who a few hours before had been his associates in outrage and bloodshed. He was forthwith tried by a drum-head court-martial, convicted, and executed. If some of the many other criminals of the like deep dye had been brought to the same condign and prompt punishment, such indications of justice would probably have prevented more crimes, followed, at a later date, by more retributions.

Leaving the Meerut mutineers at Delhi, where they, together with the Sepoys quartered there and the rabble of the city, committed terrible atrocities, we turn to Mr. Kaye's narrative of the occurrences at Benares. He writes:—

'When news of these events reached Benares, crusted over in the first instance with some exaggerations, it was plain that the hour was approaching when tranquillity could no longer be maintained. But the vigorous activity of Gubbins, and the calm composure of Tucker, holding rebellion in restraint whilst succours were far off, had already saved Benares; for now fresh reinforcements were at hand, and with them one who knew well how to turn them to account. After despatching his men, as has been already told, by the railway at Raneegunge, Colonel Neill had made his way by train and horse-dawk to Benares with the utmost possible despatch, eager to avenge the blood of his slaughtered countrymen. And with this Madras Colonel came the first assertion of English manhood that had come from the South to the rescue of our people in the Gangetic Provinces. Leading the way to future conquests, he came to strike and to destroy. He was one of those who wisely thought from the first, that to strike promptly and

to strike vigorously would be to strike mercifully, and he went to the work before him with a stern resolution not to spare. Both from the North and from the South, at this time, the first great waves of the tide of conquest were beginning to set in towards the centres of the threatened provinces. From one end of the line of danger Canning, and from the other Lawrence, was sending forth his succours—neither under-estimating the magnitude of the peril, but both confident of the final result. It was the work of the latter, as will be told hereafter, to rescue Delhi, whilst the former was straining every effort to secure the safety of Benares, Allahabad, Agra, Cawnpore, Lucknow, and other lesser places dependent upon them. And now assistance had really come to the first of these places. A detachment of Madras Fusiliers was at Benares, and the men of the Tenth Foot from Dinapore, whose arrival had been delayed by an accident, had also made their appearance. It was determined, therefore, that the Sepoys should be disarmed. . . . . When the order for disarming had gone forth, Colonel Spottiswoode and his officers proceeded to the parade-ground of the Thirty-seventh, turned out the regiment, and ordered them to lodge their muskets in the bells-of-arms. There were about 400 men on parade, the remainder, with the exception of one company at Chunar, being on detached duty in the station. To Spottiswoode it appeared that the men were generally well-disposed. There were no immediate signs of resistance. First the grenadier company, and then the other companies up to No. 6, quietly lodged their arms in obedience to the word of command. At this point a murmur arose, and some of the men were heard to say that they were betrayed—that the Europeans were coming to shoot them down when they were disarmed. Hearing this, Spottiswoode cried out that it was false, and appealed to the native officers, who replied that he had always been a father to them. But a panic was now upon them, for they saw the white troops advancing. By word of command from Ponsonby, the Europeans and the guns were moving forward towards the Sepoys' lines. Opposite to the quarter guard of the Thirty-seventh the Brigadier ordered the little force under Colonel Neill to be wheeled into line and halted. He then went forward and spoke to the Sepoys of the guard. He said that they were required to give up their arms, and that if they obeyed as good soldiers, no harm of any kind would befall them. As he spoke, he laid his hand assuringly on the shoulder of one of the Sepoys, who said that they had committed no fault. To this Ponsonby replied in Hindoostanee: "None; but it is necessary that you "should do as you are ordered, as so many of your brethren have "broken their oaths and murdered their officers, who never injured "them." Whilst he was still speaking, some of the men shouted to their comrades on the right and left; a stray shot or two was fired from the second company, and presently the Sepoys rushed in a body to the bells-of-arms, seized their muskets, loaded and fired on both their own officers and the Europeans. Going about the work before them in a systematic, professional manner, they sent some picked men and good marksmen to the front as skirmishers, who, kneeling down whilst others handed loaded muskets to them, fired deliberately upon the Europeans from a distance of eighty or a hundred yards. Seven or eight men of

the Tenth were shot down, and then the rest fell back in line with the rear of the guns. Meanwhile the officers of the Thirty-seventh, who had been providentially delivered from the fire of their men, were seeking safety with the guns; but Major Barrett, who had always protested against the disarming of the regiment, and now believed that it was foully used, cast in his lot with it, and would not move, until a party of Sepoys carried him off to a place of safety.

'To the fire of the Sepoy musketeers the British infantry now responded, and the guns were wheeled round to open upon the mutineers with irresistible grape. The English gunners were ready for immediate action. Anticipating resistance, Olpherts had ordered his men, when they moved from their lines, to carry their cartridges and grape shot in their hands. The word of command given, the guns were served with almost magical rapidity; and the Thirty-seventh were in panic flight, with their faces turned towards the lines. But from behind the cover of their huts they maintained a smart fire upon the Europeans; so Olpherts, loading his nine-pounders both with grape and round shot, sent more messengers of death after them, and drove them out of their sheltering homes. Throwing their arms and accoutrements behind them, and many of them huddling away clear out of cantonments beyond the reach of the avenging guns, they made their way to the city, or dispersed themselves about the country, ready for future mischief and revenge.

'Meanwhile, the detachment of Irregular Cavalry and Gordon's Sikhs had come on to parade. It was soon obvious what was the temper of the former. Their commander, Captain Guise, had been killed by a Sepoy of the Thirty-seventh, and Dodgson, the Brigade-Major, was ordered to take his place. He had scarce taken command, when he was fired at by a trooper. Another attempted to cut him down. But the Sikhs appear to have had no foregone intention of turning against our people. Whether the object of the parade and the intentions of the British officers were ever sufficiently explained to them is not very apparent; but they seem to have been, in this juncture, doubtful and suspicious, and it needed but a spark to excite them into a blaze. The outburst of the Irregulars first caused them to waver. They did not know what it all portended; they could not discern friends from foes. At this critical moment one of the Sikhs fired upon Colonel Gordon, whilst another of his men moved forward to his protection. In an instant the issue was determined. Olpherts was limbering up his guns when Crump, one of the Madras Artillery, who had joined him on parade, and was acting as his subaltern, cried out that the Sikh regiment had mutinied. At once the word was given to unlimber, and at the same moment there was a cry that the Sikhs were about to charge. At this time they were shouting and yelling frantically, and firing in all directions—their bullets passing over and through the English battery. They were only eighty or a hundred yards from us on an open parade-ground, and at that time our Artillery was unsupported by the British Infantry, who had followed the mutineers of the Thirty-seventh Regiment into their lines. It was not a moment for hesitation. The sudden rush of a multitude upon our guns, had we been unpre-

pared for them, might have overwhelmed that half battery with its thirty English gunners; and Benares might have been lost to us. So Olpherts, having ascertained that the officers of the Sikh corps had taken refuge in his rear, brought round his guns and poured a shower of grape into the regiment. Upon this they made a rush upon the guns—a second and a third, but were driven back by the showers from our field pieces, and were soon in confused flight. And with them went the mutineers of the Irregular Cavalry; so the work was thoroughly done, and Olpherts remained in possession of the field.'

How the Fort of Allhahabad was secured to us, and how Havelock fought his way from that city to Cawnpore, under a burning sun, through drenching rain, and against tenfold odds, are well told by Mr. Kaye. There are many pages here and elsewhere which we would gladly, if our space permitted, present to our readers, for the work is too long and varied to be rendered stale by such extracts. But we cannot refrain from quoting a passage from Mr. Kaye's account of Havelock's last victory, achieved on the day before he entered Cawnpore, too late, alas! to save the doomed victims of the Nana's fiendish cruelty.

'The awful work,' writes Mr. Kaye, 'of charging heavy guns, well served by experienced gunners, was now to be commenced, and the Highlanders, led by Colonel Hamilton, took the post of honour, and were the first to charge. The shrill sounds of the pibroch from the bagpipes in the rear seemed to send them all forward as with the force of a catapult. The rush of the kilted soldiers, with their fixed bayonets, cheering as they went, was what no Sepoy force could withstand. Strongly posted as the guns were in a walled village, village and guns were soon carried, and there was an end to the strength of the enemy's left.

'The Sepoy troops fled in confusion—some along the Cawnpore road, others towards the centre of their position, where a heavy howitzer was posted, behind which for a while they rallied. There was more work then for the British Infantry. A few minutes after their first grand rush they had gathered breath, and fallen again into orderly array. Then Havelock challenged them a second time with a few of those spirit-stirring words which, from the lips of a trusted general, are as strong drink to the weary soldier, and every man felt invigorated and equal to any work before him. The Highlanders responded with a cheer, and, followed by the Sixty-fourth, flung themselves on the trenchant howitzer and the village which enclosed it, and again the burst was irresistible. The gun was captured and the village was cleared. For, just at this critical moment, the little body of volunteer cavalry, composed mainly of English officers, appeared upon the scene, flushed with a noble enthusiasm, resolute and dauntless, determined to show with their flashing sabres what they could do against any odds. Never was there a more heroic charge. It was the charge of but eighteen. Captain Barrow led it; and among those who went into action was

Captain Beatson, who had been struck down by cholera, and who was powerless to sit his horse; but, dying as he was, he could not consent to lose his chance of taking his part in the great act of retribution. So he placed himself upon a tumbril and was carried into action, and as dear life was passing away from him, his failing heart pulsed with great throbs of victory. The sabres of the eighteen were less bright and sharp after they had encountered the enemy. When they drew rein, diminished in numbers—for horses and riders had been shot down—the footmen of the British army saluted them with a ringing cheer, and the General again and again cried, "Well done! I am proud to com-"mand you!" It was this body of "Gentlemen Volunteers," into which the "Bayard of the Indian Army"—James Outram—felt it, a month afterwards, a high privilege to enlist, when he might have commanded the whole of the force.'

We find it extremely difficult to make our selections. There is so much of deep interest in itself, so much that deserves special notice for the honour of the brave man, or men who wrought the good work, and so much that would shed reflected brightness upon our pages, that the temptation to transcribe passage after passage is almost irresistible. A few sentences from Havelock's order after entering Cawnpore we must quote, because it tells in a few words what his gallant little force had endured and achieved: 'Soldiers,' he said, 'your 'general is satisfied, and more than satisfied with you. He 'has never seen steadier or more devoted troops. Between 'the 7th and the 16th, you have, under the Indian sun of 'July, marched a hundred and twenty-six miles, and fought 'four actions.' Were not these men worthy compatriots of Cromwell's Ironsides, 'whose backs no enemy had ever seen,' and of the Light Division which turned the tide of battle at Albuera?

We have no spirit to repeat the heart-rending story of the siege, surrender, and massacres at Cawnpore. It is well told by both Mr. Kaye and Mr. Trevelyan, and these narratives may be dwelt upon with mingled grief and pride by every Englishman who has tears for the terrible sufferings and honour for the dauntless courage of his countrymen. Mr. Trevelyan relates in graphic language, how the four brave men, the sole survivors of the butchery at the Ghât—Captains Mowbray Thompson and Delafosse and privates Sullivan and Murphy—baffling their pursuers, swam and floated down the stream of the Ganges till they landed in Oude on the estate of a benevolent Rajah, Dingbijah Singh by name, whose tenants and retainers appear to have been animated by the same spirit as their landlord, and by whom they were most kindly and hospitably entertained, in spite of the requisitions of the Nana

that they should be surrendered to his tender mercies. This generous gentleman, whose reception of the fugitives must have exposed him to much risk both from the mutineers of Cawnpore and from his countrymen in arms against the British Government, kept them in safety for several weeks in his fort of Moorar Mhow, where 'the soldiers of the Cawn-'pore brigade were indulged in frequent interviews with their 'former officers, always in the presence of a detachment of 'the Rajah's body-guard.' They were then sent, for their greater security, to a village of the Rajah's on the bank of the river, and from thence to a friendly landowner on the other bank, by whom they were 'packed off towards Allahabad by a 'cross road, in a bullock cart without springs, preceded by an 'escort of four armed retainers. After bumping along for 'an hour, the driver stopped, and informed them in low and 'agitated tones that there were guns ahead, planted athwart 'their path. And so they alighted, these wayworn fugitives, 'solicitous to learn whether they should again have to run, 'and swim, and lurk and starve; and they crept stealthily 'along the edge of the road; and turning the corner, found 'themselves within a few yards of the white and freckled face 'of an English sentry.'

The good and kind Rajah was meetly rewarded by a pension from the British Government, whom he had so faithfully, as well as boldly, served in the persons of their soldiers. But we must deeply regret, with Mr. Kaye, that the Victoria Cross was not conferred upon the three who survived (for poor Sullivan died of cholera, shortly after his deliverance) the fearful catastrophe which consigned so many brave men and devoted women to untimely graves. Well earned, beyond question, were those insignia of heroism by those than whom, in the language of Mr. Kaye, 'since in the days of ancient Rome, 'the three kept the bridge, there have been none more worthy 'of all the honour that a Sovereign or a nation can bestow on 'the doers of brave deeds, than those who held the temple on 'the banks of the Ganges, and fought their way through the 'armed multitude thirsting for their blood, until from village 'to village there ran the cry that the Englishmen could not be 'beaten.'

We trust that we are mistaken in our conjecture that these brave soldiers did not receive the special reward in question, because no commanding officer survived the slaughter to recommend that it should be bestowed upon them.* Murphy

* In the same spirit, Sir Vincent Eyre, whose relief of Arrah was, perhaps, the most brilliant exploit of the war, because the disproportion of

was, and, we hope, still survives to be, the honoured custodian of the garden which surrounds the monument erected over the well that holds the remains of the victims of the crowning massacre of Cawnpore.

We turn from the contemplation of what Mr. Kaye justly calls 'the heroism of defeat,' as exemplified in the devoted endurance of the brave men appointed to die at Cawnpore, to the narrative of the energy and courage which first saved the Punjâb from the foul treachery of the mutineers, and then culminated in the storming of Delhi. Without the reinforcements so largely contributed by the Punjâb, Delhi could not have been taken; unless the Sepoys had been disarmed in the Punjâb, the presence of the English regiments, of the Guides, and of other faithful corps, could not have been dispensed with in that province. The first step to this end was taken at Lahore. With what a happy union of prudence and daring this object was effected, Mr. Kaye records in pages which it costs us very sensible self-denial not to transcribe at length. We have space for but a few leading incidents. The disarming of our native regiments, so often and severely tried and found faithful through a long series of eventful years from Plassy to the bloody encounters with the Sikhs, was a very serious and hazardous measure, and one, too, that was well known to be extremely repugnant to the opinions and feelings of their English officers. But the intelligence which the telegraph had brought from Meerut, and what was known of the restless temper of the Sepoys, rendered it clear to Sir Robert Montgomery that the boldest step was also the safest, probably the only safe one. He did not, however, proceed rashly. He sought for trustworthy information:—

'On his suggestion,' writes Mr. Kaye, 'Captain Richard Lawrence, Chief of the Police and Thuggee Departments in the Punjâb, commissioned the head writer of the Thuggee Office, a Brahmin of Oude, to ascertain the feelings and intentions of the Lahore troops. A better agent could not have been employed, for his were both the country and the caste of the most influential of the Sepoys. He did his work loyally and well. Scrupulous as he was on the score of caste as any Brahmin in the service, he had no sympathy with treacherous machina-

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numbers was the greatest (the story is very well told in Mr. Trevelyan's 'Competition Walah'), was refused the knighthood of the Bath, on the ground that he had retired from the service before the claim was put forward. As the deed of daring was done in August 1857, and Sir Vincent did not retire till September 1863, one would suppose that there was abundant time in the interval to bestow upon him 'the cheap 'reward of nations,' so well earned.

tions of men who were eating the salt of the British Government and were under the kindly care of its officers, and he brought back to Richard Lawrence, after brief but satisfactory inquiry, tidings that the regiments at Meean-Meer (the cantonment of Lahore) were ripe for revolt. "Sahib," said the faithful Brahmin, "they are full of fisad "(sedition), they are up to *this* in it," and he laid his hand upon his throat. It was plain that they were only waiting for information from the countries below to break into open mutiny.'

After much discussion and some hesitation (a middle course of depriving them of their ammunition having been proposed), it was determined to disarm the Sepoys, and a parade for that purpose was ordered to take place on the following morning. A ball was given in the cantonment on that night, and it was attended by all the officers, some few conscious, but the great majority quite unaware, of what was impending; for silence and secresy were essential to success. So they danced on till morning, grumbling, meanwhile, at having to attend an early parade, following close on such a festival.

'But,' writes Mr. Kaye, 'when the hours of morning darkness were past, and day had dawned upon Meean-Meer, other thoughts than these took possession of the Sepoy mind. The Brigade assembled on the parade-ground. There was nothing peculiar in the appearance of that assembly, except that Montgomery, Roberts, and others of the chief civil officers from Anarkullee, were to be seen mounted on the ground. Every soldier obeyed the orders that were issued to him. The regiments were drawn up in line of contiguous columns. The Artillery and Eighty-first (not numbering more than two hundred and fifty men) were on the right, the Native Cavalry on the left, and the Infantry regiments in the centre; the white men appearing as a mere dot beside the long line of the blacks. At the head of each regiment was read aloud the Government order disbanding the mutinous Thirty-fourth at Barrackpore. These formal proceedings over, the serious business of the morning commenced. The Native regiments were ordered to change front to the rear, and at the same time the Eighty-first also changed front so as to face the Sepoys; the Artillery, then in the rear, loading their guns unseen by the Native regiments. When this manœuvre, which seemed whilst in execution to be only a part of the brigade exercise of the morning, had been accomplished, a staff officer, Lieutenant Mocatta, Adjutant of the Twenty-sixth Regiment, who could speak the Native languages fluently and correctly, was ordered forward by the Brigadier to read his address to the Sepoys. He did it well in a clear loud voice, explaining to them that now a mutinous spirit having evinced itself in other regiments, and brought many good soldiers to certain destruction, it was better that the distinguished regiments at Meean-Meer, which had done so much good service to the State, should place themselves beyond the reach of temptation by surrendering all means of offence; so they were ordered to "Pile arms."

'Whilst this address was being delivered to the Sepoys, the Eighty-

first fell back by subdivision between the guns; and when the word was given to pile arms, the Native regiments found themselves face to face with a long line of Artillery, and a row of lighted portfires in the hands of the English gunners. At the same time the voice of Colonel Renny rang out clearly with the command, "Eighty-first, load!" and then there was the rattle of the ramrods, which told that there was death in every piece. For a minute the Grenadiers had hesitated to obey the order; but thus confronted, they saw that to resist would be to court instant destruction; so they sullenly resigned themselves to their fate, and piled their muskets to the word of command, whilst the Cavalry unclasped their belts and laid their sabres on the ground. The Eighty-first then came forward and removed the arms, for which a large number of carts were waiting near the parade-ground, and the Sepoys went baffled and harmless to their lines. It was a great design executed with consummate skill; and if by a first blow a battle was ever won, the battle of the Punjâb was fought and won that morning by Montgomery, Corbett, and Renny.'

There were many other points of peril in the Punjâb, but the chief of these, beyond all comparison, was Peshawur. For not only was a large native force quartered there, but the border tribes, savage, warlike, and predatory, with the Affghans to back them, were known to be ready not merely, as always, for plunder, but to take advantage of any opportunity to recover for the Moslem the territory which Runjeet Singh had wrested from them. Happily this important post was held by men as prompt and bold to confront any emergency, as Montgomery and Corbett; and that is no light commendation. We have already mentioned the worthy names of those upon whom it devolved to determine the course of action, and their several characters and respective careers are well delineated by Mr. Kaye. The odds against them were heavy. 'Counting up all the components of the troops in the 'valley, it may be said, in round numbers, that there were 2,500 'Europeans and 10,000 natives; and that only a tithe of the 'latter could be trusted by their English officers.' And the vehement opposition of these officers to any decided measure was to be overcome. But the disarming of the Sepoys was felt by the chief political and military authorities to be essential to the safety of the frontier. And so that measure was resolved on, and thus carried out:—

'It has been stated that the Peshawur force had been wisely cut in two, as a precautionary measure, by Brigadier Cotton. It was now arranged that Edwardes should accompany Cotton to the right wing, whilst Nicholson went to the left with Colonel Galloway of the Seventieth Queens, who stood next in seniority. With the former were her Majesty's Eighty-seventh Fusiliers, with the latter the Seventieth, both with detachments of Artillery to support them. It was a moment of

intense anxiety. The Sepoy commandants were parading their men, and the Queen's regiments were lying in wait to attack them on the first sign of resistance. The suddenness of the movement took the Sepoys aback; they laid down their arms to the bidding of their own officers.'

The immediate and happy result of this step is thus told by Mr. Kaye:—

'The arms surrendered, Brigadier Cotton addressed the regiments, praising them for the readiness with which they had obeyed orders; and they went to their lines. Thus was the work done well and thoroughly—and without the shedding of a drop of blood. The effect upon the minds of the people was magical. They believed that we were strong because we were daring. The old aphorism, that "nothing "succeeds like success" was here triumphantly verified. The tribes who had held aloof whilst danger threatened us and the issue was doubtful, now pressed forward eagerly to do homage to the audacity of the English. Without another halt of doubt, or tremor of hesitation, they came forward with their offers of service. "As we rode down to "the disarming," said Herbert Edwardes, "a very few chiefs and yeo- "men of the country attended us, and I remember, judging from their "faces, that they came to see which way the tide would turn. As we "rode back, friends were as thick as summer flies, and levies began "from that moment to come in." Good reason indeed had Sir John Lawrence to write to the Peshawur Commissioner, with hearty commendation, saying:—"I look on the disarming of the four corps at "Peshawur as a master-stroke—one which will do much good to keep "the peace throughout the Punjâb. Commandants of corps are under "a delusion, and whilst in this state their opinions are of little value. ". . . . We are doing well in every district—Beecher famously."'

This wisely bold course of policy was persistently followed out in the Punjâb. A moveable column was formed for the purpose of patrolling the province, and Neville Chamberlain was appointed to command it. With one or two exceptions, the Sepoys were successfully disarmed. Many brave deeds were done, none more worthy of record than that achieved by Mr. George Ricketts, the Deputy Commissioner of Loodiana on the banks of the Sutlej. Two regiments of Native infantry and one of cavalry had mutinied at Jullundhur, and although a regiment of Europeans (the 8th) and a considerable force of artillery were also quartered at that station, the mutineers were allowed to march away to Phillour (where they were joined by a third regiment of Sepoys), *en route* to Delhi, after wounding several of their officers, with no other loss than that inflicted by two or three rounds of grape, fired on them, without orders, by a troop of Native horse artillery, the only one, we believe, that remained faithful throughout the mutiny. Mr. Ricketts was informed of this outbreak by a

telegram from Umballa, and Mr. Thornton, his assistant, who had gone to Phillour with the pay of the Native regiment quartered there, heard enough of what had happened at Jullundhur to lead him to take back the rupees, and to break the bridge of boats over the Sutlej. Mr. Ricketts determined to do his utmost with a most inadequate force (three companies of Rothney's Sikhs, under Lieutenant Williams, some horse and foot of the Rajah of Nabba, and two guns, a six and a nine pounder), to arrest the march of the mutineers until the Europeans and artillery from Jullundhur, whom he believed to be close at their heels, should come up to avenge their misdeeds. On reaching the river, he crossed in the ferry-boat, and walked alone along the bank to Phillour, in order to ascertain what had become of the mutineers. He found that they had proceeded to a ford about four miles up the river, and thither, after recrossing, he led his little force. Owing to the character of the ground, he did not reach his point till past 10 P.M., and then, going forward with Lieutenant Williams to reconnoitre, he was challenged and fired upon by the sentries, and found that fully three-fourths of the mutineers had crossed the river, and were grouped upon the hither bank. They fired wildly in the dark, the horses of one of the guns took fright, and ran off with the limber, and the soldiers, horse and foot, of the Rajah followed their example. Mr. Ricketts brought his remaining gun to bear upon the enemy with grape, the Sikhs poured in a well-sustained fire of musketry; and it was not till Lieutenant Williams and many of his men were hit, and the ammunition of his gun exhausted, that after maintaining the unequal conflict for nearly two hours, in expectation, at every moment, that the pursuers from Jullundhur would appear, he was compelled to retreat to Loodiana, where—the brigadier still loitering on the road—he had the mortification of seeing the city looted, the premises of the missionaries burnt, the prisoners let loose, and the rabble triumphant, until the mutineers marched off, unpunished, to Delhi. There, no doubt, a fitting retribution awaited them, while Mr. Ricketts laid a heavy hand upon the shawl-weavers from Cashmere, and the low Mahomedans who had lent their ready aid to the mutineers in the congenial work of devastation and plunder.

It was, under the blessing of God, by such men and such deeds as these, by the victory of the undaunted few over the many who fought under the paralysing pressure of an abiding consciousness that they were false to their solemn oaths and to the salt which they had eaten during long years of kindly

and indulgent treatment, that the Empire of India was maintained for England. Mr. Ricketts had his reward in the appreciation of his conduct by such men as Canning, Lawrence, Montgomery and Nicholson, and in the honour conferred upon him by his sovereign. And this gallant gentleman was but a type and representative of many who put their lives to hazard in that memorable year, no less for the welfare of India than for the honour of England. For what more terrible calamity could have befallen the people of that fair land, than that the Sepoys and those who aided and abetted them in that struggle for mastery—the *soi-disant* Princes of Delhi and the Nana of Cawnpore at one end of the scale, and the Gougurs and liberated convicts at the other—should have crushed the British power, and have made themselves the masters of India?

Our remarks upon what we may justly call Mr. Kaye's great work would be very incomplete if we neglected to direct the particular attention of our readers to the opening pages of the last chapter of this volume, in which is recorded the discussion between Sir John Lawrence and several of his ablest lieutenants upon a question of the greatest moment. The discussion was long and animated, but the question at issue between the disputants may be told in very few words. The Lieutenant-Governor held that the capture of Delhi was a matter of such paramount importance, that all other considerations, inconsistent with the attainment of that great end, must be regarded as light in the balance; and that if more troops were required to accomplish it than had already been contributed by the Punjâb, that need must be supplied, even at the expense of withdrawing the whole force from Peshawur, and abandoning all the territory beyond the Indus to the Affghans. Those who dissented from this opinion—Edwardes, Cotton, Nicholson, and James, held with equal tenacity, that to retire from before Delhi—'re infectâ'—deplorable as the event would be, would be the lesser of the two evils, and, therefore, the one which, in case of absolute necessity, it behoved us to choose. The dilemma was one of intense difficulty, and, judging from the passages which Mr. Kaye has quoted from the correspondence, the question appears to have been argued on both sides with great ability. So much so, indeed, and the conflicting arguments are so nicely balanced, that both the disputants seem to us to have proved, to their own satisfaction at least, that the result would have been the loss of our hold upon the whole of the North-Western Provinces in the one case, and on the Punjâb in the other, leaving the eventual recovery of the lost territory to the army that mustered under the com-

mand of Lord Clyde. Mr. Kaye appears to award the palm in this disputation to Sir John Lawrence, intimating that the distinguished officers who differed from him, being under the influence of local prepossessions, necessarily took a more narrow view of the question than their chief. To us—while we differ with great reluctance from the master-mind of that eminent statesman—a consideration presents itself which appears sufficient to turn the scale against him. If it had been thought necessary to raise the siege of Delhi, there was no reason why the British force, though baffled by its walls, should not have kept the field, still less why it should have broken up from its position in disorder. There could not have been better fortune for that force than that the Sepoys should have come out from behind their fortifications to attack it on the plains. Nicholson's success at Nujufghur, and the repeated victories of Havelock on his advance to Cawnpore over the mutineers, in both cases strongly posted, to say nothing of minor instances, prove to demonstration how utterly unable the Sepoys were to stand against us in the open field. There was no necessity that we should have beaten a hurried and disastrous retreat to the Punjâb (which, by the hypothesis, would have been rendered secure by the troops withdrawn from Peshawur), as Sir John Lawrence appears to have assumed. The whole area of the North-Western Provinces was open to us, and nothing but gross mismanagement, such as those who commanded our force were not likely to have been guilty of, could have permitted the Sepoys to slip by us without fighting, in order to join their brethren at Lucknow. Whatever might have been lost for the moment would have been easily regained by the large force which England was sending to the rescue, and Delhi would have fallen as certainly as Lucknow. On the other hand, the abandonment of Peshawur would have involved the permanent loss of the whole trans-Indus territory, together with the command of the hither end of the Kyber-Pass—a frontier post vastly superior to any that could be found upon the Indus. Its immediate consequence must have been the sacrifice of our military prestige in the most important quarter, to the utter discouragement and probable defection of the chiefs and their retainers, from whom Colonel Edwardes was raising the most efficient recruits to supply in the Punjâb the place of the troops despatched to Delhi. Add to this, that the great distance of the Upper Indus from the sea-board would have rendered the eventual vindication of British authority on that frontier most difficult. Happily the painful necessity of making a choice was not felt, for Lord Canning

replied to Sir John Lawrence's telegram that our troops should stand fast at both points, and so Delhi was taken without stripping the Punjâb beyond its capacity for self-support.

We cannot close to better purpose our necessarily brief notice of the progress of events in the Punjâb than by placing upon record the names and services of two soldiers distinguished above their fellows (and that, in itself, is no mean glory), in that fierce struggle, of which neither survived to witness the triumphant issue. We speak of Nicholson and Hodson, men essentially different in character, but both daring to the very verge of rashness, and both endowed, in the largest degree, with that highest and rarest of moral qualities—the power of leading and governing their fellow-men. Of Nicholson Lord Lawrence says, in his Report of the 25th of May, 1858:—

'Brigadier-General John Nicholson is now beyond human praise and human reward. But so long as British rule shall endure in India, his fame can never perish. He seems especially to have been raised up at this juncture. He crowned a bright though brief career by dying of the wound that he received in the moment of victory at Delhi. The Chief Commissioner does not hesitate to affirm that without John Nicholson Delhi could not have been taken.'

How well are General Nicholson's life and death celebrated, 'mutato nomine,' by Lord Byron:—

'Honour to Marceau! o'er whose early tomb,
Tears, big tears, gushed from the rough soldier's lid,
Lamenting and yet envying such a doom,
* * * * *
Brief, brave, and glorious was his young career.
* * * * He had kept
The whiteness of his soul, and thus men o'er him wept.'

Hodson had not reached the height of command to which Nicholson attained, but of him it is recorded that Lord Clyde shed tears on his grave, saying that 'he was the greatest 'soldier he had ever known.' The like testimony is borne to his memory by a comrade who had received seven wounds while serving under his command: 'I am no friend of Major 'Hodson's, dead or alive; but if you speak of him as a soldier, 'there is no man above ground to be compared with him.'

These are specimens—picked, indeed—of the men who eat in those days the salt of that old 'Company of merchants,' whom it is now the fashion to vilipend and misrepresent, but there were hundreds in 1857–58 who did not lag far behind them in bravery and self-devotion at least. And the proof—'monumentum ære perennius'—is the preservation of India to England.

Chapters IV. and V. of Mr. Kaye's Book VI. are devoted to a narrative of the siege of Delhi, but as they stop short of the final catastrophe, they read like a tragedy shorn of its fifth act. The subject—full of interest—may better be treated as a whole on some future occasion. But we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of transferring one episode to our pages. A body of Irregular Cavalry from Delhi had made a sudden, and, for a time, a successful foray into the British camp. They had been mistaken—the uniform being the same—for our own Irregulars, some of whom were more than suspected of being in complicity with them. They rushed furiously upon a piquet of the Carabineers, who were supported by two horse-artillery guns. These, for the reason given above, did not open fire.

'But,' says Mr. Kaye, 'there was something much worse than this. The mistake of the British Artillery was followed by the disgrace of the British Cavalry. As the Irregulars of the Eighth from Delhi swept on, the detachment of Carabineers, which formed a part of the piquet, turned and fled. Stillman, who commanded them, remained alone at his post. The first error was soon discovered. Hills, who was in charge of the Artillery—two horse-artillery guns—of the piquet, saw presently that it was a hostile attack, and ordered out his guns for action. But the enemy were upon him; he had not time to open fire. In this emergency, the dashing Artillery subaltern—a man of light weight and short stature, young in years, but with the coolness of a veteran and the courage of a giant—set spurs to his horse and rushed into the midst of the advancing troopers, cutting right and left at them with good effect, until two of them charged him at the same time, and by the shock of the collision both horse and rider were thrown violently to the ground. Regaining his feet after his assailants had passed on, he recovered his sword in time to renew the combat with three Sowars, two mounted and one on foot. The two first he cut down, and then engaged the third, a young, active swordsman of good courage, who came fresh to the encounter, whilst Hills, scant of breath and shaken by his fall, had lost all his first strength though none of his first courage. The heavy cloak, too, which he wore as a protection against the rain, dragged at his throat and well-nigh choked him. The chances were now fearfully against him. Twice he fired, but his pistol snapped, and then he cut at his opponent's shoulder. The blow did not take effect; and the trooper watching his opportunity, clutched at the English subaltern's sword and wrested it from him. Hills then closed with his enemy, grappled him so that he could not strike out with the sabre, and smote him with clenched fist again and again on the face, until the Englishman slipped and fell to the ground.'

Major Tombs, commanding the troop, was in the artillery mess-tent when the alarm was given:—

'He hurried to his own tent, took his sword and revolver, and ordering his horse to be brought after him, walked down to the aroused

piquet. As he approached the post, he saw the Carabineers drawn up in mounted array, and our guns getting ready for action. In a minute there was a tremendous rush of Irregular Horse, the troopers brandishing their swords and vociferating lustily; and then there was to be seen the sad spectacle of our Dragoons broken and flying to the rear, whilst one of our guns went to the right-about, some of the horses mounted and some riderless, and galloped towards our camp. Tombs was now in the midst of the enemy, who were striking at him from all sides, but with no effect. A man of a noble presence, tall, strong, of robust frame, and handsome countenance, dark-haired, dark-bearded, and of swart complexion, he was, in all outward semblance, the model of a Feringhee warrior, and the heroic aspect truly expressed the heroic qualities of the man. There was no finer soldier in the camp. Threading his way adroitly through the black horsemen, he ascended the mound, and looking down into the hollow where his two guns had been posted, he saw the remaining one overturned, the horses on the ground, struggling in their harness or dead, with some slain or wounded gunners beside them. Near the gun he saw the prostrate body of Hills apparently entangled in his cloak, with a dismounted Sowar standing over him with drawn sword, about to administer the death-stroke. At this time Tombs was some thirty paces from his friend. He could not hope to reach the enemy in time to cut him down with the sabre; so resting his revolver on his left arm, he took steady aim at the trooper, who was turned full-breasted towards him, and shot him through the body. The blood oozed out through the white tunic of the wounded rebel, and for a while at least Hills was saved.

'But the danger was not yet passed. Tombs helped his fallen subaltern to rise, and together they ascended the slope of the mound. As they were watching the movement of the enemy they saw a little way beneath them another dismounted Sowar, who was walking away with Hills' revolver in his hand. They made at once towards him. He was a young, strong, active trooper, who turned and attacked them with his sword, as one well skilled in the use of the weapon. His first blow aimed at Hills was parried; then he struck at Tombs, who with like address guarded the cut. But the third blow struck with despairing energy, as he sprang upon the younger of his opponents, broke down Hills' guard, and clove the skull to the brain. In a moment he had turned upon Tombs, who coolly parried the blow and drove his sword through the trooper's body.'

It is pleasant to be able to add that Major Tombs' modesty was as signal as his courage. Mr. Kaye states, quoting Mr. Greathed's Letters:—'Tombs' account of the affair of the 9th 'when the enemy's horse rode through our camp, was torn up 'by Colonel Mackenzie. He had omitted to say a word about 'himself, so Mackenzie gave the General the true version.' Both the actors in this conflict had fairly earned, and duly received, the Victoria Cross.

It remains to speak of Lord Canning, how he bore himself throughout the storm that had fallen on him so unexpectedly

and with such violence, and how his conduct was appreciated by the press—and, we must add, with sorrow—by a large portion, at least, of the public of Calcutta. It is but bare justice to say that he displayed a calm courage and magnanimity above all praise; and the animosity of those who assailed him would seem to have been excited by his steady refusal to share their terrors. For it is a humbling fact that the conduct of Englishmen in India during 1857 was—generally speaking—in an inverse ratio to the dangers to which they were respectively exposed. Those who were in real and daily peril, and who 'carried,' in the words of Lord Canning, 'their lives in their 'hands for months together,' manifested, with the rarest exceptions, a courage worthy of their race. On the other hand, those who, like the people of Calcutta, were beset by no other enemies than the phantoms of their own morbid imaginations, oscillated between groundless panics and cries for vengeance upon all whom they fancied to be thirsting for their blood. And they could not forgive the Governor-General for being so composed when they were in a state of spasmodic excitement. While he was labouring night and day to draw succours from all quarters, while he showed such a contempt of personal danger as to sleep with a sepoy sentinel at his chamber-door, they accused him of indifference to the safety of the British community because he declined to believe, with them, that thousands of armed rebels were lurking in the creeks and rice-fields around Calcutta, or to comply with their urgent demand that he would proclaim martial law in districts where there was not a British soldier to enforce it. They urged their misrepresentations with such bold persistency that the leaders of the Opposition in the House of Commons were misled into objecting to include the name of the Governor-General in the vote of thanks to those who had deserved well of their country, until he had rebutted the charges of his assailants. We believe that a newspaper published in England was the principal offender. Lord Canning felt the scorn of a brave man for these poltroons, and he wrote, 'I am ashamed to say that men 'with swords by their sides are going about with their tails 'between their legs.'

When we said that Lord Canning slept with a sepoy sentry at his door, we used no vague phrase. For many weeks after the mutiny had broken out he had no other protection by day or by night, and he would, we believe, have sought no better, if Sir Frederick Halliday, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, had not remonstrated with him, on the wrong that he was doing to the cause of which he was the chief guardian by incurring a

risk of possible assassination at the hands of men, who, however faithful they might be to-day, were the slaves of impulse, and liable to be driven by any one of a variety of motives into the most ferocious outrage on the morrow. It was not till he had urged upon the Governor-General the unspeakable value of his life, at that crisis, to his country, that he prevailed on him to give orders that an English guard should be posted at Government House.

We should not have deemed it fair to bring charges so serious against a body of Englishmen, many of whom no doubt were as brave and devoted as their brethren who fought at Delhi and Lucknow, if we had not the proofs in our possession not merely of the facts of the case, but also of the trouble and vexation which the childish panics and perverse misrepresentations got up in Calcutta, inflicted upon the Governor-General at a time when his mind was taxed to the uttermost by the important cares and anxieties which demanded his undisturbed attention. We have before us a paper, extending, with its appendices, to thirty-nine pages, in which are embodied a selection of the statements impugning the character and conduct of Lord Canning, which were either published in Calcutta or forwarded from thence to be given to the public in England by those newspapers which might be found willing to disseminate such malignant trash. It is not too much to say that every word of these statements which is not grossly false is founded upon a fact so distorted and coloured as to be equally intended and fitted to mislead. We should fill too much of our space with worthless matter if we specified in detail even a tithe of the charges and their refutations. As specimens of the utter untruths, we may mention the stories that Sir Colin Campbell refused, on his arrival in Calcutta, to take his seat at the Council Board, because full powers were denied to him; that he had frequent angry altercations with the Governor-General, and had actually taken his passage back to England in consequence; that Lord Canning had received and neglected more warnings than one of the impending mutiny; that cannons were publicly sold to natives in Calcutta, and sent up to Arrah, where they were used in battering Mr. Boyle's little fortification; that an attempt was made to pull down the British standard at Fort William, and to hoist the green flag of Mahomet in its stead, for which act of treason two men had been executed; and that the good and lamented Lady Canning had been heard to speak of the rebels as 'the poor dear Sepoys.' All these, and many more, were pure and wilful inventions, without a shadow of foundation.

Others, as we have said, consisted of truth and falsehood mixed up in such proportions as to serve the purpose of maligning the Governor-General as well as pure lies. And the conclusion arrived at was that he was hopelessly imbecile, incapable, and in the hands of his secretaries, and ought—if India was to be saved—to be immediately recalled; and a petition to this effect was forwarded to England.

A statesman as able and as brave as Lord Canning, but unendowed with his noble sense of duty and power of bearing up against misconstruction and wrongful imputations, would have broken down under such a complication of difficulties; and the loss to India and England at that crisis would have been irreparable. But his mind was of a finer temper. He bore the abuse unjustly heaped upon him, as he bore the unavoidable anxieties and labours of his position, with a calm patience which baffled and disappointed the malignity of his assailants. Upon one, at least, of those who attacked his policy most bitterly, he heaped coals of fire. He was eminently magnanimous, and he gave a signal proof of it, in that he was not afraid to show mercy to defeated and suppliant rebels. In him England lost a statesman whose knowledge of a subject too little understood—how India should be governed—rendered his life of extreme value to her;—a statesman perhaps the most distinguished of five, whose death in the prime of life, within three short years, so sadly thinned the front rank of the Liberal party.

In taking leave of the authors upon whose works we have commented, we are bound to bear testimony to the spirit and fidelity with which Mr. Trevelyan, selecting for his subject a single scene in the great drama, has told the melancholy tale of the defence and fall of Cawnpore. He has done full justice to the brave men who bore up, hoping against hope, in that fierce struggle for their own lives and the lives of the helpless ones committed to their charge; and those who are bound by ties of blood or friendship to any of the victims of the unequal fight, or of the subsequent massacres, owe a debt of gratitude to the writer who has put on lasting record so true and touching a narrative of their brave deeds, and of their no less heroic endurance.

Before we conclude we have a word or two to say to Mr. Kaye. And we think it will be well if we acquit ourselves, in the first instance, of the disagreeable part of our duty. We have already remarked that the chapter which records the intrigues in the palace at Delhi was almost the only blemish in the work under review. The qualifying phrase relates in a

minor degree to some peculiarities of style, which we feel bound, as honest critics, to comment upon. We feel that Mr. Kaye sometimes sins against good taste by the stilted and turgid language that he employs in describing actions, but more frequently persons. He is so thorough a master of his craft, that no writer stands in less real need of such adventitious aid to give force to his natural style. Mindful, however, of Horace's maxim touching great beauties and small spots, we are satisfied with submitting the point to his own calm judgment. We had also, and far more strongly in our mind, a passage (pp. 297–9) respecting the adopted son of the last Peishwa, commonly called the Nana Sahib, the cold-blooded murderer—not of men only, but of women and children also, at Cawnpore. Mr. Kaye writes of him in this, as in the former volume, as one who had suffered such grievous wrong at the hands of the British Government that nothing short of utter fatuity could have led its servants to expect the slightest aid from him. He was a disappointed man. 'Of course,' says Mr. Kaye, 'the whole story of the disappointment was on record. 'Had it not gone from Calcutta to London, from London 'back to Calcutta, and from Calcutta again to Cawnpore? 'And did it not cover many sheets of foolscap?' There is more of the same sort of banter about civilians who could see 'no earthly reason why Doondoo Punt (the Nana) should not 'accept his position quietly, submissively, resignedly, after the 'fashion of his kind.' Now all this, coupled with the statements in Vol. I., to which Mr. Kaye carefully refers in two foot-notes, implies, to say the least, that the Nana Sahib did not act his atrocious part without strong provocation, and that the English authorities who put any trust in him were fatuous beyond the bounds of ordinary folly. But the plain fact is that this blood-thirsty Mahratta, treacherous after the habit of his race, had suffered no injury at all. His father, by adoption, had received a pension of 80,000*l.* a year, which Sir John Malcolm, who had promised it, defended, when the Governor-General hesitated to sanction so large an amount, on the grounds, first, that it was simply a grant for life, and, secondly, that it would have cost us far more to have hunted our fugitive enemy down, if he had not been induced to surrender himself. We wish that Mr. Kaye would speak out. Does he consider it wise and proper to continue a lapsed pension, to which he has no just claim, and which must be paid by the people of India to the adopted son of the deceased pensioner, lest he should consider himself injured by the denial, ally himself with our

mutinous Sepoys, and murder Christian men, women, and children?

It only remains that we should express our sincere admiration of the manner in which Mr. Kaye has performed the arduous task which devolved on him when he undertook to write a history of the Sepoy War in India. His chief difficulty lay, as stated in the preface to this volume, in the vast area over which the struggle extended, and the general synchrony of the events to be described. Mr. Kaye has dealt with this difficulty successfully. He knows the country well, and many of the surviving actors personally, and he has spared no pains in collecting, sifting, and collating his facts. His narrative is very spirited, and persons and things are graphically depicted. Above all, it is a glowing record of the valour and endurance of our countrymen, and we are bound to add of our countrywomen also, than which no page of our bright annals is brighter. The work will live, we are persuaded, together with Macaulay's narrative of the siege of Derry and of the battle of the Boyne, and with Napier's history of the Peninsular War, as a monument of the indomitable courage with which soldiers and civilians alike of our race can bear themselves when driven suddenly to bay, and as an example to our children's children of the devotion which in life and death they owe to their country.

ART. V.—1. *Copy of Correspondence between the Admiralty and the Treasury, and of other Papers, relative to Alterations in the Organisation and Business of the Admiralty; and to Reductions in the Establishments.* Parliamentary Paper, 402, series 1870.

2. *Return showing Results of Trials with Welsh and North Country Coal on board Her Majesty's Steamers 'Urgent' and 'Lucifer' at Portsmouth.* Presented to Parliament 6 July, 1870.

THE 'Quarterly Review' for October presents the Tory Bill of Indictment against the present administration of the Admiralty. In an article entitled 'Mismanagement of the 'British Navy,' the public are invited to constitute themselves a grand jury for the trial of Mr. Childers and his colleagues on a charge of malversation of office. The Quarterly Reviewer undertakes not only the office of public prosecutor, but points out that the sole remedy for 'those ills we have,' lies in the restoration to power of that political party which, according to

him, has periodically to save the British navy from the ruin in which Liberal politicians love to involve it.

The indictment is rather clumsily drawn, though apparently by a hand from which it would have been reasonable to expect something stronger and more telling than a mere *réchauffée* of the stories which were discredited last session,—statements put in the form of questions whether such and such a rumour was true, and the answers to which—omitted in the review—so often covered with confusion the assailants of the new policy of the Government in the House of Commons. The same bitter, personal animus, the same desire to throw mud in the hope that some at least may stick, which characterised the attacks of certain members of the Opposition, are discernible throughout the article. In the suggestive allusion to Sisera, where the dockyard 'maties' are instructed in the right use of nail and hammer, we seem to catch the echo of the well-known cry which Protestant bigots of a certain class are wont to raise on Guy Fawkes Day, or of the voice which threatened what might happen should Ministers visit the towns of Deptford and Woolwich.

But for the influence which such an article is likely to have upon the public credulity it might have gone unnoticed. The tendency, however, of uncontradicted falsehoods, still more of unexplained half-truths, is so mischievous that on grounds of public morality it should not be unrestrained. In a matter so dear to Englishmen as the welfare of their navy, it is especially necessary that no self-seeking politician should shake their confidence in the men to whose hands they have committed the guardianship of the sea. Therefore it is that we have thought it worth while to study the counts in the 'Quarterly's' indictment, and so far as published papers and such information as we have been able to command will permit us, to help the public to a right conclusion. There cannot be the slightest objection to learn from foes, however deadly; and the present Government have, not only in matters naval, thankfully accepted suggestions which have emanated from the Opposition bench. But when it is made a crime to disregard the advice of those whose advice savours more of self and party than of national interest, and in support of the charge to hazard statements which are wholly misleading, if not untrue, it becomes a duty to endeavour by every legitimate means to enter a plea for the defence.

The Quarterly Reviewer brings twenty-three distinct charges against the Admiralty; and sums them up by a general assertion that the strength of the navy has been impaired in

respect of ships, men, stores, and guns, and that this decay is the foreseen and intentional result of a policy which the present Administration were returned for the very purpose of carrying out. The charges, general and specific, are serious if true. 'So far as the reconstruction of the Admiralty is concerned, 'the grand secret appears to have been to get rid of the naval 'element in the government of the navy, and to buy by private 'bargain the stores and supplies for the public service.' From this text the Reviewer preaches a Jeremiad of peculiar violence, and draws conclusions which are wholly unwarranted by fact.

To begin, for instance, with the statement in page 401, about the stocks of coal abroad. 'In 1869 the foreign 'coal depôts had been diminished from 59,199 to 39,627 'tons; and this year a still further diminution had taken 'place, for only 27,026 tons of coal were in store in our 'foreign depôts on the 1st January, 1870.' In this short sentence there is a *suppressio veri* as well as a *suggestio falsi*, besides a blunder as to date. It would be inferred from the sentence quoted, that in 1868, when Mr. Corry was First Lord, first, that the stocks of coal abroad were in the normal condition, at which they should be maintained; second, that in 1869 the present Administration had allowed the stocks to fall 20,000 tons below that normal quantity. But the stocks abroad in 1868 were not in a normal condition, for the exigencies of the Abyssinian war had necessitated a supply at the Cape and at Malta far in excess of ordinary wants. At the Cape alone there were on 31st January, 1868 (see Parliamentary Return, 246, presented 19th May, 1870), 15,739 tons, the ordinary stock being about 5,000 tons. On 31st January, 1869, the stock at the Cape was reduced to 13,200 tons; and on the 31st January, 1870, though no supplies had been sent out since the end of the Abyssinian war, the stock there was so utterly out of proportion to all likely demands, that a proposal to sell and so save loss by deterioration of coal was only refused on account of the insignificant price obtainable. This is the *suppressio veri*. The *suggestio falsi* is that whereas 59,199 tons is represented to be the minimum stock which Tory wisdom thought fit to keep abroad, the present Government, *during* 1869, reduced the stock to 39,627 tons. Now the latter figures are the total, including the Cape stock shown on the Parliamentary paper above referred to, as in store abroad on 31st January, 1869—that is to say, a few weeks after the present Government took office; so that the blame, if any be due, must lie

upon the shoulders of Mr. Corry and his friends—a conclusion for which those gentlemen will hardly thank the reviewer.

But how about stocks on 31st January, 1870? The Quarterly Reviewer wishes it to be inferred that the present Administration, having 27,026 tons in stock abroad on a given date, viz. 31st January (he says the 1st), considered that to be enough as a maximum quantity; that it was insufficient, but that the Government refused, on what they called economical grounds, to send out more. The notice in the 'Remarks' column of the return so disingenuously treated by the reviewer—to the effect that though not actually in store on the 31st January, several thousands of tons reached Malta and Gibraltar on the first week of February; and that at the same date 5,000 tons were on the way to the North American station depôts—is disregarded. Disregarded too is the front page of the return, apparently because it shows that a larger stock of coal was maintained by the present Government at home depôts on 31st January 1870, than was kept by the late Government on a corresponding date in 1868. It is ridiculous to take stocks at a particular date and to generalise from the figures that the Administration is or is not doing its duty. Tested by such facts Mr. Corry's Board might be arraigned, because on the 1st October, 1868, they had in store at home 7,000 tons less coal than Mr. Childers' Board on the 1st October, 1870; or because they purchased in 1868–69 only 169,677 tons, whereas Mr. Childers' Board bought in 1869–70 as much as 186,163 tons. But all such deductions are necessarily fallacious. Stocks must be regulated by probable demands, varying according to the strength on the station, and not be replenished, as the stocks of all dockyard material were ordered till last year to be replenished, on the basis of the ascertained consumption of 1844, when iron ships were not, and when the character and building necessities of an iron-clad were alike unknown. We have been at some pains to learn, and we are in a position to state, that the present basis of replenishment of naval stores of all kinds is the average consumption of the three preceding years, corrected in special cases by the known eventual requirements of the programme of work for the year. As regards coal the aim is to keep ample but not excessive stocks, in order to avoid the waste by disintegration and loss of power to which coal kept long in stock, especially in hot climates, is subject, and which in the case of Welsh coal has been something quite incredible. Another feature in the new mode of supply is to avoid as much as possible winter shipments to home depôts, and so to avoid payment of winter

freights, sending coal to the foreign depôts, however, in the early part of the year, so as to furnish them with a large supply in the beginning of spring.

Much is said by the Quarterly Reviewer as to the quality of the coal supplied for steam-vessel purposes during the years 1869 and 1870. More is said, and hostilely said, about the manner in which the supply has been obtained. The reviewer's treatment of both subjects is marked by the same quality of disingenuousness which characterises his dealing with the question of stocks. He begs the whole question of quality by assuming that the sole object of the Government, in using bituminous North country coal in combination with the anthracitic coal of South Wales, was to secure the political support of men already pledged for the most part to support the present Government. Why then seek to alienate Welsh members, of whom a majority sit on the Treasury side of the House?

The fact is that the exclusive use of South Wales coal for steam-vessel purposes, besides being inconvenient as a monopoly, shut out from the service those sources of fuel which are largely drawn upon by the merchant marine, and which, for the speedy raising of steam and more complete combustion, had material advantages not possessed by Welsh coal. It was determined to try upon a large scale the effect of mixing first-class North country coal with first-class Welsh. It was found that with good stoking and mixing it was possible to attain the necessary results without producing much more smoke than was given off by Welsh coal. Circulars were issued in April 1869, announcing the intention to use the mixture; drawing attention to the necessity for careful stoking; suggesting that certain specified modifications of the existing furnaces might be needed in order to avoid smoke and to ensure the best results in other particulars; and pointing out that, as scarcely any furnaces were alike or under precisely the same conditions, it would be necessary to find, by actual experience, what was the precise alteration each furnace required:—

'Considerable care must be exercised in stoking and in the supply of air, by partially opening the doors of the furnaces, or by openings made in the doors themselves, where there are the means of doing so on board any of her Majesty's ships, in order to consume the smoke; in many cases it may be necessary to increase the space between the fire bars; but their lordships entertain no doubt that the commanding officers and chief engineers are perfectly capable of dealing with any difficulties which may arise in burning mixed coal with advantage in furnaces intended for Welsh coal only; and with practice and attention these difficulties will disappear. . . . . .

'Commanding officers will on all occasions watch the emission of smoke, and take such measures, in concert with the engineer officers of the ship, as in their opinion will check or prevent this occurrence; bearing in mind that slow combustion, to which, unless under peculiar circumstances, they ought always to have recourse, is one of the greatest checks to this nuisance and waste of fuel.'

For a considerable time the orders to alter the grates and furnaces—though the alterations could for the most part have been effected by the engineers of the ships—were not obeyed, and ships burning the mixed coal in their unaltered furnaces reported 'dense black smoke' as the result of their experiments. There was moreover a strong desire on the part of some naval officers *not* to see success attend the use of the mixture, and hence, by an unconscious process, no doubt, their efforts to secure that success slackened, and became ineffectual. Moreover, it was found that the alterations suggested by the circular in grates and furnaces were inadequate to secure all the results desired. Though power was preserved, too much smoke was emitted, and where that was checked there was a loss of power. There was therefore some ground for the belief that mixed coal might prove a failure. Perseverance, and a strong determination to try the experiment thoroughly, were needed. Those efforts prevailed. Experiments were instituted at Portsmouth in the 'Lucifer' and 'Urgent,' and it was found perfectly possible so to alter the furnaces of ships, and at a moderate cost, as to secure all the results obtainable with the best Welsh coal, while effecting a material saving, not only in the first cost of coal, but in consumption also. Further experiments, the results of which are given below, were instituted on board the 'Active,' under the supervision of Captain Rice, the well-known and excellent officer in charge of the steam reserve at Portsmouth—showing conclusively that better results, not only as regards evaporating power and complete combustion, but also as regards smoke, are obtainable with the mixture in the proportion of half North country, half Welsh, than with the best Welsh coal, while there is a saving of 13½ per cent. upon the consumption. So thorough and complete is the success of the mixture that the most formidable of its professional enemies confess themselves converted, and we have reason to know that on the recent inspection by the Lords of the Admiralty of the Channel Fleet at Portland, both captains and engineers were nearly unanimous in reporting their conversion to the mixture. The consequence has been that certain authorities, who have hitherto withheld their consent,

have declared themselves entirely convinced.* As regards the difficulties of mixing, so strongly insisted on by the Quarterly Reviewer and others, they are purely imaginary, as anyone may judge for himself if he will but watch the process originated by Admiral Key at Portsmouth, and in daily practice at that harbour. But even under circumstances rendering that simple and effectual process inapplicable, there is no difficulty in the matter. Whilst it is needless to say that the extravagant notion put forward by the reviewer that in order to *mix* Welsh and North country coal, the Admiralty have to half load a collier at Cardiff, and finish loading her at Newcastle—thereby *not* mixing—is not one that could have presented itself seriously to the mind of any reasonable being.

But the quality of the coal supplied to the navy has been less obnoxious to 'the other side' than the mode in which the supply has been obtained. The critics, for the most part—when not commercially interested in the old method of supply—being naval officers, or others equally unversed in the modes and procedure of business, have in their ignorance supposed

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* Trials of mixed coal, Powell's, Duffryn, and Cowpen's Hartley, in equal quantities, on board the 'Active,' on the 25th July, the 22nd August, and the final trial on the 30th August, 1870. The above trials were made with the smoke-consuming arrangements. The trial of Nixon's Navigation on 25th March, 1870, was made prior to the furnaces being altered.

Trials Six Hours each at Portsmouth.

	Nixon's Navigation Welsh.	Mixed (half-and-half) Powell's, Duffryn, and Cowpen's Hartley.		
	25th March.	25th July.	22nd Aug.	30th Aug.
Total consumption during the six hours	tons. cwts. 37 12	tons. cwts. 33 16	tons. cwts. 31 8	tons. cwts. 32 1
Area of grate surface	square feet. 498·75	square feet. 455	square feet. 455	square feet. 455
Consumption of Coal per square foot of grate per hour	lbs. 27·69	lbs. 27·90	lbs. 25·76	lbs. 26·29
Consumption of Coal per indicated H. P. per hour	3·562	4·688	3·133	3·124
Smoke Marks by Numbers	3·80	3·97	3·069	2·861

Steam Reserve Office,
PORTSMOUTH.

that to deviate from the path which they imagined was for any and every man the path of safety, was not only to give up all guarantee of good quality, but to cost the country money, and to ruin the reputation of all concerned in the purchase. So convinced were they of the impossibility of touching coal without contamination, that they would know nothing about coal, and if driven by the exigencies of daily life and the requirements of ship and factory to procure coal, they resolved to do what necessity compelled them to do in the simplest mode possible—and it must be admitted that the device hit on was very simple indeed. There was a list of coals called 'the 'Admiralty List,' upon which appeared the names of no less than a hundred and nine sorts of coal supposed to be suitable for steam-vessel and factory purposes. When steam coal was wanted, an advertisement was issued calling for tenders for 'coal for steam vessels'—the name of the coal not being specified. Persons wishing to offer came to the office of the Storekeeper-General, and there found that they might send in any one of fifty-four Welsh sorts, and, before 1868, of fifty-five North country coals, named on the Admiralty List—queer stories are afloat as to the sums paid for insertion on that list—as steam-vessel coal; the presumption being that all these coals were equal in value! For China and the West Coast of Africa some five sorts of coal out of the fifty-four and fifty-five were forbidden to be shipped without special permission—experience having shown that with these at least there was too great a disintegration and waste in hot climates to allow of their being used without extravagance. But it is presumed the most staunch supporters of the Welsh interests, including Mr. Nixon, would not maintain the equality of the coals assumed to be equal by the Admiralty.

It may be said, however, that as a matter of fact, good Welsh coal was obtained in her Majesty's ships; and no doubt that was so, but in spite of the list. In answer to advertisements, only a few dealers interested in particular collieries ever tendered, and these confined their range of supply to the coal in which they were interested—that coal being generally of a fair quality. Then the Admiralty list was more or less a sham? Certainly, so far as the Admiralty supply was concerned, though by it the power was given and retained of supplying inferior coal as equal to the best; and to this extent it was a mischievous sham. But it was also mischievous—even immoral—in another respect. Coals were quoted to foreign Governments as being of undoubted goodness *because they were on the Admiralty list.* It is notorious that many coal owners

got on to the list who had never an intention of supplying the British navy, but wished to make the Admiralty their advertising medium by which they might foist upon foreign Governments their inferior coal. Mr. Baxter has been constantly remonstrated with by interested persons for refusing to be party to the continuance of so mischievous a deception.

Then as regards prices paid for the coals that were supplied. The operations of supply being confined to a ring, combinations were effected to a most injurious extent. Colliery owners would not busy themselves with a contract encumbered with numerous covenants and sureties for performance, and as a matter of fact never tendered at all. A few firms kept the business rigidly in their own hands, and agreed upon a minimum price for particular stations; they knew the lowest tender would be accepted without regard to current prices, and by acting together sucked no small advantage out of the contracts. When so large a sum as 18,000*l.* is saved to the country, which otherwise would have gone into agents' and sub-agents' pockets, it is no wonder a bitter hostility is raised against the savers of it, and that those interested should, by their mouthpieces in Parliament and in the press, rage furiously together, and insinuate all sorts of baseless calumnies against the honour and integrity of public men. The mode adopted temporarily by Mr. Baxter is to purchase well-known, unquestionably good coal at the pit's mouth and send it out at market freights. Part of the supply has been bought by a buyer, part by advertisement and tender.

It is complained that the naval element has been eliminated from the controlling power at Whitehall. It has unquestionably been so in respect of purely civil matters, about which naval men know no more than civilians know of professional naval matters; but in respect of purely professional business it has been greatly strengthened by the abstraction from its consideration of precisely those affairs, e.g. the purchase and sale of stores, which naturally fall under the ken of ordinary men of business. It has been strengthened, and its responsibility has been defined, by the concentration under it of really professional matters, under the Order in Council of 14th January 1869, which sets out the duties and responsibilities of each Lord and of the new officer, the Parliamentary Financial Secretary. This Order in Council, together with other papers and correspondence on the reconstitution of the Board and the reconstruction of the departments of the Admiralty, is included in Parliamentary paper No. 402, presented to Parliament in February 1870. This very important document

seems to have escaped the notice of the Quarterly Reviewer, as it escaped the notice of, or was willingly ignored by, certain Members last session. In its pages will be found authoritative refutation of the silly stories told in the review about stray admirals caught up to do undefined duty at Whitehall in aid of overburdened naval 'Lords.' There, too, will be found in detail the reports of departmental committees, and the correspondence with the Treasury which led to the reconstruction of the Admiralty departments as constituted by Sir James Graham in 1830. It is curious to observe, by the way, how the name of Sir James Graham is invoked by Tory assailants of modern reformers, and how his measures, which in their day met with the strongest opposition from the Tories of the day, are now appealed to as models of absolute administrative wisdom. Who knows whether the name and the measures of Mr. Childers may not prove a rallying cry to the next generation of Conservatives?

The duties of the several Lords as laid down in her Majesty's Order in Council of 14th January, 1869, are perfectly intelligible and well defined. The Board there established is in reality a Council of assistance, to which a Minister of Marine can appeal individually or collectively, as he sees occasion. 'I 'stated,' said Mr. Childers, in February last, 'that in this and 'in other respects our administrative action would be rather 'departmental than in accordance with the usual machinery 'of a Board.'* The First Lord himself is supremely responsible to her Majesty and to Parliament for the conduct of the department, and the other Lords are in effect members of the staff, as generals of division are members of the staff of a commander-in-chief. The First Naval Lord is responsible to the First Lord for matters relating to the *personnel* of the navy. The junior Naval Lord assists him. The Controller and Third Lord is responsible for *matériel*, i.e. the building and repairing of ships, and matters relating to guns, naval stores, and dockyards. The Parliamentary Secretary, divested of all office work, which devolves upon the Permanent Secretary, is responsible for the Finance of the Department, and the conduct of purchases and sales, being assisted in the discharge of his duties by the Civil Lord, to whom, moreover, is committed the oversight of the *personnel* of the Admiralty civil establishments. This subordination of responsible controllers of business to a responsible Minister, is in exact accordance with the views advocated in the 'Edinburgh Review' as far

* Hansard, p. 902, session 1870.

back as 1861.* It is, moreover, the only form of administration suitable to the present requirements of the navy, however admirable the arrangements made by Sir James Graham in 1830 may have been as compared with the government by navy and victualling boards. No one who really desired to know the new mechanism of administrative business need have been, as many willingly were, ignorant of these details, nor would he, like the writer in the 'Quarterly,' have blundered into the error of confounding the Chief of the Staff—an *adlatus* of the First Naval Lord, and a new officer, in whom are centred the duties formerly discharged by a semi-independent Controller of Coast Guard and a Deputy Controller—with the abolished naval lord, whose extinction the reviewer deplores. The story about the captain who was ordered to sea by one Lord of the Admiralty, and into dock by another Lord on the same day, is a mere 'midshipman's shave,' which the reviewer has been weak enough to believe.

The subordination of the responsible controllers of business to the Minister at the Admiralty, led naturally to the more thorough subordination to them of those almost independent officers who at Somerset House exercised the departmental functions of Storekeeper-General, Comptroller of Victualling, Director of Transports, Medical Director, Accountant-General, Director of Works, and Registrar of Contracts. In accordance with the principles laid down in the Order in Council of 14th January, 1869, the operations of these officers were to be brought more closely than they had been under the direction of responsible chiefs, and the distribution of the business entrusted to them had to be modified. If the reviewer and those who think with him in Parliament and the press may be believed, the manner in which these changes were brought about was of the most rough and ready kind. As a matter of fact, patent on reference to the published papers, it was most painstaking and deliberate on the part of Committees, who were instructed to inquire into the matter in all its numerous details, and whose reports were subjected to long and anxious consideration before action was taken on them. The effect of the action so taken was to remove the outlying departments from Somerset House to Whitehall and Spring Gardens — an old *desideratum* of all Boards — to abolish some of the business transacted by them, and to redistribute the remainder in accordance with the new scheme of controlling responsibility. The functions of

* Edinburgh Review, vol. cxiii. pp. 293–297.

supply and account, which had been hitherto attributes of each departmental officer, were concentrated in the new departments of the Superintendent of Contracts and Accountant-General respectively, while in a reduced form the other officers remained to discharge purely executive duties; the Superintendent of Naval Stores, *vice* the Storekeeper-General, to see, under the eye of the Controller, that the dockyards at home and abroad had a sufficiency of naval stores; and the Superintendent of Victualling, *vice* the Comptroller of Victualling, to do the same for the victualling depôts—while the other officers retained their titles, but were charged only with executive duties.

It was in pursuance of recommendations made by similar Committees, whose reports are published in the Parliamentary Paper 402, that Mr. Childers announced to the House of Commons that he had resolved to dispense with naval officers superintendent at victualling yards and naval hospitals, and to place the former under the responsible control of the storekeeper, the latter of the principal medical officer. As evidence that this change, which was strongly opposed, has tended to efficiency, it may be mentioned that when the Channel squadron returned from its cruise in the month of September, one division, comprising the 'Minotaur,' 'Agincourt,' 'Northumberland,' 'Hercules,' and 'Warrior,' were ordered to complete with provisions for four months at Portland. The stores had to be sent from the Royal Clarence Yard, Gosport, eighty miles distant. The demands were received by the officer there at noon on Saturday, and by Tuesday afternoon the whole of the provisions were on board the ships. This expeditious supply was made without work being done on the Sunday, without hiring extra labour, and without interruption of the current duties of the yard; and the quantity of stores loaded and unloaded by the victualling yard men within the hours mentioned was 950 tons.

It was impossible but that in making such radical changes, and while the changes were in progress, some mistakes should happen, and certain mistakes were made, e.g. the serious anchor mistake, the origin and consequences of which were fully explained to the House of Commons last session, but which is again raked up in its old dress by the reviewer to serve as a peg on which to hang a charge of general inefficiency. That mistake, which, as Mr. Baxter stated, was one to which any merchant might have been liable, would never have been made had the clerks and officers of the Admiralty, who disliked the changes while profiting by them, and who still clung to

office, acted as fairly and vigilantly as they ought to have done to those they were bound to serve. Still, the mistake did happen, and the critics have made the most of it, generalising, after their manner, from a single fact. But when they are driven to put in the front of their indictment paltry little stories like that about want of biscuit at Bermuda, in May last—stories which the smallest amount of trouble and inquiry would have explained thoroughly, they virtually discard the useful office of criticism and deserve to be regarded as mere vexed and disappointed retailers of gossip.

Conspicuous by their absence from the 'Quarterly' are those insubstantial anecdotes about 'tremendous bad hemp,' 'awful bad coal,' &c. &c. which, told and disproved in the House last session, brought so much ridicule upon the narrators. The story of the biscuit at Bermuda is of the same kind. We have been at the trouble to inquire into this proof of neglect, and find that at Bermuda, where the stock of biscuit is from local causes necessarily kept as low as possible, an unprecedentedly and unlooked-for large issue of biscuit had taken place on an early date in the year. The storekeeper sent an account showing this extraordinary issue, and in the usual course his stock would have been instantly replenished from home. Why then was it not replenished? Another mistake! Nothing of the kind: the agent's letter was lost in the 'City of Boston.' Yet it is on the strength of this flimsy pretext and one other, to the effect that a gunboat had to get a barrel of flour from the receiving ship at Malta, because the store on shore—which the reviewer omits to state had just filled up the Mediterranean fleet—was exhausted, that the Quarterly Reviewer says 'the 'supply of provisions for the fleet has been so insufficient as to 'place them, in these piping days of peace, almost on short 'allowance.' We have been favoured with the sight of two documents, one the report of Admiral Hornby, who lately returned home with the first flying squadron—the other an official report on stocks of provisions drawn up soon after the declaration of war on the Continent. Admiral Hornby speaks in terms of extraordinary praise of the manner in which the victualling of the fleet was carried out. He praises emphatically the quality, as well as the sufficiency, of the supply; and it must be remembered that he drew upon full one half of our victualling depôts abroad. The other document shows that so far from there being any lack of provisions available for the fleet, every article provided for in the estimates for the whole year, excepting salt meat, which was not then cured, and some

wheat not then harvested, had been arranged for, and for the most part delivered, on the 1st August.

It has been said, in spite of knowledge, that the present Administration have discarded public competition and tender in the matter of supply of stores, and satisfy the requirements of the navy by means of private bargain. We say in spite of knowledge—for this whole question was discussed last summer in the press as well as in Parliament. The 'Times' and 'Spectator,' the 'Daily News,' and the 'Daily Telegraph,' besides many country papers, considered the new contract and purchase arrangements, and criticised them for the most part in friendly wise. The 'Times' having been misled as to the precise character of those arrangements, concluded, as the reviewer has done, that private purchase had been substituted for public tender as the principle of business. On learning its mistake, however, the 'Times' inserted a paragraph on the 16th June, 1870, stating with truth that upwards of two-thirds of the store income of the Admiralty was still spent on contracts publicly advertised and competed for, though it was in error in supposing 'that much of the remaining two-'thirds was supplied under standing contracts which preceded 'Mr. Baxter's accession to office.' Most of the standing contracts have been thoroughly overhauled and remodelled, as explained by Mr. Childers and Mr. Baxter in the House. Other newspapers described more fully the business and procedure of the Contract and Purchase Department, and the country has, in the Parliamentary Paper 402, already quoted, full means of knowing the exact course of Admiralty supply. The right of what is called private purchase—i.e. a transaction known in all its details by more people at the Admiralty than were privy to the largest contracts under the old system—is undoubtedly reserved, as it always was reserved, even in old days, for certain articles. No one at any time thought of advertising for armour-plates, medicines, or engines; and the process by which these have been procured has been extended, under safeguards far greater than before, chiefly for the purpose of breaking up combinations and for making a stand on behalf of the public against imposition. What house of business would ever thrive on a system of accepting lowest tenders simply because they were lowest among the tenders made?

We have it on good authority that on one of the first occasions Mr. Baxter opened the tender-box he asked for a price-current, in order to compare it with the lowest tender. No such thing could be obtained in the store office, so Mr.

Baxter sent to the City, and discovered that the lowest tender —which under the old system would infallibly have been accepted—was twenty-five per cent. above the market-price of the article. This we can readily believe, for the late Storekeeper-General, Mr. Dundas, in his evidence before the Committee on the Abyssinian Expedition, said in effect that it was no part of his business to see that he did not pay more than the market price, or that the contractor was not making an undue profit, but that for the most part he contented himself with sending out for tenders, and accepting the lowest.*

The restraint of monopolies and of combinations by use of the power of private purchase and limited tender has been so great, that quondam contractors have brought down their prices to acceptable limits. The knowledge that prices as well as tenders will be scrutinised by the light of ascertained market quotations must necessarily operate on the minds of contractors favourably for the public purse. In June last the Admiralty advertised for twenty thousand tons of coal for various stations, and the prices then quoted for Welsh coal were such as to justify acceptance of the offers made; but the prices for North country coal were still in excess of market rates, and were not given. Though the cardinal principle of the public supply business is, and should be, advertisement and tender—there is every reason to retain the beneficial power of being independent of it. There are some things also which are absolutely better procured through agency than by competition.

It was announced several times last session in answer to inquiries that the attention of the Contract Department had been specially directed to the work of revising schedules, and re-arranging conditions of contract for articles supplied by tender on advertisement. The necessity for this work was clearly stated by Mr. Childers in his speech on the introduction of the Navy Estimates in February last. Mr. Childers said:—

'I will give the House instances of the necessity for revision of the terms of our contracts. Many of these have been in force for very long periods, and within the last week I had before me some for articles which have greatly changed in value, but which had been left untouched, some for seven years, and some for fourteen years. I may mention one contract for the delivery of a special article, the name of which I will not mention. There were many small items for extras to the article, and one of them (No. 198) was the price for any additional quantity of the same metal not included in any other item. The whole

* See Report of Com. on Abyss. War, 1869, p. 73.

payments of the year were 14,160*l.*; but of this the payments under that item were 10,930*l.*, and the price of that item was about 150*l.* per cent. above the market value. These are just the matters as to which special attention in the Contract Department enables us to effect a great improvement.' (*Hansard*, p. 906, session 1870.)

Considerable care has been bestowed upon this important object—and the effect has been, by splitting schedules into trades, and by striking out vexatious clauses, to induce manufacturers who before abstained from Government contracts at first hand, to come in and give the country the benefit of their resources and experience.

As regards quality, and the mode in which that is tested on receipt of goods, we find that the same standard, where it has not been raised, is maintained, and that the same criticism, by the same officers, is directed as formerly. One new feature, however, has been added to contracts. The common business rule of settling disputes by reference to arbitration has been incorporated with the Admiralty business—and with very favourable results, contractors feeling that as against any prejudice or ignorance on the part of receiving officers they have an appeal, and receiving officers feeling that their judgment, if good, will be strengthened and confirmed by wholly independent testimony. The latter effect has been produced in a great case lately at Portsmouth. We may add moreover that the establishment of this principle of business by Mr. Baxter has had the effect of extirpating the 'tipping' system, which it is proved prevailed among some of the subordinate *employés* in the Government establishments.

The bitter complaints which have been made against Mr. Childers and Mr. Baxter on the subject of sales of old stores and ships are somewhat difficult of comprehension. The dockyards were filled with the accumulations of many years, which occupied space invaluable in a time of need, and the estuaries and rivers in the vicinity of our great seaports were also crowded with vessels, of a type wholly unsuitable to the requirements of modern warfare, and many of them worthless even as specimens of their class. The greatest care has been taken to value ships, timber, and stores, by means of experienced auctioneers acting in conjunction with special officers of the Admiralty, and with the officers of the dockyards. Had the reviewer been at the trouble to inquire he would have found that nothing had been sold which the dockyard officers thought it worth while to keep; whilst as to 'Seeley's pigs,' of which some 7,000 out of 53,000 tons have been sold, we find that the Tory administration

of 1867–68, on the strength of what 'somebody' said the 'pigs' would fetch, took credit in advance for 100,000*l.* on account of sales. 'Somebody' appears to have told them wrong, for we find Mr. Corry stating in answer to Mr. Baxter, in the course of 1868, that only 63*l.* out of the 100,000*l.* had been realised. One-eighth of the whole quantity has now been sold at the highest price obtainable after much inquiry and great efforts to sell judiciously. The result of sales generally has been, not only to clear the dockyards—'denude them 'of stores,' says the Quarterly Reviewer—of vast quantities of useless lumber, but to bring into the Exchequer a sum sufficient to pay half the cost of the Naval Store Vote for the year. The sales of ships, stopped by the neutrality proclamation, will, it is presumed, be continued later, till the broken reed of antiquated war-ships on which reliance for defence had been placed, shall have been got rid of.

There are some minor points in the article in the 'Quarterly' which may yet be noticed. Of these, the story about the proposed retirement of Mr. Dundas and Mr. James has already been confuted in a very distinct manner by Mr. Childers in Parliament. The statement of the reviewer that 'no sooner 'had Parliament risen, than the assurance that clerks were not 'to be discharged against their will fell to the ground,' is absolutely incorrect. It could never have been applied, by any one who knew the time, to the case of Mr. James and Mr. Dundas, for the circumstances which gave rise to that incident occurred in January, immediately *before Parliament met.*

The singular arithmetic by which the reviewer arrives at the conclusion that the net result of reductions in the clerical staff is 'an additional cost to the country of about 12,000*l.* 'a year,' is a specimen of the kind of data on which many like statements are founded. The reviewer says, 'The vote 'for the Admiralty Office in the Estimates for 1869–70 was '168,700*l.* The vote of the Admiralty Office in the year '1870–71 was 159,368*l.*, showing a decrease of 9,336*l.*; and 'the transfer of charges from other votes amounts to 4,106*l.*, 'representing a total decrease in the vote for the Admiralty in 'this year of 13,442*l.* But against the decrease in the vote 'for the Admiralty Office are about 25,511*l.* of pensions, from 'which, if we deduct the decrease claimed of 13,442*l.*, we get 'an additional cost to the country of about 12,000*l.* a year.' Now the fact is that the decrease, including transfers from other votes, is in 1870–71, 13,442*l.* as compared with the Estimates for 1869–70, but the pension list of 24,611*l.* (allowing as usual for deaths), not 25,511*l.*, is the pension list *of two years'*

growth, and not of one year as compared with another. The reduction of establishment was spread over two years' estimates, so that the true comparison is between the years 1868–69 and 1870–71, both as regards reductions and pensions, and stands thus:—

1868–69.	£
Vote 3, Admiralty Office	182,364
Votes 1, 4, and 6 (for offices now merged in Admiralty)	9,693
	192,057
1870–71.	
Vote 3, including the services provided as above under other votes	159,368
Real decrease over 1868–69	32,689

The fact is therefore that a permanent saving of 32,689*l.* has been effected, whilst there is a temporary charge of 24,611*l.*, showing a present net saving of 8,078*l.* This will of course increase annually, not only by reason of deaths of pensioners, but by the substitution of 'writers' for 'clerks' in vacancies on the establishment until the recognised proportion of 'writers' shall have been reached. At present many 'clerks' are borne in lieu of 'writers.' Extra assistance required at any time to meet emergencies will be obtained from 'writers' temporarily employed, and without a claim to pensions, instead of from 'clerks,' as stated by the reviewer. That gentleman is also wrong in his law as well as in his facts, when he suggests that clerks pensioned on abolition of office are not liable to serve again. The Superannuation Act, 22 Vict. c. 26, sec. xi., makes it an express condition of increased pension that the pensioner shall serve when called upon.

The circumstances connected with the closing of Woolwich and Deptford yards, in pursuance of recommendations from a Committee chosen from both sides of the House, have also been elaborately set forth, and if further justification were needed, it is to be found in the fact that such ships as would be included in a North Sea fleet could not by any possibility get into dock at Woolwich or Deptford. This in a word disposes of all the talk on this subject; but if further information is needed, it may be found in 'Hansard's Reports,' 20 March, 1868, where Mr. Graves, the Conservative member for Liverpool, will be found protesting against further expenditure on Woolwich, Deptford, and Pembroke; Mr. Corry replied that 'Had the motion made in the Committee been confined to 'Woolwich and Deptford, he would have supported it.' In

the same Report is a speech by Mr. Childers, showing how the previous Liberal Government had resolved, so far back as 1865–66, to close Woolwich; how they had ceased to buy plant and to build ships there; and how the Conservative Government which came in in 1866 reversed that policy, recommended though it was by the House of Commons, and by suddenly rushing into shipbuilding all round in one year (a course they receded from so utterly in their engagements for 1869–70 as to decide on building no ships at all) laid the foundation of that distress which has since prevailed among the dockyard men.

Into the working of a retirement and commutation scheme which had the hearty concurrence of the majority of officers affected by it, we do not propose to enter. The public cannot but approve the principle which lays it down as Admiralty law that an admiral who has not pursued his calling for ten years, a captain for seven years, a commander or lieutenant for five years, shall be considered as one who has willingly, or by force of circumstances, virtually abandoned his profession. Certainly the case of Rear-Admiral Sir John Hay, so much insisted on by himself and his political friends as proving a defect in the principle of the scheme, is one of the strongest cases possible in its favour. Surely if an officer who in his forty-ninth year has not been at sea for ten years, is considered to have abandoned the active practice of his profession, no great violence is done to the law of probabilities. It is open to question how far the decision which rejected time spent at the Admiralty as sea time, was a right one; and we are disposed to think that as some officers undoubtedly took office and continued there under the belief that Admiralty time would count, it would have been wiser as a matter of policy, and more just to individuals, either to have allowed the office time as sea time, or to have made special arrangements to meet two or three particular cases. The eminent services of Sir Spencer Robinson, and those of Sir Frederic Grey and Admiral Eden, certainly deserved more consideration than they met with from their own colleagues, and very nearly deprived the country of one of its best administrative officers. As regards Sir John Hay's case, however, the ground was cut from under him by the offer of a flag command, which was declined, on the ground that the gallant admiral, though ready to go to sea in the event of war, preferred his duties at home in time of peace.

We have purposely reserved for the last place in this article the consideration of the statement in the 'Quarterly' that the present Government have neglected to build ships enough

for sea service and for harbour defence, and have wantonly reduced the numbers of men in the fleet. We confess to having been misled on a first perusal by the array of figures and names of ships which make up the body of the statement. The question is not whether in 1870 as many armoured or unarmoured ships are required as were considered necessary in any other year; but whether there is available in 1870 a sufficient naval force to cope with the forces say of two other naval Powers. The answer to this question involves both ships and men, and is, according to our judgment, fully made in the speech of Mr. Childers when introducing the navy estimates last February, and in that which he delivered in Parliament after the outbreak of the war. But, in any case, it is rather curious to find a charge—groundless though it be—of omission to build ships, coming from an advocate of that Administration, the head of which said on the 2nd of April, 1869, 'It is 'true that he had stated in a memorandum he had left at the 'Admiralty that it was not his intention this year (1869–70) '*to lay down any new ships*, armour clads or unarmoured,'* and who divided the Committee of Supply on a motion to reduce the estimates proposed by Mr. Childers, by the amount necessary to commence the very ships pointed to by the 'Quarterly Review' as insufficient in number. No one who has troubled himself—and some trouble is necessary—to master the facts and figures connected with the manning of the navy in relation to the wants of the navy, and with the formation of naval reserves, can doubt for a moment that the real strength of the fleet is far greater at the present moment than it has been for years past. We should like to see some extension of the cadre system to the reserves, and a rule by which all officers in the reserve, and, within due limits as to age and condition, on the retired list, should be compelled as a condition of half-pay to serve for a certain number of days yearly in reserve squadrons. They might take the places—say for a month—half and half at a time, of the officers of the Channel fleet, and so shake off the rust of inaction. But as regards the present effective strength of the navy, consideration being had to the smaller number of men required for the new than for the old class of ship; in view of the elimination of the 'idler' element, and of the rousing out of harbour ship seamen who have been fourteen years in the service, but never a week at sea; † in view of the

* Hansard, session 1869, p. 106.

† When introducing the navy estimates on 28th February, 1870, Mr. Childers said:—'We have "roused out," if I may so call it, from

substitution of continuous service men for pensioners in certain ratings; of the deduction from ship's books of seamen really stationed on shore; and of the plans by which younger and more energetic officers and seamen are secured for active duties,—the real strength of the navy is very far above the apparent strength when that is made to include the persons indicated above. But let us examine the figures.

The Quarterly Reviewer says that during 'the two years 'of reduction that have elapsed since the present Government 'took office, the seamen, marines, and boys of the fleet have 'been reduced by 5,500 men.' The number voted in 1868–69, the last year of the Tory Administration, was 66,770; the number voted in 1870–71, was 61,000. In trying to account for this difference of 5,770, without reference to questions of policy, we find on inquiry that though the number voted in 1868–69 was 66,770, there were actually borne on 1st of January, 1869, only 63,632, a number which the Tory Government themselves had found sufficient and had not therefore increased. The intention of Mr. Corry to reduce the marines by 700 was executed, and the number of seamen, marines, and boys, asked for and voted for 1869–70, was 63,000, precisely the number Mr. Corry had found sufficient, less the marines he meant to reduce. In 1870–71, the number voted was 61,000, being 2,000 less than in the preceding year. But that reduction was thus made up, 500 officers retired by the

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'every corner the men who have contrived for years to evade sea ser-'vice, and we have established a regular roster, by which all the men 'will be sent to sea-going ships after one year's service at home, with 'limited exceptions in certain cases of petty officers. As an example 'of the state of things that prevailed, I may mention that when we 'took the Channel fleet to Gibraltar there were in our flagship, the '"Agincourt," in all five chief petty officers, one of whom had never 'been at sea at all, having been eighteen years in harbour, and another 'had been fifteen years in harbour. As another instance, only last 'week, we had before us an application from four A.B.'s in home ships, 'asking permission to purchase their discharge from service because 'they were ordered to sea. One of them had been nineteen years in 'the service, out of which he had been fourteen years consecutively in 'harbour. Another had been sixteen years in the service, without 'having been at sea at all. A third had been twelve years in the ser-'vice and had never been at sea; and the fourth had been seven and a 'half in the service, and had never been at sea at all. These were all 'continuous service men. I think the Committee will agree with me 'that it is time to put an end to this state of things.' (*Hansard*, p. 926, session 1870.)

retirement scheme; 500 blue-jackets, elderly men and harbour service men who were non-efficients; 700 servants, non-combatants, for whom were substituted marines, accustomed to servants' duties on shore, and who gained 'sea legs' by service afloat; and 300 boys. It thus appears that of the 5,770 men disposed of between 1868–69 and 1870–71, 3,138 were reduced by the Conservatives in one year, 700 more would have been reduced had they kept in office, and the balance is well accounted for in the above statement, taken from the Report of Mr. Childers' speech when introducing the navy estimates for 1870–71.

Equally inaccurate with this statement of reductions is the statement that 'on the 8th March, 1856, the First Lord took 'credit for a reduction of 16 ships and 3,267 men.' The First Lord took credit for having reduced the isolated ships *abroad* to that extent, but the men and ships so withdrawn were formed into the flying squadron, the success of which, as a political force and as a school for seamen, has exceeded the most sanguine expectations.

One important point yet remains to be noticed. The reviewer says that Mr. Childers evaded the question put by Sir John Hay on 8th August, with reference to a statement that the 'Agincourt' and 'Northumberland' had been prevented from going to sea 'in consequence of the almost total absence of 'shells and ammunition at the Bull Point Magazine.' The reviewer entirely omits Mr. Childers' answer, and not only brings forward a refuted charge, but goes on to moralise upon the sad falling off of Ministers in the matter of Parliamentary candour. In plain terms, the charge of evasion and the charge of neglect to supply ammunition are alike false. It seems that experience had shown that so many of the Palliser shot had burst or broken in the guns that the Admiralty resolved to have all such shot tested before shipment. It happened that though there was an ample supply of shot (there was no question at all about shell), it had not all been tested; and, 'in conse-'quence, on the day when the ships sailed, out of 2,380 pro-'jectiles, which was the complement of each, 180, or 8 per cent., 'were short in the "Agincourt," and 119, or 5 per cent., were 'short in the "Northumberland."' These were sent out on the following day in the 'Monarch.' As regards the statement, borne out by facts admitted, that the 'Captain' and 'Monarch' went to sea short of shot, the explanation is perfect. It was given by Mr. Childers at the same time he answered Sir John Hay about the 'Northumberland.' 'The full complement of 'shell is on board, and there is a sufficient supply in store of

'shot of the old pattern; but recently the Admiralty have 'agreed with the War-Office to make shot for the 12-inch 'guns of an altered pattern, and when these ships went to sea 'it was thought better only to take a half supply of the new 'pattern than some of the old and some of the new.' Had need required, they could have shipped an ample supply of effective shot, though not shot of a special pattern. As it was, they took 80 rounds of the new.

We are not of those who deem it prudent, in the press or elsewhere, to discuss publicly the whole resources of the nation. We cannot, however, refrain from pointing out that so far from preparations for harbour defence having been neglected, the idea embodied in the 'Staunch' has been matured and extended in the 'Plucky,' and that no less than twelve of these 'Snakes' and 'Scourges' are already far advanced towards completion, while the works on the 'Devastation,' 'Thunderer,' and 'Fury' (the latter said by the 'Quarterly' not to have been begun)—the formidable turreted, mastless, ships, throwing 600-pounder shots from four guns—are so forward that they could be got ready for commission in 1871. In August last orders were given to build by contract four new coast-defence ships of this 'Magdala' class, double-turret ships, carrying 21-ton guns. These will be ready by the end of 1871. We shall not minutely describe steps taken by the present Board of Admiralty to increase the numbers of particular classes of armoured and unarmoured ships; but we affirm that as a matter of fact those steps have been eminently successful, and that the British fleet is at this moment in a condition to cope not only with those who were stated by a distinguished naval Member of Parliament to be 'masters of the Channel,'—alas! for the French fleet!—but to hold its own against the navies of all enemies.

In conclusion, we feel assured that the liberal instalment of thorough reform long called for and long deferred, which has been contributed by the present Board of Admiralty, will be yet more thoroughly appreciated by the country, when the seed they have sown shall have borne full fruit. Even now, in spite of the discomfort and distress occasioned to individual persons and classes by necessary changes fresh in its memory, and to some extent warping its judgment, the British public is not ungrateful. And we confidently believe that in respect to the naval resources of the country, in ships, seamen, stores, and administrative control, very important improvements have been accomplished, which render the British navy at the present time fully able to perform any service that may be required of it.

ART. VI.—1. *Science et Philosophie.* Par M. AUG. LAUGEL, ancien élève de l'École Polytechnique, ex-Ingénieur des Mines. 12mo. Paris: 1863.

2. *Les Problèmes de la Nature.* Par AUGUSTE LAUGEL. 12mo. Paris: 1864.

3. *Les Problèmes de la Vie.* Par AUGUSTE LAUGEL. 12mo. Paris: 1867.

THE volumes we have placed at the head of this article are connected, not solely as works of the same author, but as containing, in their series and several subjects, a general view of the physical science of our time, in the most advanced stages of its progress. The position of M. Laugel as private secretary to the Duc d'Aumale—a prince whose learning and many accomplishments, even more than his birth, have given him merited reputation in the country of his exile—may be recognised as favourable in various ways to a work of this nature. A Frenchman, and intimate with all that is best in the science and literature of France, his quiet residence at Richmond and familiarity with English institutions, have afforded M. Laugel facilities for portraying modern science in its largest aspects, and under those connexions which now more than ever tend to give it unity as a whole. He is not, we believe, himself a practical labourer in the field. If this be a disadvantage, there is some compensation for it in the larger and more impartial scope given to that intelligence, which seeks to combine elements of knowledge, separate in their earlier growth, but now claiming to be blended by higher generalisations. Our author stands fully on a level with the scientific acquirements of his time, as well as with those doctrines and speculations which have recently grown out of them. In truth, he everywhere shows himself disposed to adopt the latter in their extremest form. Whether from natural temperament of mind (a powerful agent even in the acceptance of scientific evidence), or from other causes, he boldly confronts, and handles without reserve, all older and more orthodox opinions on the great questions he approaches. The volumes before us, small in size as books, while thus large and bold in scope, are necessarily wanting in many of those details and illustrations which novel opinions require for their justification. This gives an aspect of dogmatism to M. Laugel's writings; not, indeed, without some reality, from the evident bias of mind to which we have just alluded. He often ex-

presses as established truths things which are still matter of doubt and controversy.

Apart from this comment, we can give unequivocal praise to the style of these volumes. M. Laugel has an epigrammatic felicity of expression, frequent in French writers even on the most abstruse topics. He is occasionally somewhat too florid in phrase, but there is no scientific pedantry about him. He comes at once to his subject without parade of preface, and puts what he has to say fairly in front. Whatever be thought of his doctrines, they are at least honestly and clearly pronounced. If expressed sometimes too dogmatically, you see that they are really his opinions, and reached by study and earnest thought on the several subjects before him.

In our review of these volumes, we do not think it necessary to follow M. Laugel's course through all the topics with which he deals; but shall rather seek to select such as may best illustrate those methods and attainments of physical science which so strikingly characterise the age in which we are living. A summary view of the progress and state of this vast department of human knowledge we gave in an article some twelve years ago. Since that time the steps in advance have been not less gigantic than those we then described; rendering the present century, still not near its end, the most remarkable in the history of mankind. Happy would it be could we record commensurate change and progress in the moral conditions of human existence, of men and of nations of men! Such golden age is yet a Utopian dream of the future. The narrative of the year just expired tells nothing of it; save in the solitary hope that the horrors of warfare, thus augmented by the new weapons which science has furnished, may check at least, if not annul, the repetition of such calamities to the civilised world.

The first and second of M. Laugel's volumes, entitled 'Science et Philosophie' and 'Problèmes de la Nature,' discuss, in the spirit and style we have just denoted, the general principles, aims, and methods of modern science. His mind readily embarks in those bolder enterprises of speculation which formerly could only be deemed the vagaries of thought; but have now been sanctioned by deeper research into the mysterious laws of nature—more wonderful in their reality than any imaginations of untutored genius or of the wildest fancy. With the new licence, however, thus obtained, there is still need of much control over this modern spirit of phi-

losophy. Hypothesis—in many cases an admirable minister to the discovery of truth—is often stretched too far, and into regions inaccessible to human research. The interlopers and dabblers in science—those who, to take Lord Bacon's words, 'will not wait the harvest, but attempt to mow the moss and 'reap the green corn'—are most at fault here; but these are many and active in their generation. The phraseology of true science is easily caught up and easily misapplied; and the genuine coin becomes discredited by the base. This evil partially remedies itself through the wonted incongruity of all such naked hypotheses. In physics nothing that is unproved can ever find permanent place.

On this general topic, however, we must carry our remarks a step further. That truth is the sole legitimate object of human inquiry is easily and familiarly said; but in seeking for truth it is useful, and even needful, to recognise in the outset that there are things which man *troweth* not—things which, though *realities* in themselves, cannot be compassed by thought, and lie therefore beyond the scope of human research. In every inquiry we are bound to regard primarily what has been done, and what yet remains to be done. But also it is well to know and ever hold in mind the existence of these *unknowable realities*—a caution happily expressed by Malebranche, the most eminent disciple of Descartes: 'Il 'est bon de comprendre clairement qu'il y a des choses qui sont 'absolument incompréhensibles.' It is into their unfathomable depths that the metaphysical mind loves to dive; bringing back little more than a new coinage of words and phrases, more fitted to entangle and delude the understanding than to enlighten it. Speculations and reveries of this kind indeed are most prone to grow up where science has not yet begun to work by experimental research. The ancient philosophers, Greek and Roman, entertained them as a sort of intellectual luxury; those of mediæval time as a cloister occupation and refuge from the barbarism surrounding them. Even the most savage races of men cling to such questions, in rude expression of their wonder at those mysterious changes and convulsions of the material world to which they, in common with the philosopher, are unceasingly subjected.

We dwell the rather upon this point because the physical science of our day is marked especially by its close approach to these insoluble questions. Modern discovery, whether dealing with the infinitely great or the infinitesimally small, whether with stars or atoms, has been emboldened by its own success, and presents problems to us for future solution which

Swift would have related as the reveries of Laputan philosophy. The Cavendishes and Wollastons of a prior generation, who shrunk back with a certain distrust and alarm even from their own discoveries, are now nowhere to be found. It may be admitted that many of what once appeared insuperable barriers have been removed, and that it is frequently as rash in science to impose limits as to seek to penetrate beyond them. Yet the few single words, Space, Time, Matter, Force, Motion, and Life bring us into direct contact with problems which, though based on innumerable phenomena, forming the totality of our physical knowledge, leave reason utterly at fault. Take for instance the old question regarding that very Matter itself, which we are now so boldly handling, through the properties of its ultimate atoms and molecules. Is it actually created by the same Supreme Power which formed it into worlds and living existences? Or is it in itself eternal—the primitive material with which the Creator has thus wonderfully worked in evoking all that we see in the universe around us? It is obvious that reason is vainly spent in seeking to encounter a question where, *though one of the alternatives must necessarily be true,* no proof or argument can possibly be brought to determine which is so.

The same with regard to the Infinite, whether of Space, Time, or Number. The mathematician may give technical expression to it, in certain forms to which his science conducts him, and the metaphysician may revel in the very vagueness of the conceptions it conveys; but it is a word unreal to all thought, and philosophy is bound to be sparing in the use of it. It might be well too were Theology, in dealing with these terms of Infinity and Eternity, more thoughtful and forbearing on the doctrines and denunciations to which it applies them. Eternity has been well described as 'a negative idea clothed with a 'positive name.' Conceptions so vast are, in fact, only described by negative terms—the endless, the incomprehensible. We are all more or less enslaved by words; but it is the proper business, equally of religion and philosophy, to throw off this thraldom, when truth, as often happens, is fettered or distorted by it.

We have just named Matter, Force, Motion, and Life, as terms which in their most general sense give foundation to all science, and at the same time express its most profound and perplexing problems. The word Force especially, known to us through its relation to Matter and Motion in Space, taxes the thought by a sort of harsh compulsion of use. It is a term too variously familiar in common life to be thus largely appropriated by

science. No present definition has rescued it, in this higher sense, from a certain metaphysical obscurity of meaning. We know Force as a reality only by what we term its effects; and we *pluralise* the word in speaking of the several Forces manifested in the phenomena of the natural world—while at the same time finding, in these very phenomena, a correlation, by interchanges of material effects, so exactly equivalent that nothing which we can term Force or Power is lost in the translation. In this latter fact—one of the greatest discoveries of modern science—we gain a certain unity for the problem, in the conception of a single Power which, indestructible in itself, acts in different modes and degrees throughout the material universe—the source of all motion and change in the greatest and in the most minute phenomena of nature. But this at best is a cloudy conception, insusceptible of any direct proof, and incapable of being moulded into a definition. The abstract idea looms before us, but escapes before we can grasp it.

Nor can we shelter our ignorance under any of the various terms used by philosophers to designate this power—*δυνάμεις*, *ἐνέργεια*, vis viva, vis mortua, dynamic energy, potential energy, 'lebendige Kräfte,' or whatever else the diversities or impotence of language have suggested. These phrases, even were they congruous, do little more than repeat the problem in new words. We are still dealing with what is unperceived by any of our senses—itself, for aught we can tell, immaterial—and known only as the cause of sensible changes in the Matter around us. Nor do we gain much here by seeking, as some have done, to conceive of Force as a mere expression of the intestine changes which Matter itself, in its atomical parts, is ever undergoing, and which are in perpetual translation and interchange from one material form to another. This is shifting the difficulty without solving it. Whence come these motions and innumerable interchanges in Matter? What is the power initiating and propagating them? To say that it is one inherent in Matter itself thickens rather than dispels the darkness. M. Laugel enters into these questions, and we give the following passage as a good example of his style:—

'La force est ce qu'il y a de plus mystérieux dans la nature. Elle est dans la substance et n'est pas la substance; ou plutôt la substance étant perpétuellement active et passive, en tant que passive elle subit l'action de la force, en tant qu'active elle devient force à son tour. Car il ne faut point imaginer la force comme quelque chose d'extérieur à la matière ordinaire, comme une entité d'une espèce particulière qui se mêlerait aux corps, y entrerait, en sortirait, au gré des circonstances. Avant qu'on eût bien compris le caractère de l'universalité de la *force*, telle était l'idée qu'on se faisait des forces particulières. On parlait

du fluide électrique, du calorique, de la gravité, comme d'essences réelles, sur-ajoutées en quelque sorte à la matière. Le langage de la physique n'est pas encore débarrassé de ces locutions vicieuses.'

M. Laugel here and elsewhere shows the intrinsic difficulties of the subject, but provides no new or feasible way out of them. The science of our day has instructed us largely, though yet imperfectly, in the atomic and molecular properties of Matter; and in those multiform changes by addition, subtraction, and substitution on which Chemistry, as a special branch of knowledge, is founded. But it tells nothing of that secret *motive cause* on which these changes depend, and by which they are translated from one portion of Matter to another, under exact equivalents of power and effect.

It is not surprising that this problem of Force, as grand as obscure, presenting itself in naked form even to the rudest intelligence, should have been seized upon with avidity in all ages. Some of the questions just denoted struck the ancient philosophers as they do us, and were answered with even greater audacity from the absence of those checks which inductive science imposes. The terms τὸ πάσχον and τὸ ποιοῦν briefly express the relation of Matter and Force in the Greek philosophy. Cicero and Seneca both denote the points in question clearly and compendiously. The science of our own time, though it illustrates these relations in a thousand ways unknown before—though it may be said to have added a new element of power to those already known, and by gigantic efforts of human genius to have converted all to the practical uses of man—yet, as regards the internal nature of Matter and Force severally, has scarcely carried our knowledge beyond that of our predecessors. Motion and change show us the results of their relation, and with these science has its dealings, leaving still open the cardinal question, What is Matter? What is Force? Some philosophers, as we have seen, standing on the brink of these profound problems, merge all Matter in centres and lines of Force; others see Force only in the conditions and changes of Matter itself. We have half-a-dozen books and papers lying before us in which this question is handled, under various conceptions of the points in dispute. And many others are announced as about to appear.

In the recent multiplicity of these writings on Force, as an element in the natural world, we find justification for thus discussing the subject. The ambiguities besetting the term in its various relations have been rather multiplied than lessened by conflicting championship. Even in the case of Heat as a force this comment has its application. This great power, so essen-

tial to life and all existence on earth, is now deemed to be a mode of motion of Matter itself; and its variations to depend on interchanges of such atomic motions, tending to equalise their degree, or cause their conversion into mechanical or other kinds of force. The main fountain of Heat to us, as well as of Light, is the Sun. This great body projects, through the ether of intervening space, waves or impulses, so variously and wonderfully propertied as to produce, on reaching the earth, those several effects of light, heat, and chemical action, of which the solar spectrum is the simple but sublime interpreter. To the Sun, then, we must look for that astonishing initial force, whatever it be, which from age to age combines and emits those complex undulations of which Heat and Light are the exponents to us on earth, while they alike pervade every part of the solar system. We may admit that Heat, as expressed by temperature in the grosser forms of matter, is simply due to intestine movements of their particles; but we cannot exclude the Sun as the present primary source of that power which these motions distribute and equalise. The discoveries of Tyndall show by what subtle molecular adjustments the heat thus received is prevented from freely radiating back into space. The question whether the sun loses by this unceasing emission of power—for we are not authorised to call it *substance*—and how this loss, if real, is repaired, have been subjected to various recent hypotheses, but without any certain or even plausible conclusion. If indeed the notion of necessary repair be admitted, we are called upon to provide for more than two million times the amount which the sun transmits to the earth, such being the relative proportion of this power lost—if lost—by projection into circumambient space.

Latent Heat again—or what we are called upon to regard as synonymous, *latent force* or potential energy—is among the conceptions which modern science has embodied in its doctrines; a difficult conception, indeed, but based on the apparent phenomena of bodies passing successively through the solid, fluid, and gaseous states. Even if Dr. Andrews' recent discoveries did not throw doubt on the interpretation of these phenomena, we should still have to ask, What is this latent force of Heat? The name implies an existing reality. In what does this reality consist? Theory can only answer, In some interior specific condition or arrangement of atoms, lasting until excited to fresh change. But see how much obscurity hangs over all this, when closely analysed! How much obscurity, too, in that general conception of *potential force or energy* stored up in matter, which furnishes so many startling illustrations to

the scientific teaching of the day. It is deemed possible to say that Heat and Light, as forces or active powers, absorbed originally from the sun by vegetable life on the earth, and following the conversion of the latter into coal, have thus lain dormant for untold ages in a mineral form, to be finally extricated in the fires and furnaces of our own time. We cannot disprove this, or bring other hypothesis to meet the facts. But when we speak of heat as a force, consisting integrally in certain atomic motions of bodies, which force may be pent up for ages in these atomic recesses, yet ever ready for extrication, we are bound to look fairly at the abstract conceptions these things involve, if indeed they can be truly understood in any other way than as simply expressing phenomena. The word Force, with all the adjuncts imposed upon it, still looms before us, as a mysterious symbol rather than an intelligible reality.

We have been led to dwell long on this subject from feeling that the conception of Force—the very backbone, we may call it, of physical science—has been grievously disjointed by the various and vague use made of the term. Whether any word or phrase could be devised giving more unity to the idea, and to the phenomena it embodies, may be doubtful. We do not ourselves venture to suggest one. The radical difficulty lies in the mysteries of nature itself, which we have not sufficiently penetrated to draw this unity from their depths. Such difficulty becomes more manifest as we pursue the subject into other of its ramifications. If we do so here, it is less for the purpose of exposing the deficiencies of our knowledge than to show what science has done, or is yet seeking to do, in the several cases where Force is brought in as the exponent of phenomena.

We pass over mechanical forces, though to these also some of the foregoing remarks will apply. Coming to Gravitation, we are on smoother ground as regards the sequence of facts and the phraseology expressing them, though still ignorant of the intimate nature of this great power of the universe. Unlike other forces in the sublime simplicity of its laws, this very simplicity becomes a bar to research. The legacy of ignorance which Newton left behind him, declaring, with the wonted candour of genius, that he did so, has descended to his successors in the inquiry, who must, in their turn, bequeath it to posterity. Several mathematicians and experimentalists of our own time—Faraday among the latter—have adventured on the research, with the especial object of bringing Gravity into some direct relation with the other forms of force, but hitherto in

vain. And we are compelled still to abide in the simple view of Gravity as a force incorporate in matter itself throughout the universe, and under every shape which matter can assume, in our own or other worlds. This itself is a grand conception; but it is a solitary and shapeless grandeur, which we might well desire to exchange for more substantial knowledge.

But while speaking of Gravity, can we rightly exclude from the name or conception of Force those *repulsions* which we recognise in the material world; most obviously in atomic actions and changes, and in electric and magnetic phenomena; but also, as we have some reason to suppose, in cosmical changes beyond the limits of our globe. Boscovich admitted such repulsions as a part of his theory of forces, and some modern physicists (we pray for a happier word denoting them) have adopted the same view. But it is a point less regarded generally than it ought to be by those who think or write on this subject. Other modes of action, again, we designate by the one short word, the use or abuse of which we are now considering. Centrifugal force, though recognised only as an antagonism, yet has a special reality as such. The force of cohesion, denoting perhaps only one mode of action of a larger power, must nevertheless be admitted into use as the exponent of very important natural phenomena, which we cannot otherwise illustrate than by this or other equivalent terms. To treat fully indeed of all that may be attributed to the atomic and molecular forces of matter would be to fill a volume with facts, theories, and conjectures. The phenomena of crystallisation alone, seen under the microscope, and duly appreciated in all their bearings, bring before us a marvellous exemplification of these occult forces and actions in the atomic world.

There yet remain certain powers in the world of creation which, whatever their affinities to those already named, require to be regarded apart, viz., the Vital Forces, and the Force of Volition. In the first of these terms we indicate that mysterious agency which gives form, function, and hereditary succession to all living organisations of the earth, affording to science problems of supreme interest and supreme difficulty. The notion of a *vital principle* has been rejected by many physiologists as unproved and needless. But here, again, it is the old conflict of words. That there is some power or force, call it what we will, working upon matter as its subject or instrument in the creation and maintenance of the various forms of life; and that this power, however connected, has its own special character, cannot be denied without casting off at once all that our senses as well as reason teach us. The simple fact of the

transmission of hereditary likeness through successive generations, is in itself a volume of argument on the subject. To say that a *nisus*, or force or forces, inherent in matter itself, can create a series of living beings of definite forms and most complex functions, is either a naked assertion without proof, or a virtual admission of Vital Force under another form of words. The generation of life from life is, and probably ever will be, one of the insoluble mysteries of philosophy. If asked what this Vital Force is, we may answer by the counter questions—What is Gravitation? what that force which puts the ether of space into those marvellous motions which we receive as light and heat? These problems are all of the same kind, involving questions with which no present reasoning or conception can cope.

We come last to a power closely associated with those by which life is engendered; viz., the Force of Volition, of the Will, an entity not less real in its action on matter than any of those other unseen powers with which we have been dealing. If, indeed, we phrase the whole question as involving the Origin of Force, there is none so direct and explicit in the relation of antecedents and effects. And there is none of which we have so clear a knowledge through the consciousness of our own powers. Man feels that he has a will; he knows that his physical and moral forces are governed by it; and he concludes that the operation of forces not directed by an intelligent will would lead to the return of chaos. We *will* a certain bodily action, and the action instantly follows; as mechanical in its effects as the fall of a heavy body or the stroke of the steam-hammer. Whatever definition of force be adopted, this comes integrally under it; though the question as to its nature and origin be still wholly unresolved.*

If we have pursued this subject of Force to the weariness of our readers, we must seek excuse from the large part these questions are made to play, in the science as well as speculation of our time, and from the frequent confusion introduced by the vague or incongruous use of the word itself. We do not profess to have done more than simply indicate what is yet wanting to our consistent comprehension of the idea. Human reason is perhaps incompetent to grasp in its entirety this great problem of Force; but a patient research into, and strict analysis of, phenomena may give us nearer approach to

* An admirable paper by Sir J. Herschel, on the 'Origin of Force,' may most profitably be studied in reference to this point, as to all others connected with the general problem.

that unity of power which we have cause to consider the ultimate truth. There is little chance of entering *per saltum* into these secret places of nature. And the fine saying of Pascal may profitably be remembered: 'L'univers nous écrase. C'est 'le privilége de l'homme de savoir qu'il est écrasé.'

From the forces moving matter to the matter moved—a step downwards, it might seem, but which is in effect a descent from the clouds to the *terra firma* of physical science. We might, indeed, plunge into mysteries here also, if seeking for a definition of Matter in the abstract, and that relation of its existence to the percipient mind which has been the metaphysical wrangle of ages. When Mr. Mill somewhere defines it as the 'permanent possibility of sensation,' we see, though dimly, what he means, but gain nothing by the definition. Fortunately, experimental science is seldom led far astray by the vague phrases of philosophy.

It regards matter in a real sense, as made up of parts or atoms of inconceivable minuteness and mobility—each atom, whatever its elementary nature, having its individual properties and relations to others, whether similar or dissimilar in kind—which properties and relations, brought into action by what we call forces, from within or without, give origin to all the motions, changes, and endless combinations and forms, living and lifeless, which we see around us. In saying this, we are denoting what is the true foundation of Chemistry—that great science which, while embracing some of the most important objects of human research, practical as well as purely scientific, is now so closely blended by correlation with other sciences that all limit is lost, even to a definition. The phenomena of electricity—those of light and heat in their innumerable aspects,—animal and vegetable physiology—even astronomy and the mechanical sciences, and, yet more, all the practical arts, are thus interwoven with chemistry—a union continually advancing with the advance of knowledge; as must of necessity be the case in a science based on the elementary parts and motions of matter, and thus related to the forces on which these motions depend. The word Chemistry, feeble and partial as originally applied, now appropriates to itself a vast space in the domain of human knowledge.

We have stated our design of briefly illustrating in this article some of the more marked characteristics and attainments of recent science. Before dilating on that branch of it which thus deals with matter through its infinitesimal parts, we might invite the notice of our readers to that loftier study which

has for its province the heavens and their numberless worlds. The progress of astronomy during the last few years has not been less rapid than that of the other sciences, with some of which it has become united by new and unexpected relations. To the most remarkable of these we shall have occasion immediately to refer, though with another object. But the discoveries due to spectrum analysis, the greatest astronomical achievements of our time, have been so fully described in a late number of this Review, that we may best avoid repetition by hastening to another subject, though loath to quit one replete with grandeur in itself, and exemplifying so wonderfully the genius and intellectual prowess of man in his higher grades of cultivation.

We revert then to Chemistry, the objects of which as a science and its rapid and various progress we have just denoted. Our further notice, however, must be limited to a few only of the attainments of recent years. A large proportion of these may be said to belong to, or to come in illustration of, the atomic theory, of which the two great processes of analysis and synthesis, in their most general sense, are at once the exponents and instruments. To this atomic theory we shall have occasion to allude again. Meanwhile we must treat of it here as practically the foundation of modern chemistry, of its researches, doctrines, and nomenclature. In its origin a rude and unformed bequest of ancient philosophy, it is now fashioned and perfected into a system to which the attributes of number, weight, and proportion give a character of proof next to mathematical in kind. The power of predicting results, and obtaining them after prediction, is the high prerogative of the chemist of our day. He may feel justly proud of those tables which, in the synthetical exactness of their series, even when most complex, express at once the certainty of the facts and the subtlety of the processes by which they were obtained. The gaps in these series have been gradually filled up, in accordance with the laws of numerical proportion, which determine the relations of atoms in their simplest form. The secondary relations of compound atoms, or *molecules* as they are distinctively called, show the same fixity of combination according to atomic weights; even the most complex union of compound bodies ever taking place in multiples of the combining proportions. The curious facts regarding chemical equivalents, or the substitution of one elementary body for another in a given compound, all attest the same law of definite proportions; which, even apart from experiment, might be presumed a necessary consequence and corollary to the atomic theory. Securely aided by this theory, the chemist

penetrates deeply into the intimate constitution of matter; and bringing this knowledge into practice, is able, by chemical processes, to extricate the most brilliant dyes from common coal-tar; and to derive from the nauseous dregs of distillation various compounds gifted with fruit odours, fragrant enough to serve for the most delicate confectionary.

These topics, however, involve too many details to allow of our following them further. But having named analysis and synthesis, the terms which summarily denote the processes nature employs, or man devises, to bring about the changes in question, we will briefly advert to the new channels, as they may fitly be called, which have recently been opened out to analytic chemistry. A new method of research may well take rank among the highest discoveries, when, as often happens, it is the prolific parent of them.

The first of these methods is that of the Spectrum analysis; already abounding, as many of our readers are aware, in wonderful results, though but a dozen years ago the bare suggestion of a few men of genius who looked forward in advance of their time. The discoveries due to it are cosmical in the largest sense. They directly associate chemistry with astronomy, and give us a new knowledge of the sun and fixed stars which it might well seem beyond human compass to attain; but, being attained, becomes the best augury of what may hereafter be reached by similar research. Descending from celestial to earthly analysis, we may affirm it as probable that the four new metals—cæsium, rubidium, thallium, and indium—would never have become known to man but for those delicate spectrum lines, betokening in each case the presence of some element hitherto unseen by human eye. Nor without this aid should we have learnt that lithium, before deemed one of the rarest of metals, is diffused more universally than almost any other in the organic as well as inorganic matter of our globe; attesting by this diffusion, however infinitesimally minute the quantities concerned, some hidden use in the economy of nature.

From this method again we obtain further evidence, were such necessary, of the inconceivable minuteness of those atoms and molecules of matter which have hitherto been subjected to the grosser processes of chemical analysis. The detection, by its yellow spectrum line, of less than a millionth part of a grain of sodium in the air, is a striking instance in point; and many equivalent examples might be given. In truth, this very minuteness of the ultimate parts—the *σώματα ἀδιαίρετα*—of matter, as well as their exquisite mobility, if not indeed their *unceasing motion*, are necessary to any conception we can form

of the phenomena of the material world. We must not here go aside to plunge into the depths of the atomic theory, otherwise we might add to these postulates that of *determinate figure*—a necessity, as we must regard it, of the functions they perform—the only key to the phenomena of definite proportions, isomorphism, allotropy, and other facts and doctrines embodied in chemical science. Adaptations, perfect and constant such as these phenomena present, can hardly co-exist but with forms equally perfect and permanent. But admitting this, what system of atomic morphology can be constructed to meet all the conditions of the problem? Nearly seventy kinds of matter are still elementary to our knowledge. Are we to suppose different figures of the component atoms of each of these? Or in sight of this difficulty, may we presume that many of them are really compounds of simpler elements, though beyond the reach of discovery as such? or allotropic conditions of the same element, as Dumas conjectures regarding chlorine, iodine, and bromine? Questions still more intricate offer themselves when we come to the molecular compounds of atoms. Here we are almost compelled, on physical conditions, to suppose a variety of configurations, as great as the diversity of properties which these molecules exhibit; and which are in no way more curiously exhibited than in their various action on the animal economy. A slight difference in the proportions even of the same ingredients in a compound, makes the difference between a food and a poison. Professor Tyndall's experiments on the transmission of radiant heat through gases have already furnished conclusions of great interest to our knowledge of molecular physics. We would willingly look to his labours and genius for further exploration in this field of research.

In close connexion with these questions, we must refer to another new method of analysis—the growth, it may be said, of our own time. We allude to the admirable researches of the late Master of the Mint, whose death (following soon after that of a still more illustrious philosopher) we have much cause to deplore. Professor Graham, in devoting his long labours to the illustration of the phenomena of the effusion and diffusion of gases through each other, and through intervening septa of different substances, has done more than any other experimentalist in *materialising* atoms and molecules to our comprehension; by showing their distinctive and relative modes of action; their separation even from what we call chemical combination by other than chemical reactions; and their different capacity and rate of penetration through the porous media used to effect this separation. When we are told that the pores of

graphite (one substance employed as a septum) are so minute that a gas cannot pass through in mass, but in molecules only, we obtain a certain relative comprehension of atomic elements, and an index to collateral inquiry in this very interesting branch of physics. Such inquiry cannot fail to be pursued further. In his paper on the molecular mobility of gases, Mr. Graham enlarges upon and justifies the belief that continual intestine movement of atoms or molecules is an essential condition of matter in a gaseous state, these movements being different in different gases. This inference indeed is almost inevitable from the experiments he has recorded; and serves to interpret other known phenomena, which scarcely admit of being otherwise explained.

Let us here notice in passing that Lucretius, that wonderful poet and the predictor of much that has been proved and amplified by later research, foreshadows in some sort the recent discoveries of Graham and others, on the diffusibility and penetrability of different kinds of matter (lib. ii. 288, *et seq.*). His great poem deserves to be read in its relation to more than one of the doctrines of our own day.*

We might almost mention among new modes of analysis, were it not that the products evade examination, those beautiful experiments of Tyndall, in which he decomposes highly attenuated vaporous compounds by the solar or electric beam, passed through the tubes containing them. The delicate aërial clouds, gradually developed in these tubes, while they illustrate the exquisite atomic tenuity of matter, suggest analogies or explanations of other physical phenomena occurring in our atmosphere, as well as remotely in the universe around us.

Before quitting the atomic theory, we must briefly notice the remarkable conclusions drawn from the theory of gases by Sir W. Thomson and Clarke Maxwell, as to the minuteness of the molecules composing them—a minuteness of which a hundred millionth part of a centimetre is but an approximate expression. More recently again, Sir W. Thomson has denoted what he considers evidence of fixed physical limits to the smallness of

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* Speaking thus of Lucretius, we are tempted to transcribe a few lines we have not seen quoted in reference to the topic, now so much discussed, of the early condition of man, and the order in which he successively fashioned weapons and implements to his use.

> 'Arma antiqua, manus, ungues, dentesque fuerunt;
> Et Lapides, et item sylvarum fragmina rami.
> Posterius Ferri vis est, Ærisque reperta.
> *Sed prior Æris erat quam Ferri cognitus usus.*'

atoms and molecules—one very ingeniously derived from the contact-electricity of metals—others drawn from the theories of capillary attraction, and from that of gaseous actions; severally affording proof that such limits do really exist. These conclusions, though we can in no way contravene them in theory, and though they express what may perhaps be called necessary physical conditions, yet are hardly determinate enough to be recorded as scientific truths. The huge array of figures which modern science so often forces upon us in describing each extremity of the scale of magnitudes in nature—whether of matter, or space or motion—often creates distrust in men, even the most intelligent, not accustomed to physical evidence. The concurrent and co-ordinate nature of this evidence, and the power it so frequently gives of predicting results, furnish all needful reply to scepticism of this kind. That it should exist can hardly create surprise.

A word more we must say of the late Master of the Mint, in reference to the most recent of his researches—that which justified him, as he considered, in placing hydrogen, under the name of Hydrogenium, among the metallic bodies. We have little doubt that he was right in ratifying a suspicion which had before been broached to this effect. The singular resemblance to metallic alloys of the compounds of hydrogen with certain metals, scarcely admits of other conclusion than that this gas, the lightest of all known matter, is itself really the vapour of a very volatile metal! The most striking testimony is that derived from the absorption of hydrogen by palladium; amounting in some cases to nearly 1,000 times the volume of the latter metal; and producing a compound, strongly characterised in its properties, as shown both in the results of charging with hydrogen, and in those which attend and follow its exclusion from the alloy.

This discovery, if we may so deem it, has much value, not solely in itself but also in the collateral suggestions it affords. Familiar as we seem to be with Oxygen, there are still certain anomalies regarding this greatest element of the natural world which are awaiting further solution. Such are its allotropic states, and the true theory of ozone. The same may even more especially be said of that other great element Nitrogen, so wonderfully associated with oxygen in the atmosphere of our globe—not chemically, we are told, and yet everywhere and always present in such exact proportion, that it is difficult not to suppose some atomic relation beyond that of mere admixture. But taking nitrogen singly, as an element to our present knowledge, we know few chemical objects better

fitted to stimulate and reward research. Considered in its simplest state as a gas, it is chiefly defined by negative qualities; while in its compounds it furnishes some of the most violent agents, explosive and poisonous, which nature or art has produced. These explosive actions are explained by the phrase of *instability of combination* applied to them; but no explanation has yet reached those by which living organisms are affected. The natural relations, indeed, of this element to animal life, both in its structure and functions, are matter of high interest. Nor must we omit those recent discoveries which give to Nitrogen a cosmical existence in planetary space, together with hydrogen and the several metals which have yielded their lines to the spectrum. Its relations to hydrogen in the form of ammonia are among the most important in the economy of nature; while the strange alloy produced by the union of ammonia and mercury affords suggestions which may fitly become the basis of future research. Under the same view we would notice the singular and exceptional relations of nitrogen to titanium and boron—all these things concurring to furnish motives as well as means for further inquiry.

In dwelling thus long on these parts of chemistry, we have little space left to speak of the synthetical branch of the science; though this too has been greatly advanced of late years by the labours of chemists both at home and abroad. The most interesting discoveries here are those which bring the chemistry of organic life into connexion with that of the inorganic world. By processes successful in their subtlety, various products have come out from the laboratory, identical with those which were before considered exclusively due to the functions of animal or vegetable life. In regarding, however, these and other kindred achievements, we must not view analysis and synthesis as oppugnant or detached methods of research. The processes by which atoms and molecules are rent asunder from their compounds have close relation to those by which they are restored to the same, or to other combinations, often new and unforeseen. They mutually aid and abet each other, illustrating in this that great law of continuity which prevails throughout all nature.

In mentioning this law—first distinctly stated by Leibnitz, but verified and largely amplified since—we may again briefly advert to the recent experiments of Dr. Andrews, annulling the old view that the solid, liquid, and gaseous forms are severally assumed *per saltum*, and proving a continuous and gradual change from one of these states to another, subject to conditions of heat and pressure. These researches we regard

as highly important; not solely in relation to the theory of gaseous bodies, but also to the doctrines of heat, and generally to all phenomena in which atomic actions are concerned.

We cannot close this short sketch of the state of chemical science without adverting to one great *hiatus* (*valde deflendus*, we may add) in this great department of knowledge; the want, namely, of some single System of Chemistry, which, basing its classification and nomenclature on philosophical theory, may give true relation and congruity to facts, now become appalling from their multitude and various interpretation. We have before us at this moment four several volumes, the works of chemists of high and merited eminence; each adopting and carrying into details its own special principles of arrangement and nomenclature. In some cases these differences involve cardinal points of chemical theory. In all cases they are embarrassing to the student; and very especially so in organic chemistry, the newest and most arduous department of the science. Still, we can hardly feel surprise at the deficiency we state, seeing the enormous complexities of the subject; augmenting rather than diminishing with the discoveries successively made and the new objects and methods disclosed. The various problems left only partially solved regarding atoms and molecules—their figure, magnitude, motion, relative weights and affinities—may well explain the difficulty of obtaining one single system, sufficient and permanent. Take the example of what are called 'compound radicals'—particular compounds having fixity enough to act as bases in other combinations. This conception is forced upon us by facts; but these facts admit of being differently construed, and actually are so by different chemists. With all this, we cannot doubt that Science, advancing in every direction, will eventually construct some chemical system more simple and complete than any we now possess; though still not reaching that principle of unity and power towards which, as a basis, the aspirations of all scientific men are directed.

From Chemistry we come, by the correlation of numerous phenomena, to Electricity—that wonderful element—scarcely three centuries ago recognised only in the flashes of the thunderstorm, or in the trivial attractive power of amber and a few other bodies—now known to us as one of the great powers of the universe; penetrating and pervading all matter, and present under one form or other in every act of physical change. In no department of science has the research of the present century been more active and successful. The advance of later years

indeed has consisted not so much in the discovery of new elementary laws, as in the application of those already known. New modes of evolution, and augmentation of power through induction and the conversion of mechanical into electrical force, furnish notable instances of such progress. And yet more those inventions, admirable alike for their genius and boldness, by which the Electric Telegraph has been spread over the globe, and subjected to man's control even in the uttermost depths of its ocean channel. The relations of Electricity to Magnetism, though the identity of the element of power is proved, have received little further development; and many obscure questions are here awaiting solution from some higher law yet undiscovered. The influence of electricity on the vital functions is still a very unsettled problem, and the conflicting results obtained by experiment impair the evidence which Science requires for their adoption.

But the great mystery here, to which all others are subordinate, centres in the simple question, What is Electricity? what the actual nature of the element thus wonderfully propertied, and, as we have reason to believe, fulfilling in other and remote worlds the functions through which we know it in our own? In that general conception of the Unity of Creation, expressed heretofore in the phenomena of Light and Gravitation, but now enforced upon us by so many new and unexpected evidences, we cannot refuse to admit Electricity as one of those great cosmical agents which combine and control the elements of power and action in the universe at large.

But reason is not to be satisfied with magniloquent phrases. The question comes back upon us, What is Electricity? It is one which has tried, but vainly, the genius of many philosophers of our time, Faraday among the latest. True genius like his can afford to admit failure, and is ever ready to make the confession. The question still remains unsolved; a problem for the labours—or, it may be, for some felicitous accident—of the future. We have spoken of electricity as an *element*, but this term does nothing more than shelter *elementary* ignorance of its nature. With all our various knowledge of electrical phenomena, the first letters are yet wanting to the alphabet of the science. We speak of positive and negative electricity, of poles and currents, of induction, of quantity and intensity, of electro-magnetic actions, &c., but we still conceive and define these conditions solely by their effects. The question still recurs, What is Electricity?

No step can be made to its answer without facing another question. Is Electricity a *material agent*, special in its en-

dowments as such? Or is it merely a property or condition of matter, deriving its phenomena from the atomic and molecular changes which matter in its many known forms is ever undergoing? To halt before this question is virtually to suspend inquiry. But have we not cogent reason, taking the largest view of the phenomena, for regarding electricity as itself a *material element*? The methods by which we elicit, accumulate, and conduct it, whatever theoretical difficulties they involve, are far better comprehended upon this hypothesis than under the vague view of their depending on atomic actions of the bodies electrically affected. To speak of polar states or chemical changes in the atoms of matter as *constituting* electricity, is but to hide the real difficulty. In electrical actions there is *something evolved*—a power capable of conduction to unlimited distances with equal velocity to that of light. This conduction, as it occurs through wires, bears cogently on the question. The differences of effect produced by the varying material, thickness and length of these conductors, can hardly be reconciled with other views than that of a specific agent; acting in a certain ratio to its quantity and intensity, and capable of being estimated under these relations. The properties of quantity and intensity, and still more the faculty of being *concentrated and accumulated within determinate spaces*, especially characterise electricity, and associate it closely with those conditions which designate matter to our knowledge.

If we admit this, another question at once arises, Can we identify this electric element with any other known agent in the natural world? What we needfully require, is some agent *cosmical* in the largest sense of the word, since the electric influence is present not solely in the atomic and molecular changes of matter, but in regions of space far beyond our sphere. This universality led Faraday to conjecture some direct connexion between the force of gravitation and the electric power; but he failed in finding any experimental proof of this hypothesis, and avowed the failure.

But before hurrying to the theory of a new and special power (a bare assumption, complicating yet more the knotty problem of the elementary forces), we are bound to see whether any natural element, already recognised, will so far answer the conditions required as to be plausible in itself, and not to involve any physical impossibility. Such element we venture to believe may possibly be found in the *Ether of Space*; and as this hypothesis, though not wholly new to science, has yet been only partially advocated, we must ask to be allowed a few words in its illustration.

Under the provisional name of Ether we recognise in space around us, a *medium* capable of transmitting the direct and reflected waves of Light and Heat; and itself physically necessary for such transmission. While forced to call this medium *imponderable*, its *materiality* must be inferred from the very nature of the functions it performs. Vast and complex though these be, we cannot limit them to outer space only. We find full evidence from optical and other phenomena that Ether inter-penetrates and pervades the densest bodies on which it pours its waves. May we not assume the fact generally, that where it comes into contact with our atmosphere and the grosser forms of terrestrial matter, it assumes other conditions and properties than when diffused equably and continuously through space? Reflected and refracted we know its waves to be. May they not also be condensed, accumulated, evolved, conducted in currents, and otherwise modified by the kind of matter thus pervaded, and the changes this undergoes from other causes acting upon it? Without assuming a knowledge we do not possess of the infinitesimal actions of the atoms and molecules of matter, we may at least deem it certain that the agency of ether impinging upon and penetrating them, cannot be limited to the phenomena expressed by light and heat only; or that its elasticity, tenuity, velocity of wave-motion, &c. remain unaltered, when coming into that close atomic coalescence which all analogy tells us to be the condition of most energetic physical action.

If failing to bring direct proof of the presence of ether in these subtle phenomena, let us see whether electricity may not fairly be invoked as its representative and real substitute. What, in short, is there to forbid the conception that electricity is the ether itself—not existing as when diffused through inter-planetary and stellar space, but from its embodiment with terrestrial matter—solid, fluid, or gaseous—quickened into new conditions; acting or acted upon in all atomic changes; and in certain of these extricated in such quantity and manner as to become a power in the hands of man? Can an agent such as we must suppose ether to be, lie dormant in the innermost interstices of matter, while the smallest change of condition, even by friction or the simple apposition of different bodies, awakens another power within them into life and energy? Is it probable or possible that two distinct elements should co-exist in the same interstitial spaces, with separate relations to the matter thus environing them? We put these points interrogatively, but they are surely such as may sanction hypothesis,

in default of any more absolute answer to the question 'What 'is Electricity?'

The velocity of the electric current in its close approximation to that of the ether waves of Light, may be admitted into the argument for identity. All such facts give proof of the astonishing subtlety and mobility of the element concerned, and of its capacity to assume altered physical aspects when brought into contact with the ponderable forms of matter.

It is not requisite to vindicate this hypothesis in its application to all the phenomena of electricity, when every other theory has failed to interpret them. The problem of the two electricities embraces the most arduous of these questions —departing from all recognised properties of other powers, and still a barrier to the boldest conjecture. But there is nothing here to contradict the view of ether as the agent concerned—nothing certainly to establish the claim of any other element. The difficulty being equal and alike under any hypothesis may fairly be eliminated from the argument. And the same may be said of those magnetic relations of electricity, which in the phenomena of diamagnetism and magnetic lines of force; of magne-crystallic action, and of the direct action of the magnet on electric currents, offer many questions of supreme difficulty, but not more insuperable on the view which identifies the electric element with ether than on any other.

Several other points might be urged on behalf of the hypothesis, had we space for them,—such as the meteorological relations of electricity, and the wonderful phenomena exhibited by the crystalline texture in connexion with light and electricity. Still, however, it is obvious that the argument is one of *presumption* only, and from the very nature of its conditions will never probably get beyond this. But we think that it merits to be brought thus far before our readers, both from its intrinsic plausibility, and as an example of the great questions which are now currently discussed in the scientific world.

The third of M. Laugel's volumes comes before us entitled 'Problèmes de la Vie,' a title expressing at once the mysteries of the subject, and, to those who have read his preceding volumes, the line of thought and argument he is likely to pursue in dealing with them. Leaning towards materialism, yet not in the same hard and exclusive sense as Virschow, Vogt, and other German writers, he seeks, as far as possible, to bring vital functions within the domain of ordinary physics; and argues, as others have done, against the use, or abuse, of those terms, 'vital principle,' 'vital force,' 'vital energy,' which have been employed to veil our ignorance of the reality.

Refraining from analysis, or any general adoption of his opinions, we think it better to present to our readers a summary view (in sequel to an article many years ago) of what science and speculation are still doing in this ample field of inquiry.

The first of the 'Problems of Life' lies in the question 'What is Life?' It has undergone a dozen definitions; some by eminent authorities, but all liable more or less to objections from error, incompleteness, or obscurity. The problem has pressed upon every age of mankind, and in our own time has been brought into connexion with the latest discoveries of physical science. Still, however, we need a definition which may satisfy all the conditions without becoming valueless from its generality. That given us by Aristotle, though clouded by some terms of Greek philosophy, is as good as any that have succeeded it. The well-known definition of Bichat, 'La 'vie est l'ensemble des fonctions qui résistent à la mort,' and that of the Encyclopédie, 'La vie est le contraire de la mort,' are too epigrammatically negative to be of any use. They omit too that which is the very essence of all life, viz., the faculty of reproducing life, more or less like in kind to itself. No definition can be good which does not include the condition of an organisation, capable by sexual or other means of such reproduction.

We think, too, that *Time* should be admitted as one element in the definition sought for. Every form of life, endlessly dissimilar though these be, has its average period and limit of existence, as well as a certain defined chronometry of all its functions. Growth, maturity, final decay, and death, belong to living organisation in its very shape on earth.

An eminent philosopher of our own time describes Life as 'consisting in the continuous adjustment of internal relations 'to external relations,'—a definition which loses value in its generality. A power of adjustment indeed brings us close to that conception of a vital principle, which we have just noticed as one of the vexed questions of physiology. We alluded to it cursorily when speaking of the Vital Forces; but must add a few words here, to denote more explicitly what we think to be the true conclusion on the matter. We cannot assert on actual proof that Life is engendered by, or engenders, any power or force peculiar to itself. Nevertheless in recognising, which we must do, that there is some definite mode of action in living bodies, giving to them forms and properties unknown elsewhere in nature, and transforming known forces so as to appropriate them to the peculiar functions of Life, we virtually admit a special and characteristic power, call it what we will.

The facts connected with generation and those of hereditary resemblance, are alone sufficient to point to some cause, physical it may be, but not known to us by actual identity or analogy with any other physical power.

Whence but from some such cause—occult to us—can it be that a single germ or germs, proteine or protoplasm (the names here signify little) should evolve by gradual accretion of matter, the likeness of an anterior being, even in minute peculiarities of form and feature; these same peculiarities, morbid as well as natural, often recurring, after one or two generations have been interposed?* The animal economy throughout, in its instincts as well as structure, enforces the same conclusion—a negative one it may be called, but it is better to rest in this than to attempt a blind and useless definition. All that can be said is, that there *exists something* we do not comprehend. The controversy now going on will continue, because we possess no *crucial* proof, or argument to close it. In this it is like many other questions, similarly contested.

In what, and how, and when, did Life begin on our globe? In its lowest aspects, whether animal or vegetable, we see nothing more than a few material elements, aggregated under the simplest forms; with few organic functions, yet these such in kind as to preserve existence for a certain time—to provide for a succession of similar existences—and this fulfilled, to expire. From these simple conditions (taking animal life as best for illustration) we find a series rising upwards to forms and functions the most complex and complete. In no part of this ascending scale is there any wide gap; what in many cases seemed such, having been, partially at least, filled up by recent discovery in the living or the fossil world. However this series may have begun, and whether it has been worked out by derivation or evolution within itself, or by successive acts of creative power, equally must we affirm the unity of the whole, and the necessity of a First and Supreme designing Cause. If the endless forms, functions, and instincts of Life which surround

* This problem, if it could be solved, would carry us far deeper into the *arcana* of creation than any other attainment of science. Mr. Darwin, feeling this fully, has in his last work, modestly but very ingeniously encountered the question by an hypothesis, which, if unproved, and in its nature incapable of proof, is at least as probable as any that can be devised. His chapter, entitled Pangenesis, deserves to be studied, if but to call attention to what we may term the *necessities* of the problem.

us be derived by progressive changes in unmeasured time from a few primitive types of being, such changes bespeak certain vital laws acting on matter, through and concurrently with the other great forces of the natural world. Under any and every view of the subject, intention by a higher power, however obscure to man as the interpreter, is manifest as the foundation of the whole—the sole standing point to our reason, when regarding the origin, varieties, and perpetuation of animal life on the earth.

This recognised, we are better prepared to meet the several questions which science has suggested, or speculation created, upon the subject. And the first we encounter here is one of the most momentous; that, namely, which respects 'Spontaneous 'Generation;' an inquiry bequeathed to us in a vague form from remote antiquity, and recently revived under conditions of very delicate experimental research. The question simply is—Can matter of any kind, under any circumstances, generate life, without the presence of the ova or germs of prior life? Though the inquiry has applied itself only to the lower forms of infusoria, whose motions under the microscope may almost be called a mockery of life, yet it is one of deep interest, whatever the issue; involving, as it does, in connexion with recent doctrines of derivation and development, the whole question of the origin of life on the earth. This interest is testified by the keenness of controversy going on. The careful and refined researches of Pasteur and Pouchet, on opposite sides of the question, in France, have been carried forward by English observers, with not less skill in experiment; yet the contest still goes on, even angrily, as to these units of creation; whether the old doctrine shall be maintained, '*Omne vivum a 'vivo*,' or whether inorganic matter may not, under certain conditions, assume the lower characters of life?

If called upon to give any judgment where assertions are thus conflicting, and the tests of truth so difficult, it would be in favour of the former of these opinions; while admitting that we have no absolute proof to gainsay the latter. One might well borrow here the phrase of '*De minimis non curat lex*;' for the objects are too small and evanescent to furnish the evidence required for conviction. But the question is still under judgment; and the inquiry, even without any positive issue, will probably disclose collateral secrets in that great volume of nature, which is now so diligently explored.

We have no room to speak of those many recent discoveries in Zoology and fossil Geology, illustrating at once the ancient conditions of the earth, and the multitudinous forms of life,

which have successively existed and been extinguished on its surface. Vast as is now the catalogue of animal species, or what are called such, every year is adding to it. Nothing indeed more startles contemplation than the *quantity* of life upon the earth. Around us, above us, below us—air, ocean, lake, river, mountain, plain, and forest—all nature teems with it; from the whale, elephant, buffalo, and eagle, down to the monads and vibrios of infusorial life. And in this contemplation we must include the great law of nature which makes animal life, in its every shape and grade, depend for evolution and maintenance upon life already existing—a law strikingly attested even in those parasitic creations, now so numerously catalogued as to form a distinct portion of natural science. Death is the transmigration, not of *being*, but of the materials of *being* into new forms and modes of existence. And connected with this law we are called upon to recognise another fact in the general scheme of creation—viz., the obvious and constant provision for the maintenance of succession, even at the expense of individual lives. Among the insects, it is common to find those propagating life perish as soon as this function is fulfilled. We cannot explain these things, but must admit their reality.

Still less can we with our reason confront another problem of much deeper interest—viz., the relation of Man to the other forms of animal creation peopling the earth. Surrounded on every side by living beings—using them, consciously or unconsciously, as food, and even inhaling them with every breath, this question inevitably and closely presses upon human thought. In one point (and that the very important doctrine of *derivation*) it comes into contact with the Darwinian theory; and carries much of present and future controversy with it in this connexion. But there are other and less equivocal modes of viewing the relation of Man to other animals. The simplest is that which regards him as the head of the living creation—the latest probably, certainly the loftiest, in that long series of existences, which we follow downwards till animal life is lost in the lower organisms of the vegetable world. But this is a feeble outline of all that the question involves. Within the series just denoted lie whole volumes of facts, inviting or almost compelling research. The careless thinker may let his reason go to sleep on this admitted human supremacy. The philosopher, looking on the dog crouched at his feet, sees in him an animal with organisation variously akin to his own, and some senses even more perfect—with intelligence, memory, feelings, and passions of the same kind, however differing in

degree and manner of use—with appetites and necessities of life similar also, though more in subordination to instincts and hereditary habits of the species. The idle spectator gazes on the anthropoid ape with mere merriment at this mockery of human form and gesture—*μιμήματα τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ζωῆς*—as Aristotle calls it. The man of deeper thought cannot stand in face of these creatures without a certain feeling of awe, in the contemplation of that mysterious scheme which has brought them thus near to himself in the scale of being.

Pascal says, 'Il est dangereux de trop faire voir à l'homme 'combien il est égal aux bêtes sans lui montrer sa grandeur. 'Il est encore dangereux de lui trop faire voir sa grandeur 'sans sa bassesse.' The caution is chiefly needed for philosophers, since to mankind at large familiarity disguises this great wonder of the world of life. How few fairly accost the question, 'Whence and why this astonishing profusion and 'variety of animal existence, not solely that now under our 'eyes, but what has been entombed during uncounted ages in 'the rocks beneath our feet?' It cannot for a moment be contended that the great scheme of creation had Man solely in view. These innumerable vestiges of life, at periods far antecedent to his own time on earth, might alone suffice to disprove this. Equally is it negatived by our knowledge of existing life. It would not be too much to affirm, were such vague affirmation worth having, that not one hundredth part of the animal creation, counted by species, has any direct relation or ministry to Man. He is at the summit of the series, and in his highest cultivation far above the summit; but still he is a member of this series, and to be regarded as such.

We here approach a very interesting relation of Man to the inferior animals; one involving the whole question of reason and instinct, and beset with difficulties not easy to overcome. Broadly speaking, indeed, we may assert, that in the whole scale of being from Man downwards, these two faculties are found in inverse ratio to one another. But in reality it is often wholly impossible to separate them. They co-exist, and are in such way blended together, that each has power to modify or contravene the other. It is difficult to gauge exactly in other animals faculties and functions, which we find it hard enough to define in ourselves; and it is only by taking the most characteristic cases of reason and instinct in animals that we can rightly discriminate between them. Yet the distinction is a momentous one, and especially interesting in relation to Man as the intellectual ruler of the earth.

Had we space for it much might be said regarding that

faculty of reason among the higher animals, both wild and domesticated, to which we have already slightly alluded. Its existence is familiarly recognised in the phrases habitually applied to them; yet this very familiarity enfeebles, as in so many other cases, that sentiment of wonder which the fact might well inspire. Of their reasoning faculty, no happier definition can be given than that of Cuvier: 'Leur intelli-'gence exécute des opérations du même genre.' Milton says in more guarded phrase, 'They reason not contemptibly.' Locke, while conceding reason, denied to them the power of forming 'abstract or general ideas.' Taking the simplest view, we may affirm with Cuvier, that the *kind* of reason is virtually the same, however narrow in its scope and combinations. The mute syllogism of the monkey, or the dog, or elephant, is perfect as far as it goes, and might be translated into speech or writing.* It is less easy to speak of *reflection* as a part of their intelligence, and yet this term cannot well be excluded. That they possess and largely employ the memory of objects and events is indisputable; but we have not equal proof as to that more intellectual faculty of recollection—the *μνήμη συνθετική*—to which the mind of Man owes so much of its power and attainments. Another question occurs as to their power of forecasting the future. An old English writer speaks of 'the boon to animals that they are nescient of evils 'to come.' Partially this may be true even as to the highest; but we cannot deny them the simple faculty of anticipating events near at hand, and which come into sequence with others of wonted occurrence. To these intellectual faculties we may add one more in the '*sense of humour*,' so conspicuous in many animals, though not duly noticed in the inference it affords. The gambols and sly artifices of monkeys well depicture the sports and tricks of human childhood. The dog, toying with his master, or gambolling with other dogs, evinces his feeling of fun as plainly as if it were put into words. And reflection will show how much lies beneath this single and simple fact.

As respects the passions and affections of the animals thus near to our confines, we must regard them as alike in kind to those which compose the moral nature of man, though very different in objects, and wanting the nice shades of human character in its various grades of cultivation. Without running into subtle distinctions of name or nature, it is enough to recite

* Cicero indeed speaks of the '*mens, ratio et memoria*' of the Ant; qualities which, in this case as in the Bee, we now ascribe to instinct; though not without a certain hesitation where to draw the line.

simply the common qualities open to all observation. Such are love and hatred, emulation and jealousy, anger and revenge, gratitude, boldness and fortitude, pride, and perhaps vanity, cowardice, and cunning. These qualities are not defined by difference of species only. As in man they characterise individuals of the same species, and are innate, more or less, in the temperament of each.

It does not concern us here to trace these animal faculties and feelings downwards in the scale till they vanish in the bare instincts of existence. On this subject of Instincts, however, a few words must be said, though volumes would be needed to embrace their wonderful history. M. Laugel's title 'Problèmes de la Vie' well characterises phenomena, which perplexed the mind of Newton, and continue to embarrass the philosophers of our own day. We have already spoken of the affinities of Reason and Instinct. There is, in fact, a *borderland*, where they are strangely and inextricably blended; each invading the domain of the other, and reciprocally producing changes, which variously affect the functions of both. Acts primarily of reason and volition pass by repetition into habits having the compulsory force of instinct, and often transmissible to offspring. While instincts, forcibly interfered with, often evolve new faculties of action, which, if we shrink from calling them acts of reason, can only be understood as newly-developed forms of instinct—a difficult conception indeed, in seeking to realise which we plunge at once into the inner mysteries of the question, What is the power at work in the purely instinctive acts of animal life?—in the instincts, for example, of the bee, the ant, the spider, the salmon, the beaver, the tailor and weaver birds, and endless others? The instances most familiar to us represent in effect the marvel of the whole, and put the question of origin into its most cogent shape. Newton found no other solution than that the Author of Life is himself the *moving power* in the innumerable forms of instinct—risking in this the charge of Pantheism, that barrier at which so many attempts to reach what is unreachable come to an end.

We cannot err, however, in regarding Life, and the generation of life from life, as integral parts of the same great problem. Instincts, define or distinguish them as we will, are strictly appurtenances of generation—of that power which transmits hereditary likeness from one generation of a species to another. The question whether, and how far, they are dependent on mere bodily organisation, merges in this, though we can hardly say that it thereby comes nearer to any sure solution. That many instincts have a special organisation

adapted to them is too well known to need illustration: and it is equally certain that changes in organs, arising from external causes, may, and often do, produce modifications of the natural instincts, and render them hereditary in the race or species. But the fact still remains that there are numerous and extraordinary instincts which can in no wise be interpreted by organisation, though this is used for their fulfilment. The structural peculiarities of certain birds and fishes are necessary for their periodical migrations by land and sea. But the act of migration itself is the marvel; determinate as to place, time, and method—guided by no sense or reason we can define or conceive, yet fulfilling purposes with a certitude no reason could attain. Instincts prospective in their nature, as we admire them in the nests of birds—the sexual instincts and those connected with food, appetencies essential to life on the earth—the instincts of the bee-hive and ant-hill, which sacrifice the interests of the individual creature to those of the community—these and endless others come under the same head, as acts not due to reason, nor to any apparent structure.

We are still then confronted by the profound problem of a power acting in and through the complex fabric of animal life, of which neither our senses nor reason can render any account. In connecting it with the larger problem of the generation of life from life, we suggest an absolute and necessary relation, but do not solve the mystery. Science is zealously working in this direction, but, as we believe, with an insuperable barrier at some point in its progress. We have spoken of a *border-land* between reason and instinct, where these two faculties variously and curiously commingle. It is here, if anywhere, that we may hope to obtain some enlargement and clearer definition of our knowledge. Little is gained by multiplying examples of individual instincts, wonderful though these be, and meriting a better classification than any yet adopted. What we need and desire is some great work, founded on actual research, but treating the subject also as one of general philosophy, and holding in view certain definite questions for solution. Such are, the relation as to priority or causality between the organisation and the particular instincts of species—all that concerns the hereditary nature of instincts—their dependence on habits and the casual conditions of life, including here the separation of species into races—and the influence upon them of Reason and the Will. These questions, were there no others, present ample material for future inquiry. Time, as well as combined and zealous research, will be needed even for their partial solution. But we confidently hope for some such work as that we

have indicated; giving us closer approach to that mysterious part of life, where mental and material functions, intelligence and instincts, are linked together, either in co-operation or conflict. One result of all research must be deemed certain—the recognition of an Almighty Power, far above our comprehension in its nature and attributes; but ruling throughout all creation, living and lifeless, by laws and forces which we may partially, but never can wholly understand. 'I had rather 'believe,' said Lord Bacon, 'all the fables in the Legend, and 'the Talmud, and the Alcoran, than that this universal frame 'is without a mind.' To which Archbishop Whately adds, in his note upon the passage:—'That the possession of power, 'strictly so called, by physical causes, is not conceivable, or 'their capacity to maintain, any more than to produce at first, 'the system of the Universe, whose combined existence, as 'well as its origin, seems to depend on the continued operations 'of the great Creator.'

Those who are familiar with the doctrine of Mr. Darwin as to the Origin of Species—a doctrine now so largely, though not unanimously, accepted in the scientific world—will at once see how closely it is interwoven in every part with the topics we have been discussing. The questions of origin, organisation, modes of reproduction and instincts, enter integrally and necessarily into any theory of which Life is the subject. The naturalist is amply justified in seeking all possible evidence as to the progressive evolution of genera and species, and their distribution over the earth; and here Mr. Darwin has rendered services to science which will be fully recognised hereafter, whatever exception be taken to some of the views he has espoused. But these fundamental questions still remain, and our knowledge can never be complete as long as they are unresolved.

In the foregoing article, which we must here close, we have sought to make our readers acquainted with the principal questions and objects of research on which physical science is at this time engaged; necessarily, however, omitting many which might well merit notice. At no period has there been more of grandeur in these objects, or more of genius directed to their investigation. If sometimes this genius rushes beyond human bounds into the inscrutable mysteries of the universe, it is speedily checked by the sterner demand now made for evidence of fact and truth. While even these forays, as they may be called, of speculative science (in one of which we have ourselves partially indulged), though failing to attain their purpose, are not unfrequently useful in disclosing new paths and objects of pursuit, collateral to those thus vainly attempted.

ART. VII.—1. *Reports on Consular Establishments in China in* 1869. Presented to Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1870.

2. *Reports on Trade at the Treaty Ports in China for the year* 1869. Published by order of the Inspector-General of Customs. Shanghae: Printed at the Customs Press.

3. *Journeys in North China, Manchuria, and Eastern Mongolia, with some Account of Corea.* By the Rev. ALEXANDER WILLIAMSON, Agent of the National Bible Society of Scotland. 2 vols. London: 1870.

4. *The Tientsin Massacre; the Causes of the late Disturbances in China; and how to secure a Permanent Peace.* By GEORGE THIN, M.D.

THE 'Far Cathay' of Kublai Khan—of which Thomson sang and Coleridge dreamed—has been brought comparatively near to us by steam and telegraphy. From Kiachta on the border of Western Mongolia to London a message can now be sent in less than twenty-four hours. Even the transit of travellers from London or Paris to Pekin, which in the days of Marco Paolo extended over years of peril and uncertainty, may now be securely done in six or eight weeks, either by land or sea. So vast a change in the relations of time and distance could not fail to effect a corresponding change in the relations of China with the rest of the world.

But a few centuries ago, sealed to the outer world, inaccessible by sea and isolated on the land side by great deserts and inhospitable steppes, peopled only by scattered tribes of Nomade Tartars and Mongols, her people might rejoice in their isolation and security. They held sway over a vast territory and undisputed supremacy far beyond their borders. The 'Middle Kingdom' and the 'Flowery Land,' as they pleased to designate their country, was to them the Centre of the Universe. It is true they were from time to time, though at long intervals, exposed to furious raids from the wild Tartars beyond their frontiers. But they either beat them back, or absorbed and speedily assimilated them by their higher civilisation. By successive steps the whole of Eastern Asia fell under their sway, and wide as their empire stretched—from Samarcand and Central Asia in the West to Corea in the farthest East—they asserted a scarcely contested superiority over all peoples and tribes with whom they came in contact. The Japanese came from the isles beyond their coasts

to borrow a written language, a religion, and a philosophy, and in doing so offered the sincerest homage.

It is needful to recall these great facts, for they serve to explain—and can alone explain—much that is now passing in our day, when we have forced our intercourse upon a people who once had just right to plume themselves on being heirs to an undisputed supremacy. The Chinese themselves, well versed in the actual and legendary history of their country, are familiarly acquainted with them. These traditions are the source of those pretensions which we are too apt to despise as the mere caprice of barbarism, or the offspring of ignorance, but they are facts and realities, not to be put aside by superior intelligence, or blotted out by treaties, though countersigned, at the dictation of a foreign Power, with the vermilion pencil.

No more mischievous error can well be conceived than to suppose the contrary, and nothing has more certainly contributed to our present difficulties. If we look back to the period above referred to, and fully apprehend what the Chinese nation was then absolutely in its civilisation, and comparatively as regards all the rest of Asia;—and then look upon the change which has swept over them like a flood in these latter days, placing them as low relatively to the invading peoples of the West as they once stood high above all others of whom they had any knowledge, we shall be better prepared to enter into their present feelings, and understand with what mingled fear and hate they regard us in our pride of superiority and habit of self-assertion. The millions 'who are saturated with a 'knowledge of the history and philosophy of their country' are not merely the holders of office, but all its educated men,—and these are they who form and guide the public opinion of the less cultivated and the mass. They still regard all Western nations as 'outer Barbarians.' Much as the Byzantines of the Lower Empire regarded their Northern recruits, Goths and Visigoths, whom they subsidized to fight their battles—great in war, but not the less Barbarians.

Are we asked to what end this study of the past? The answer has been already indicated—that we may understand the present, and what lies before us in the future. If merchants and missionaries in China had devoted a little more of their attention to the study of the people among whom their future lot was cast for good or evil, they would have made much more satisfactory progress in overcoming the obstacles in their path—each in their separate calling. The true life of nations as of individuals is written in sympathetic ink, and is only to be read between the lines which record outward events;

and then only by those who have the key. But that key is never obtained except by sympathy with the objects of our study. Until we gain this we can neither influence nor govern. Superior strength may coerce, and some coarse material results may be obtained by the exercise of brute force. But neither the heart nor the intellect of individuals or nations can be reached by such means,—and it is only by the aid of these that any real dominion can be secured. Therefore it is essential, in our opinion, that we should begin by knowing the Chinese as they are and have been, and not as we would have them or imagine that they might be made.

What China was when Kublai Khan ruled, and how the Chinese regarded themselves and the only neighbours within their ken, has been shown. Let us measure, if we can, the extent of the change that these later times have brought to this one nation, and form some estimate of the difficulty of their position. They have had, first, to realise the fact that they were no longer lords supreme over the whole earth, as their fathers firmly believed, but members of one great family of nations—many existing beyond the 'four seas,' of whose existence they had hitherto been all but unconscious. And, secondly, a still more momentous truth to them, that England and France and other great Western Powers are all nearer neighbours to China than Mongol or Tartar had ever been. Even Russia, with its wide conterminous frontier and half-Tartar affinities of race, is practically further removed from them on the land side than the maritime States now are by sea. Less time is required for the transport of hostile armies—the one great practical test of national proximity, which is daily becoming of greater significance and moment to all. Can we wonder if half a century has *not* sufficed to impress these two great facts, with all their consequences, on the Chinese mind? or that they are very far at this day from realising to the full extent their import and bearing? Whether this be matter of surprise or not, it is a certainty, and one which cannot be too clearly kept in view, for its influence upon the progress of affairs in China can hardly be over-estimated.

Of course there are many, both residents in China and others with more excuse for their blindness, who do not perceive this chain of cause and effect. It is easy to throw an air of absurdity over the habits of thought or modes of expression of an Asiatic race with whom we have so little in common, and thence jump to the conclusion that they have no significance, and are unworthy of attention. A claim to be the Brother of the Sun and Moon, or to have universal dominion, put with all the ex-

travagance of Oriental diction, is very open to ridicule. But it is a mistake to imagine that because the hyperbolic phraseology is absurd, the thing it represents has neither force nor meaning. After all, is even this pretension, or this assumption of divine descent and universal supremacy, so very absurd as to be incomprehensible to the European mind, and without any parallel in Western annals or modern history? Mr. Carlyle reminds us in his latest utterances that the device of a French *écu* of 1687, in the reign of the 'Grand Monarque,' is 'Excelsus super omnes gentes Dominus.' Is this less irrational, with some little allowance for the differences between Oriental and European forms of expression, than the Emperor of China's pretension to supremacy and universal dominion? We need not go so far back therefore as Alexander of Macedon's care to prove his descent from Jove, or a Roman emperor decreeing divine honours to be paid to his image, for a parallel to moderate our emphasis in scoffing at the 'Celestial 'Empire' and its Rulers for similar claims.

That the Emperor of China is but mortal, and can claim no superiority over the other sovereigns with whom he has been compelled to make treaties;—that all nations have equal rights, and that a more or less complete reciprocity must rule all intercourse between foreign States and their rulers, should be truths hard of digestion to the boy emperor and his Manchu or Chinese Court, is no more than we should expect. The course of time has not often brought about a stranger revolution in the destiny of nations. China, which gave in long past ages the three great discoveries to Europe by which the nations of the West have mainly achieved their superiority—the Compass, Printing, and Gunpowder—and also bestowed upon us three of the greatest luxuries, silk, porcelain, and tea—the first when Teuton and Celt and Gaul were unkempt savages, chiefly distinguished by their paint,—must now receive the law from the descendants of these same Teutons and Celts. We may well look with some patience and forbearance on the wry faces they make under the process. That kind of sympathetic effort to enter into their feelings which we have recommended does not imply our assent to their resistance. But it does suggest consideration, and a desire to lighten and mitigate that which is inevitable.

Leaving considerations of general import, let us now turn our attention to the one great end of our intercourse with China, and the sole motive for any political relations with its rulers—our Commerce. An article appeared not long ago in one of the leading newspapers headed 'On the Importance of

'Barbarism,' and the writer began by declaring it to be doubtful 'whether British statesmen quite understood the importance to 'this country of three barbarous or semi-barbarous countries 'in the extreme East, and it is quite certain that the English 'public does not understand it at all. From India, China, 'and Japan we import nothing that we eat or drink except a 'luxury, and a grain which is something more or less than a 'luxury—rice; yet the stoppage of our mercantile connexion 'with these countries would inevitably carry with it the starva-'tion of large numbers of the English labouring classes. If 'the Indian and the Chinese markets were shut against us, 'our workmen would have to starve or to pinch as infallibly as 'if some convulsion of nature suddenly cut us off from the 'vast corn-lands of the Mississippi valley or of Southern 'Russia. It is this consideration which gives such extreme 'importance to the difficulties between natives and foreigners 'in the Chinese coast towns. A vast deal more is at stake 'than the interests of a comparatively small number of mer-'chants bent on making a fortune rapidly and not too scru-'pulous about the means. Are we, or are we not, in danger 'of being pushed from the Chinese market by a population so 'enormous that if they pleased they could, so to speak, squeeze 'us out of their country by putting their shoulders together?'

We do not think that the English public is altogether ignorant of the actual importance of China, Japan, and India to our commercial prosperity. They may underrate it, and fail to understand in what way the relations with all three are essential as connecting and necessary links. But so long as there is an almost total ignorance of the real causes of danger and difficulty in the actual conditions of European intercourse with China, it is clear that a mere sense of danger, and the importance of the interests at stake, will not much avail. Of those who have spent the best years of life in China, whether in pursuit of wealth, or as representatives of Great Britain and other Foreign Powers in the various grades of the consular and diplomatic service, it is hard to believe that there are not some who have made these conditions an object of serious study. Judging from the papers laid before Parliament—and their contents must form but a small part of the correspondence and data of every kind annually received by Government from its officers in China and Japan—it is evident that a great mass of well-digested information exists, only waiting to be analysed and reproduced in a more readable form than blue books usually supply. Some part of this work we hope to accomplish in the following pages.

In a 'Report of the Delegates of the Shanghai General 'Chambers of Commerce,' speaking of the conditions of commercial progress in China, and of the direct trade from Great Britain to China, the writer says, that this is a branch of trade that, even taken alone, 'must always be of peculiar 'importance to a country like Great Britain, which can only 'feed its population by finding markets in foreign countries 'for the products of their working power.' To this he adds, as scarcely less important or significant, the corollary that,—

'Putting India on one side, the country whose direct commercial stake in China assumes the next rank of importance is indirectly as deeply interested in the progress of British trade as the English people themselves. The United States receive a larger sum for the raw material which they supply to England than the English do for their labour in working it up and shipping it to China; and the commercial interest of these two nations in China cannot therefore be separated.'

Following out the same line of thought, this Report goes on to show how directly the United States are interested in the prosperity of our trade in foreign goods—the net profit remaining on England not being approximately more than one-third of the ultimate cost of the goods as delivered at foreign markets.

'Whence it appears that out of the 7,000,000*l.* or 8,000,000*l.* worth of goods now annually exported from Great Britain to China, the sum of 2,500,000*l.* is retained in England to pay spinners, weavers, packers, shippers, carriers, and numerous other classes of persons incidentally employed about the making up and exporting of the goods. Of the 5,000,000*l.* that remains, the larger proportion goes to other countries, chiefly the United States, in payment for raw cotton.'

The exact nature and amount of our direct trade with China from and to the United Kingdom, and the subsidiary but very important commerce existing between India and China on British account, are all easily determined from official sources, and are contained in the following table:— (See next page.)

A despatch from Sir R. Alcock states that of the total foreign shipping employed more than half was under the British flag, 7,165 vessels with a tonnage of 3,332,092 tons out of a total of 13,504 vessels with a tonnage of 6,385,771.*

* The proportion to the total shipping employed by the United Kingdom in its foreign trade stands thus, in round numbers,—one-third of ships, one-eighth of tonnage. The steady increase of British trade with China is further illustrated by the returns of the Imperial Maritime Customs, which were reprinted in this country and presented to Parliament last year, from which it will be seen that the import of grey shirtings and T-cloths (articles of purely British manufacture)

Statement showing the Value of the Direct Import and Export Trade with China of Great Britain and all her Dependencies, and its relation to that of all other countries during the Year 1868.

COUNTRIES.	Imported from.	Exported to.	Total.
	£	£	£
Great Britain	7,343,653	12,612,251	19,955,904
Hong Kong	4,701,806	2,691,087	7,392,893
India	7,829,426	79,359	7,908,785
Australia	220,415	854,891	1,075,306
Singapore and Straits . .	223,164	88,109	311,273
British Channel	...	190,224	190,224
Canada	11	71,101	71,112
New Zealand	...	30,870	30,870
Cape of Good Hope . . .	...	13,237	13,237
Total British goods . .	20,318,475	16,631,129	36,949,604
All other countries . .	1,677,116	4,103,294	5,780,410
Total	21,995,591	20,734,423	42,730,014
Deducting re-exports* . .	659,226	...	659,226
Total foreign trade with China	21,336,365	20,734,423	42,070,788

Here, then, we have the net results of our trade with China up to the end of 1868, and although the official returns of 1869 are not yet published, enough is known to enable us to conclude that there is no material alteration. The trade of Great Britain and its Dependencies with China is both a large, and taken as a whole, an increasing trade. It employs a vast capital, and gives profitable employment to 7,165 ships under the British flag, with a tonnage of 3,332,092 tons, a proportion which would still further increase, it appears, if one or more ports of registry in China for British ships, and a law of partnership with limited liability, were provided by the legislature. The want of these, it is reported, throws nearly the whole of the steamer traffic and carrying trade on the Yangtsze into the hands of foreigners, where it is conducted under the American flag chiefly, to our loss and injury.

In the indirect distribution of foreign goods constituting a portion of the coasting trade, and chiefly carried on in steamers, we are told, 'all nationalities are engaged, but 'chiefly Americans and British; and the goods are no longer 'distinguished as British and those of other nationalities.' It

had risen respectively from 2,398,410 pieces and 730,604 pieces in 1867, to 4,768,151 pieces and 2,049,521 pieces in 1868.'

* Chiefly to Japan.

is therefore impossible to ascertain what the exact proportions of British goods, or strictly British trade, may be in this coasting trade; just as from the want of all returns in the free port of Hong Kong, it is impossible to separate with any approach to accuracy the Foreign from the British imports. In these particulars we must be content with approximate estimates.

In order to complete our view of the actual importance of this trade with China, we must take into account the amount of British and Indian revenue derived from it, and the proportion both the trade and the contribution to revenue bears to the whole commerce and revenue of the British Empire. By the last year's Revenue Returns, the duty levied on tea at the rate of 6*d.* per lb. produces a contribution of 2,643,226*l.* towards the whole revenue of 21,529,000*l.* raised by the Customs. Until the year 1866, when the duty was reduced from 1*s.* to 6*d.*, the revenue was more than double this amount. By the Indian Returns, we find the revenue from opium, the great bulk of which is exported for Chinese consumption, estimated at an average of from six to seven millions sterling net. The Malwa opium from the territories of the native princes of Central India, constituting about one-half of the whole quantity exported, and averaging therefore some 40,000 chests, pays 600 rupees a chest to the Indian Government, and has paid as much as 700 at no distant period.

The proportion our trade in British manufactured goods to China bears to our commerce with other countries, is insignificant if compared with that which we carry on with the United States, France, Germany, or India. Out of an export of some 100,000,000*l.* manufactured goods, China does not yet take 7,000,000*l.* Sir Rutherford Alcock, in the despatch forwarding these returns, remarks, however, that it would be a mistake to estimate the value of the trade to the British Empire by limiting the view to such figures, or to accept the existing amount as a true indication of its prospective value. He says—

'It is a trade with a constant tendency to increase, and as the Delegates of the Chamber of Commerce clearly show, at the average annual rate of 3,500,000*l.* in British manufactured goods alone. . . . As a market for the produce of our looms and manufacturing industry generally, China ranks very low. Its people are but poor consumers comparatively; and it may be supposed that we could very well dispense with their aid. But under other auspices and more favourable conditions, neither of which seem altogether hopeless, the Chinese Empire might within the next twenty years offer a vast field of commercial activity, and would soon lead to a consumption of manufactured goods

ten times as large as any at present existing. We cannot wisely confine our views therefore to the present, and ought not, by a short-sighted economy or any mistaken policy, to risk all that is prospective.'

These arguments well deserve the serious consideration of all who take interest in our commerce with other countries and the influence of foreign countries, and the markets they supply, on our industrial centres with a capacity for production, which seems practically unlimited.

We have now all the data before us, and the results may be very briefly summed up. The export trade from China to the United Kingdom chiefly consists of tea and silk, and the first alone contributes one-seventh of our customs revenue. Silk, although it does not contribute to the revenue, is a most important element of our prosperity. Take away the 50,000 bales received from China, and keeping in view the constant liability to disease in the French and Italian worms, and the failure of crops in Europe, such a loss would go far to ruin a great industry. It has been shown by Sir Rutherford Alcock and the consuls and merchants in communication with him on the subject, that the trade in cottons and woollens from our looms is susceptible of an almost unlimited extension. Nothing more is required to this end than a better understanding with the Chinese Government in order to secure certain administrative reforms to facilitate the transit of foreign goods in the interior. It might have been better if the merchants in their memorials had limited their demands and concentrated all their efforts upon this one great desideratum. Increased facilities of transport and communication, such as steam and telegraphic lines might supply, appear to be the chief agencies required for the extension of trade. Even these ought not to be impossible of attainment if obstacles of our own creation—that is of foreign parentage—were removed. But time and patience both will be necessary. Such great innovations involve many considerations economical and political as well as international. Difficulties there may also be, no doubt, arising from the indisposition of the Chinese Government as at present constituted to commit themselves to a course of innovation which would create a violent opposition in the country and might very easily, if it did not lead to a revolution, involve the destruction of the Ministers proposing it in the Great Council. The revision of the Treaty of Tien-tsin, it was hoped, might have led the way to important advances in this direction, but the circumstances were anything but propitious, and for a time at least the opportunity has been lost. What the difficulties are in the way of

successful negotiations, and to what causes may rightly be attributed not only these but the dangers which continually menace a rupture of friendly relations, and render life and property insecure even at the treaty ports, are all matters of more immediate interest and importance; and to these we will now turn, in the hope of throwing some light on a subject which hitherto has been much obscured by conflicting opinions.

The foregoing statistics furnish conclusive evidence that the trade with China is both large and increasing. It helps, moreover, to maintain steam communication throughout the East, as has been shown, by the lucrative freights which attend it, and materially assists to place eastern commerce in British hands. In the facility and cheapness with which English capital is worked, is probably to be found one of the principal causes which make the British Isles the largest store-house in the world, and an important element of those conditions as regards the purchase of produce in China, is the profit in exchanges which the intermediate traffic between India and China creates. If the opium trade were to cease, we should have to provide 11,000,000*l.* to pay in part for tea and silk exported from China, not, as now, by means of a British product forwarded in national vessels, but by means of bullion purchased in the American States, and transmitted across the Pacific. An important link which binds Eastern trade to the United Kingdom would be broken, and another would be forged in the chain which is 'soon firmly 'to connect China with the United States.' Although this expression was used by a Shanghai merchant in defence of the opium trade, it is not less applicable to the trade generally and its bearing on Imperial interests. The encouragement and protection of such a trade therefore cannot be otherwise than a matter of national interest. Merely local or temporary interests must give way to those which are imperial and permanent; and it must be the policy of the British Government carefully to guard the latter, and prevent its being either overridden or prejudiced by the former. In this opinion we are glad to be supported by the Macclesfield Chamber of Commerce. In their answer to the Earl of Clarendon respecting the recent Convention, their secretary is directed to say, 'Sir R. Alcock 'in his memorandum narrows his views to the comparatively 'unimportant limits of a small body of European merchants 'located at the open ports in China, while the Chamber heartily 'concurs in the opinion of leading modern statesmen and diplo-'matists, who declare that all commercial treaties and con-'ventions should be viewed from a stand-point as wide as

'possible.' The accuracy of the statement as regards Sir R. Alcock's views does not concern us here. Many of his despatches, however, refute the assumption that he has ever held such 'narrow views,' and advocate a directly opposite course. We merely quote the passage as indicating the scope of any inquiry into the conditions affecting our relations and position in China, and the spirit in which these should be examined. We congratulate the Chamber on the breadth and liberality of their principles, and in perfect accordance with them we propose to devote the remainder of this article to a general survey of the conditions essential to any mutually beneficial intercourse with the Chinese, *constituted as the Empire is, and the nation being what it is,* and not what we could wish it to be, or what the 'small body of European merchants located at the 'open ports in China' may think we might make it with a strong hand. Trade, its hindrances, and the conditions of commercial progress in China, come first in order of importance, because for the promotion and protection of commerce alone we have been led to make treaties with China. The difficulties in the way of any material improvement in the conditions of our intercourse, and the nature and causes of the dangers so incessantly menacing our position and the interests of our commerce, form a part of the same subject.

Of trade and its hindrances, thanks to the attempted revision of the Treaty of Tien-tsin, the public has heard from the merchants themselves who are most interested in the commerce of the East, and from Ministers and Consuls in China, enough to remove all ignorance of the main facts. Much has been made of these hindrances in the 'Memorials' of the several mercantile communities and Chambers of Commerce located in China. They are numerous, no doubt, and some at least might probably be removed at once, if the Chinese Government were more favourably disposed and could be induced to take the necessary steps. But others are, to all appearance, irremediable while the country remains in its present state—torn by insurrections, miserably misgoverned, and with an administration so thoroughly corrupt and incapable that nothing good can be hoped from it. What these hindrances are we have seen nowhere more clearly stated than in the Report of the Delegates of the Chamber of Commerce who went up the Yangtze to explore the upper waters of that river with an expedition set on foot by her Majesty's Minister. And it is the more acceptable as, coming from the merchants, we are sure it embodies opinions and views which the local communities will not dispute.

In the section headed '*Hindrances to Trade*' the Delegates say—

'There are certain obvious hindrances to the development of this trade, mostly tending to enhance the cost of goods, the removal of which, if practicable, would be worthy of the efforts of the Chamber. These are the high rates of freight prevailing between Hankow and Chungking, the high rates of inland duty; also the length of time required, and the difficulties of the route.'

Although this has reference more particularly to the trade of the district watered by the Upper Yangtze, the same broad view is repeated without this limitation in another section headed 'Conditions of Development,' &c.:—

'Much stress has justly been laid on the obstructions opposed to trade by the exactions of the mandarins. But that is only one obstacle to the circulation of foreign goods in China. A greater one is the passive and unconscious resistance of a people of stagnant ideas, of very limited enterprise, and possessing only primitive means of intercommunication. They will not advance towards foreigners to seek their trade, until foreigners have pressed it on them. They will never themselves improve their means of transport, nor develope new wants like progressive nations. Foreigners must provide the means of bringing different parts of the empire into close communication, and they must also to a certain extent create the wants which they wish to supply by offering their goods and "introducing" them to their customers.'

In a previous passage the same writers show that if they take this moderate and rational view of the amount of injury done to trade by the irregularities and exactions of the provincial authorities and the farmers of inland taxes, it is not from any lukewarmness or apathy. They are, on the contrary, vigorous advocates of progress. 'Commerce,' they say, 'every-where requires to be energetically "pushed" to be successful; and this is peculiarly true of the trade in foreign manufactures in China.' They explain further what they mean by being 'pushed;' viz.:—

'When new ports are opened new depôts are established, whence new markets can be easily reached, and new circles of customers made acquainted with foreign commodities. When swift steamers are placed on great water routes the native merchants can, and do make as many voyages, and transact as much business, in a year as they formerly did in a decade. This stimulates the flow of foreign manufactures to the consuming localities in the interior. Though the Chinese are of themselves incapable of originating any such improvement, they are very ready to avail themselves of it when provided for them. But the spirit of enterprise is all on the side of foreigners, and the onus of every forward movement in commerce must necessarily rest on them.'

In this case, as in so many others, it is only when they come

to deal with the practical question of how these various reforms and innovations are to be effected, that they fall into vague generalities which add nothing to our knowledge and are quite valueless in all other respects.

'How to extend beneficent, in other words commercial, measures in China without the cumbrous and wholly unnecessary intervention of war with the despotic class, is a problem which need not baffle the philanthropic statesmen of the nineteenth century, if their philanthropy be guided by an intelligent interpretation of facts.'

The problem nevertheless does seem to baffle a great many statesmen and successive Governments in the nineteenth century. Among them all, one would think, if it were so easy of solution as the Delegates assume, some might have been found capable of 'an intelligent interpretation of facts.' In default of this we naturally look to the more capable merchants to give their country the benefit of such interpretation to guide our statesmen—philanthropic or otherwise. We look in vain, however, for such invaluable aid. We know, indeed, that while in words they deprecate 'the cumbrous intervention of 'war with the despotic—that is, the ruling class of China,' they constantly advocate a policy of interference and measures of coercion—which may or may not mean war, according as this same 'despotic class' may be disposed to resist such measures, and refuse submission unless compelled by superior force. There is, indeed, a very general feeling among the mercantile bodies located in China that the Chinese can be forced to do anything Foreign Powers may with sufficient determination demand, without provoking such resistance as leads to war. And this is no doubt true, in a certain degree. But even force has its limits when applied to a government such as China at present possesses; or the whole may either collapse or be crushed by the process.

'Superiority in arms,' as was observed in an article on China which appeared some years ago in this Review, 'and the power to impose by superior force a treaty or compact upon a nation, becomes of little use without a central authority—a Government with which to treat, and one capable of binding the nation by its acts. The worst danger with which European Powers have been menaced of late years, both in China and Japan, has been that of anarchy in these countries—a process of disorganisation and disintegration pushed to an extent that would deprive treaty Powers of all guarantee for the security of their subjects, or means of holding one central authority responsible for serious infractions of treaties.'

This which was true then is equally so now, nor is it in the interest of trade, and still less of merchants located in China,

that the fact should be overlooked. The main grievance of the merchants, and the only one that has any broad foundation, lies in irregular and excessive inland taxation, which for goods in transit it was attempted to limit to a rate of 2½ per cent. *ad valorem*, or half the import and export dues. We say attempted. For Sir Henry Pottinger, in the Treaty of Nanking, tried and failed to effect this end. Lord Elgin, who followed in 1858 with the Treaty of Tien-tsin, aided by all the practical knowledge and collective wisdom of the mercantile bodies, failed equally. We have the authority of the Chamber of Commerce of Shanghai for the fact. In their Memorial of December 1869, while speaking greatly in praise of the Treaty of Tien-tsin they say, 'Where these arrange-'ments have conspicuously failed has been in the question 'of Inland dues.' According to the same authority, Sir Rutherford Alcock, in the Convention entered into before he left Peking, also failed; thus adding a third unsuccessful attempt to deal with this question of Inland dues. It seems clear that all the negotiations have failed, as all in future will likewise fail, unless the leading conditions be changed, from a very obvious cause; the Ministers already cited have attempted what is plainly an impossibility — to alter the whole fiscal system of a vast Eastern empire for the benefit of foreigners, and their trade; and to make exemptions even in Chinese produce in transit from one province to another for Chinese consumption, in favour of the foreign owner to the prejudice of the native merchant and his trade. If it were more just and equitable, it would be not the less impolitic and impracticable. Impolitic, because the distinction between the native and the foreign dealer is invidious; impracticable, because all the interests, prejudices, and established customs of both officials and traders are opposed to success;—and lastly because the exact fulfilment of the stipulations made in the treaties would require honesty and order and regularity where there is nothing but corruption, irregularity, and peculation. We hear a good deal from the merchants in China of the solemn obligations of treaties and their indefeasible right to exact rigorous execution in letter and spirit of all their stipulations—even in those like the above which are demonstrably inapplicable to the actual condition of things and more or less impracticable. If existing treaties had not been entirely framed by foreigners very much in the dark as to Chinese administration, capabilities, and requirements,—and imposed by force upon the nation as the price of peace, it would still be absurd to hold such language. The Chinese, without putting forward the plea lately advanced by a great

Western State that treaties imposed by force carry a doubtful obligatory power, if the terms are injurious,—may boldly say that no nation can be held bound to perform impossibilities, and that we require of them what is beyond their power to secure. If a remedy is to be found for the well-ascertained failures and abuses of administration which exist in China, it must be sought in a larger and more reasonable spirit, having some regard to possibilities as well as to rights. Something of the same kind is to be said of imperious demands emanating from the merchants for the instant adoption of railroads and telegraphy—for the working of mines by foreign skill and machinery—for inland residence, and a right of acquiring real property and houses in the interior, with all the privileges of extra-territoriality attaching to them and their foreign owners—for steam navigation through the inland waters, &c.; all calculated to afford, it may be, great facilities for trade, and very much to the benefit of Chinese interests. But suppose the Chinese Rulers do not see the opportunity of such sweeping changes or the necessity for foreign innovations,—doubt their expediency, or deny the possibility of adopting any of them, with due regard for the stability of government and the maintenance of order?—This is in effect what they do affirm. Are we to deny the Chinese any voice in matters such as these affecting the welfare and destiny, it may be, of the whole nation, three or four hundred millions in number? Or will the British nation feel justified in going to war for the purpose of compelling an Eastern race to be civilised after our Western methods—and forthwith to lay down railroads and telegraphic lines, that our merchants may find readier means of access and transport for goods to their customers in the interior? If not, we cannot see the practical end to be served by all the angry declamation we hear about a 'mild diplo-'macy,' and the necessity of a 'vigorous policy,' assuming our right to impose such conditions upon the Chinese. It may be that the opposition to all these modern innovations comes, as alleged by the merchants, from the mandarins exclusively, the official and educated classes comprised in the category of literati and gentry as well as mandarins. We believe it does. There is good reason to conclude that were these classes otherwise disposed than they are—less ignorant of the value and claims of Western civilisation, less bigoted in their admiration for Confucius and the wisdom of antediluvian ancestors, and less hostile in spirit to all that is foreign —from missionaries to opium—from treaty powers to treaty subjects and their rights as well as their pretensions,—railroads

and telegraphic lines might be laid down to-morrow, for any opposition that would be offered spontaneously by the people. What are we to conclude from this? Are we to thrust aside the whole of the educated and ruling classes and leave the government of the country to take care of itself, while we proceed to lay down our rails and telegraphic lines? Or shall we see what can be done in the way of intimidation and coercion to compel the 'obstructive mandarins' with their allies, the literati and gentry, the only recognised authorities in China, to execute the work themselves and carry out our projects? We have already pointed out one great obstacle to the success of any such schemes in the possible dissolution of the only visible embodiment of a central Power or Government and the consequent anarchy and disintegration. We might succeed in the first, if prepared to attempt the subjugation of China, and its partition among Western Powers. We should certainly fail in the second. And it is very certain no British Government will ever feel justified in undertaking either the one or the other, even if the nation were convinced that so only could they save their trade with China from extinction. It is idle to waste time therefore in going over all the irrational proposals emanating from the open ports in China for the compression or expansion of China into a mould that would meet their views or further their interests.

Time will be better employed in considering within what limits, and by what means, material progress may be made. More especially does it behove us to ascertain without more delay the true nature and source of the dangers so constantly reappearing and menacing our position, and with it all our interests in China. To many, we doubt not, what we are now going to say may seem paradoxical and utterly improbable as a matter of fact. Nevertheless, we say it with entire conviction of its truth. The main obstacles to any material improvement in China come from without, and not from within It is the foreigner, not the native, who creates the chief difficulty. And it is the foreign element, equally, that makes the danger of all such innovations as are most essential to progress. We say the foreigner, and he is not of one class or nation. It will be found that merchants, missionaries, and governments all supply their quotas, and all bring their contributions. They all help to fill up the witches' cauldron, the overflow of which is to be seen in such murderous outrages as Tien-tsin so lately witnessed. If we would understand in what direction to look for a cure for such evils, we must first ascertain whence they come. What are the true causes of such

hostile feeling and active hatred between the two races? We may pass over all minor distinctions of nationality within the larger divisions of Asiatic and European. The Chinese very seldom trouble themselves to make any distinction, and for once we may with advantage follow their example.

Who has not felt something of antipathy or distrust at the first contact with a stranger? a half-conscious feeling for which no adequate cause can be assigned? This exactly describes the state of Chinese feeling with respect to all of foreign race. Mere ignorance and prejudice will account for much. Traditions of hatred or wrong and injustice also have their influence. As may rival interests and conflicting opinions in matters great or small;—a dogma or a creed will answer the end very fully. But there is something else behind. There is a real antagonism between the two races, and it is difficult to resist the conviction that it is in part instinctive. The mass of the population is further worked upon by superstition—the memory of past wars—the sinister suggestions and promptings of the ruling classes—their literati and gentry. The mandarins, as a class, have a perfectly unmistakeable, and for the most part unqualified hatred of the whole foreign race. Many, no doubt, if pressed, would give more or less plausible reasons for it. We are aggressive and domineering, given to command and prone to use force to accomplish our ends or secure attention to our behests. We are illiterate and barbarous. We never read Confucius and know nothing of the 'Rites'—are totally and lamentably wanting in any conception of '*Taouli*'—of the 'eternal verities' and the fitness of things, as Carlyle would interpret it. We eat our food with murderous weapons, and ridiculously fail in the use of chopsticks. We begin our books at the wrong end, and write equally perversely and ignorantly from left to right and across the page, instead of from top to bottom. We are violent in temper and carry the same violence into all our exercises and amusements. We dance promiscuously and in public with our women, who are only half-dressed, according to Chinese notions of modesty. In fine, there is no end to our violations of decorum and ignorance of right. But to the mandarins—the officials high and low—we are the incarnation of all abominations. We are subversive and revolutionary. Our trade and our goods are a perpetual source of trouble and danger to them. Where these penetrate, ideas follow, and these are all destructive and odious. We teach disrespect to the mandarin authority, have no respect for the Emperor or the Dragon, and preach sedition. Our missionaries go about like wolves in sheep's

clothing. They steal the hearts of the children for philters and foul rites of necromancy. They turn the people away from all lawful authorities, and get possession of their pagodas. They entirely upset the established order of things, threatening the downfall of the whole Empire. 'Shall we let them into 'our inner land with new inventions, their rails and their 'wires, violating the Fungshui, outraging the spirits of air 'and earth and water, deranging all the geomantic influences 'of our hills and valleys, insulting the manes of our ances-'tors,—and involve ourselves, our children, and our country 'in a common ruin?' Behind all these reasons,—and ten thousand more which they can give when their tongues are loosened, there lies, we are satisfied, an instinct of self-preservation which may mislead them to their peril, but is not the less operative. Many *feel* there is danger, to them and to theirs,—to their class as a governing body, wherever the foreigner makes good his footing, or is allowed to set himself down. And for this to change, you must change both the Chinaman and the Chinese mandarin into something quite different from what they are.

When we read then, as we have often done lately, all the conflicting opinions of newspapers and their correspondents as to the existence of any hatred or hostile feeling to the foreigner among the population—any organised plans for his expulsion from the country, or his extermination—it seems to us the truth is not far to seek. With such a fund of instinctive dislike in all classes, and of more active elements of hostility constantly working in the breasts of the whole mandarin and educated class—intimately connected and blended as these are by association, community of feelings, interests, and all the other ties which unite classes moving in the same circle—is it not plain, that so much 'latent heat' as they are calculated to generate, cannot fail to be a perennial source of danger? With no love for us anywhere, and all these combustible materials ever ready for a conflagration, a spark is often enough to produce an explosion. A rumour of kidnapping—a placard denouncing the missionaries as stealers of children and practisers of the black art—anything will do—and these are all things actually believed in by great numbers even of the educated. The danger is always there; and the experience of the past should not be lost upon us. In no one instance that we can remember have the local authorities ever come to the rescue of foreigners when their lives or their property were objects of attack. Never have they taken any effective steps of prevention, though often affecting to do so by insufficient and

delusive proceedings. In most instances there has been ample warning. At Yangchow, Taiwan, and Swatow, it is always the same story. At Tien-tsin, where the culminating horror was perpetrated, there was an Imperial Commissioner of the Northern Ports resident—a high officer, with a dockyard and arsenal under his charge, and a large force of disciplined troops. There were local authorities and subordinate officials whose special duty it was to maintain order. Not one of these moved a finger on the day of execution; and many days previously, while death and murder were visibly approaching their victims, the only pretence of rescue or intervention made by the Chehien (the local magistrate) was the issue of a proclamation for which he deserved to have been hanged on the spot, tending to confirm the wretched populace in their delusions as to the foul conduct attributed to the missionaries, instead of boldly denouncing the authors of such slanders, and emphatically declaring their falsehood. It is impossible to come to any other conclusion than that which has already been very generally adopted by foreigners in the country, namely, that there was a deliberate design to murder the unfortunate people—men and women,—whose whole life was one sacrifice for the benefit of the heathen race among whom they had voluntarily cast their lot; and there was no authority on the spot, from Chung-how down to the lowest of the Tingchais or police-runners, who could have been ignorant of the design. Why did they not prevent its execution then? There can be but one answer. Either they would not from fear or other motive, which is our belief; or they had not the means and could not, and that no one on the spot believed. We are told that the case presented many difficulties: that the Chinese Government believed that the Tientsinese had a *bonâ fide* ground of suspicion or exasperation against the religious bodies, and were consequently disposed to deal mildly with the offence. Again, so far as the mandarins accused are concerned, although our presumptions were strong, our evidence would have been worth little in a court of justice against anyone but the magistrate. Against the Prefect and the ex-rebel and General Chen-kwo-jui there was only the testimony of common fame, but not such evidence as would secure conviction in an English court. All which may be more or less true. But there could be no reasonable doubt of the culpability of these mandarins, inasmuch as if they did not foster the ill-feeling they did nothing to prevent it. In that sense, therefore, the blood of the murdered may justly be laid to their charge.

We are thus brought to the greatest difficulty and by far the

gravest cause of anxiety. Of all the dangers which menace our position in China, and the difficulties which surround the Representatives of Foreign Powers, there are none to be compared in gravity or in urgency with those created by the Missionary question. Many others exist, as we have seen. If there were no missionaries in China, the merchants would bring their share of discord and elements of danger. The importation of opium and the exportation of Coolies, with the frightful abuses of kidnapping, and the horrors of the 'middle-passage' re-enacted in the emigrant ships — the smuggling between Hongkong and the mainland—these, and many other griefs of the Chinese authorities and people, would make trouble. Merchants and trade existing, the necessity of political relations follows. In their train come other dangers and causes of hostility, more especially among the officials of the provinces and the governing powers at Peking, the latter in contact with foreign Ministers, as the former are with consuls at the ports. If these are more limited in number than the causes connected with merchants and missionaries, they are still very influential, and all the more important that they act near to the fountain-source of all authority and influence in China. No doubt the sort of tutelage in which the Chinese Government is held through the Tsung-li Yamĕn (the Foreign Office of China), at the head of which is placed Prince Kung, a brother of the late and the uncle of the present Emperor, must be deeply irritating and galling to Chinese pride. The frequent reclamations which the Ministers of Foreign Powers are compelled to make, and the insistance necessary to obtain any kind of justice or redress through the Central Government, when any wrong or violation of treaty has been committed, cannot be otherwise than distasteful to the Prince and his colleagues. And yet as affairs are conducted in the provinces and with five or six Legations at Peking, these trials must be constant. Then there are rivalries and exaggerated susceptibilities among Foreign Powers, which also have to be met, and appeased if possible, even though the price be some unreasonable concession of lucrative appointments in the Imperial customs or elsewhere. Then Russia is not a comfortable neighbour—not easy to entreat, nor altogether pleasant in some of its exigencies. Hanging like an avalanche over the Northern and Western border, there must always seem a danger of a sudden descent, and half a province being torn away. The greater part of Manchuria so disappeared, while China was too busy with the Taepings, and we with the Crimean war, to take much heed. The overland trade across Mongolia and Siberia, with border raids, and

caravan trading rights, are fruitful sources of trouble and anxiety. The last affair we heard of was the emigration of 3,000 Coreans across their frontier into the adjoining territories of the Amoor, and their reclamation by the King of Corea from Russia. Corea lies very conveniently close to Sagalien, and on the way Russia must travel sooner or later down the coast, to get an unfrozen harbour on the Pacific. If we were in the King of Corea's place, knowing what we know, we should let the emigrants stay where they are; and above all things avoid a quarrel with our big neighbour.

So far as the Chinese Government is concerned—perhaps more strictly speaking, so far as the Ministers of the Tsungli-Yamĕn have any voice—they would not willingly provoke war with any foreign Power. But those of their number who have any liking for foreign intercourse or any sympathy with the objects and wishes of foreigners—subjects or Powers—are very few. On the other side, the anti-foreign party musters very strong. How deep this feeling of rancour and hatred is, may best be conveyed in the words employed by Mō, the senior governor and preceptor of the boy Emperor, applying a vernacular saying among the Chinese to express his feelings in regard to the foreigner. 'I hope daily,' he says in concluding his memorial to the Emperor against the institution of a college for teaching western science and languages—'I hope daily to eat 'their flesh and sleep upon their skins.' If this truly amiable desire should be very generally participated in by the high officers at Peking and elsewhere throughout the Empire, and we have a strong misgiving on the subject, it must be evident that what we call peace is but an armed truce—to last only so long as those who really govern think it safer or more profitable than war. But recent information leads us to infer that there are many now about Peking and in the palace who have forgotten the victorious march of the Allies on the capital; and, duped by their ignorance and conceit, the length and breadth of which no European can measure, they think their progress in drill and the possession of arsenals—from which European *employés* have turned them out some cannon and gunboats—render them a match for any single European Power. And as we are always quarrelling and flying at each others' throats, as Prussians and French are at this moment—they think there need be no great difficulty in keeping us isolated. Sometimes they may have thoughts, when very hard driven, of securing an ally—say the United States. It is difficult to say what might be the number or extent of the changes such an alliance offensive and defensive would be likely to lead to. It would

presuppose of course, as a necessary condition, that the rulers of China had decidedly made up their mind after a certain experience in their relations with Foreign Powers, that—all things considered—one master was preferable to many. It might be awkward, however, for China if she found she had made a mistake; since the union, like some others, might prove indissoluble except by the death of one of the parties to the contract. Yet more improbable things have come to pass within the last century, and the last few years in Europe. No one knowing China and the present situation will deem such a combination absolutely impossible.

The Burlinghame Mission, about which so much indignation has been wasted 'among the small mercantile bodies located at 'the open ports,' was undoubtedly an effort—it may have been a preliminary effort—on the part of the Chinese Foreign Office to secure more consideration for their difficulties. It was a plea for forbearance. They felt themselves ridden hard by more than one Old Man of the Sea, and the angry denunciations of the mercantile bodies before the revision, was the last drop which made the cup of bitterness overflow. If a revision was to be claimed by the British Government and carried on in the spirit of the memorialists, then the sooner they swallowed gold leaf or retired into private life—the two grand resources of Chinese high officers when all hope is lost—the better. If haply the last alternative should be open to them. Sorely pressed by a powerful national party, anti-foreign to the last drop of blood, as Mō would declare, for them to contemplate the concession of one-half of the sweeping changes so urgently demanded by the British merchants would simply be to sign their own death-warrant, and the certain ruin of all their party, weak as it was in numbers and only strong in superior intelligence.

It was in this sense the Legations at Peking were led to believe the Burlinghame Mission was sent to urge upon all the Treaty Powers the policy of leaving them alone. Mr. Burlinghame, it is true, seemed, as soon as he got among his own people at San Francisco, to have been carried away by their enthusiasm and by his own sanguine hopes of great results from the Mission, and went far beyond its legitimate limits. He forgot all his own experience, and represented the Chinese as eager for progress—ready to welcome the foreigner and all his innovations, and to 'plant the shining 'Cross over every hill and valley.' If this meant anything in Mr. Burlinghame's mouth beyond what one of his own supporters said at the dinner-table—'a great flow of eloquence

'meaning nothing but good feeling'—he must have forgotten all he had learnt during a five years' residence at Peking. But, however erroneous, it was only calculated to mislead those who were totally ignorant of China and its people. He would undoubtedly have better served his cause—the cause of the Chinese—if he had stated the plain truth, and put no gloss whatever on the facts of the case. If he had boldly proclaimed in every Court in Europe that there were statesmen now in power in China who believed progress in many directions, if not desirable at least inevitable, and were therefore willing to take such steps as they thought consistent with safety in that direction; but that they were in a very small minority, and were engaged in a constant struggle with a large and powerful party in the State, comprising nearly the whole official class—all the educated portion of the nation—with an unknown proportion of the people, thoroughly anti-foreign in all their feelings and prejudices, wedded to the philosophy and traditions of their ancestors and forming a compact body of resistance to all progress or innovation, he would have given a true account of China as it, and better served her cause in the end, than by any highly-coloured pictures of an imaginary Chinese Empire. He might have truly and wisely added that to force upon the few more enlightened members of the Government measures they are not able to carry through, would be merely to ensure their removal from power, and precipitate either a war or a revolution—but in all probability both. So also he might have urged that to perpetually humiliate the Tsungli-Yamĕn representing the Government in its foreign policy and relations, with imperious demands for sweeping changes which they have constantly declared their inability to initiate, and by perpetual interference with their customs and internal administration, is simply to play into the hands of the anti-foreign and reactionary party—the most violent enemies of progress in any shape—and to cripple or paralyse the only statesmen who hold out any hope of improvement, or show any consciousness of the necessity for progress in the interest of China and of peace. Had the Mission done this, it would have done China and every Treaty Power good service; and we are persuaded that this was the one immediate object contemplated when it was first suggested to the Government at Peking, or, in other words, the Foreign Office there, by the merchants' memorials. They desired and thought themselves entitled to greater consideration and forbearance than they were likely to get from the mercantile communities.

We have heard so much of our difficulties in China, that

of late the public press has returned again and again to the subject, asking with a painful iteration—'What is to be done 'with China? What shall we do with China?' The apparent impossibility of combining in any common effort all the Treaty Powers for the assurance of its independence on the one hand, and the difficulty of applying a steady friendly pressure for the advancement of material improvements under the present system of misgovernment and corruption, render all action very difficult. Taking all these circumstances into account, we cannot help recalling the answer given by Lord Melbourne to similar inquiry in a home difficulty, 'Can't you 'leave it alone?' Can we not leave China alone so far as any effort is concerned to force upon her what some Utopian philosophers call 'progress and civilisation'? Words of great potency sometimes, and of very wide scope; but most frequently of evil omen when a superior Power conceives the idea of grafting something new upon an old civilisation, and with his strength imposing it upon another race.

When our trade is in question, or the lives and property of those engaged in it, we have a clear course before us as a nation deeply and rightly interested in all that concerns them. But these conditions become complicated and confused if we adopt schemes of civilisation and progress, and superadd to them religious propagandism and the conversion of the heathen. It is very difficult to say where any one of these allied objects may land us. It becomes a serious question, at all events to a commercial nation like Great Britain, how far such widely divergent ends can be combined at all, or whether they are not absolutely incompatible? The merchants tell us the interests of trade require that they should develope the resources of China, work mines, lay down railroads to facilitate travelling and the transport of their goods into the interior; telegraphic wires for readier communication, steamers under foreign flags on all the rivers and inland waters, &c. Unfortunately all these means and appliances for trade cannot be discussed on purely commercial grounds, or rather they cannot be kept within those limits, and so discussed with a Chinese Government. They necessarily raise political questions of great intricacy and of the highest importance in a country such as China is—with its weakened Government, semi-independent provinces,—corrupt and decentralised administration, and teeming millions of population. The commercial interests are dwarfed and sink into utter insignificance by the side of the infinitely greater and more important national considerations, which the bare contemplation of any sweeping changes must always suggest.

So far as trade is concerned—trade simply, and without political and missionary accompaniments to complicate its conditions—the Chinese as a nation are well disposed. They—that is the ruling classes and people not directly engaged in it—do not desire foreign trade; and if they had a free choice would certainly shut it out. But as things are, they are willing trade should be carried on if they are not pushed too far or too violently in the way the foreign merchants would have them compelled to go. What are we to promise ourselves as the result of any refusal to acquiesce in this neutral policy and the adoption of measures to force them in a different course? Shall we gain anything? And who has counted the risk and the cost of a decided step in this direction? Not the memorialists of Hongkong and Shanghai, we should say, judging by the whole purport and tone of their memorials. May it not be possible for the British Government, if moved by the spirit shown in these, to do many worse things in the interest of trade than follow Lord Melbourne's advice for the moment, and wait until the way is clearer either for pressure or active intervention in this much-vaunted path of progress and civilisation? China is open to our enterprise as it is; under certain limited conditions it is true; but still, under fairly favourable circumstances, we must conclude, since large as our trade is, it has nearly doubled in the last ten years. She has a lower and more liberal tariff in import and export dues than any Western State can boast of. A full participation in the coasting trade has been allowed—a step greatly in advance of European legislation. Despite all this we want—or our merchants do—to carry on their trade in China, not as China is, but as they conceive it might be made by the introduction of many modern appliances, and under totally different conditions of fiscal administration and government. We think the British public and the British Government will conclude, that neither the strength nor the power of the nation can be enlisted to compel the Chinese rulers to withdraw their determined opposition to the innovations proposed in a country so little prepared for great political trials and experiments. We are, of course, aware that the memorialists contend they ask for no changes which will not be for the advantage of China and its people quite as much as their own. Possibly it may be so in fact, and we have no inclination to question it. But granting the premiss, has China no right of judgment or voice in the matter? Or, if it be preferred, should the Government, the actual rulers of the country, be allowed no opinion on a matter which so vitally affects both them and the nation they govern? We think there can only be one answer, unless it be

proposed to introduce the *plebiscitum* into China, and engage in an undertaking to transfer political and governing powers to other hands.

Space will not allow us to go more fully into the missionary question, or discuss the details of the Tien-tsin massacre, and the miserable delays experienced in obtaining even the small crumbs of justice at last meted out from the mandarins' tables. Nothing could have been less satisfactory. The whole order of proceeding, with the result, appears little better than a mockery of justice. There is nothing real or substantial to be recognised in either, unless it be the payment of half a million of taels indemnity, the receipt of which cannot be regarded with any satisfaction. Changhow himself was so much implicated, that it is an insult to have sent him to France with a mission to make the peace of the Chinese Government. But those frequent attempts at dictation and intervention, and the obstacles they raise to European influence in strengthening and purifying the administration, are great sources of evil, and have much to answer for in respect to such outbreaks. Insurrections are provoked quite as much by known weakness as by universal corruption. The danger created by the missionaries—the Roman Catholic missionaries more especially, with their ultramontane system and tendencies, under the protectorate of France—have done more than all else to create a state of things very inimical to the maintenance of peaceable relations. Unfortunately the remedy for this is very difficult to find, unless Foreign Powers are prepared to go back and undo much that they have been very persistently doing since the signature of the last treaties at Tien-tsin. If France can be induced to relinquish an ostentatious protectorate of Roman Catholic missions in the East, and cease to impose upon an Eastern race the ultramontanism it has so firmly and consistently resisted in French territories as subversive of the civil power: and if Russia will cease to covet her neighbour's territories: and Great Britain be content to protect her trade and turn a deaf ear to any other form of propagandism, social, political, or religious, leaving the Chinese to develope such forms of national life as best befits them; and all other Treaty Powers can agree to follow a similar reasonable course, there might then be some hope of permanent and peaceful relations, and the gradual but certain diminution of hostility, because the chief causes would rapidly disappear and cease to trouble either foreigner or native. Failing this, it may be asked what course we recommend and what policy we would suggest? We answer, a policy as simple as it is plain and comprehensive. Insist upon all reasonable security to life

and property, and such protection to trade as treaties have broadly stipulated, and secure this end by such means as may be found necessary; by and through the Central Government, if it will act efficiently—without it if such action be wanting. Give the local authorities and people, as well as the Government at Peking, distinctly to understand that there shall be no impunity for unprovoked attack where British life or interests are concerned, though it may be very difficult at all times to secure the object. As for the rest of the merchants' programme, and all projects for the forcible introduction of progress and civilisation, leave the Chinese alone, and disclaim all right of dictation or interference for other objects. This may not succeed, but it seems to us better adapted than any that has yet been tried, to attain the desired end and declared object of our treaties with China. For a radical cure we must look to other means; but as a *modus vivendi* in the meanwhile we can suggest nothing more effective.

Our views on the present situation and the more immediate prospects in China are easily summed up. The halcyon days of rapid fortunes have passed never to return. Trade increases, but passes more and more into Chinese hands so far as distribution is concerned. Foreign merchants are gradually disappearing except from the larger ports, such as Shanghai, Foochow, Amoy, and Canton. At these, such is the increase of competition, that the most fortunate are simply able to pay their expenses. None are making fortunes save those who have no capital to lose, and call themselves bill brokers. The shipping business grows, but the Chinese reap all the profits save such as pertain to freight. Since the evil day when the massacre of Tien-tsin was perpetrated without let or hindrance from any authority, civil or military, and without a thought of interference from the more orderly and respectable part of the population, our position in China has been greatly changed for the worse. We are now only safe so long as we are not attacked, and day by day those now resident in the country take their chance of this only too probable contingency. After such atrocities done in open day, and in a treaty port within eighty miles of the capital, anything may occur. Her Majesty's Consul at Shanghai has stated to the community there, that the interference of a naval force in any emergency is not authorised, except in cases when the lives and property of British subjects would in all probability be sacrificed without it, and even in such cases, her Majesty's Government will 'expect to be satisfied that the alternative of saving foreigners 'by taking them on board was not available.' 'Precautionary

'measures,' the Consul adds, 'do not seem to be contemplated 'by the instructions, as now constituted, but merely the afford-'ing of such assistance as may be necessary, in the event of 'an actual attack, to the preservation of life or the protec-'tion of property from destruction.' Under such limitations as these, ships of war can afford no real protection for the saving of either life or property against any sudden onslaught —the exact day and hour of which foreigners can never know, even though forewarned, as at Tien-tsin, of the existence of danger from a Chinese mob. It is generally under the leadership of crafty and very treacherous enemies plotting their destruction. For all practical purposes, a British fleet might as well be in the Atlantic as in the China seas, if no action can be taken until an attack has actually commenced. Measures in anticipation of danger must be taken if any real protection is to be secured. A certain large discretionary power on the spot is no less essential, since weeks or months must elapse before instructions from home can be received, and weeks before a reference can even be made at Peking from the ports in winter. In this last instance there was not even this difficulty, for the Legations were within twenty-four hours' reach. But between this discretionary power and a license to proceed to measures of hostility in anticipation of danger, under the direction of a commander of a gunboat or a junior consular officer there is a wide distance. The best deterrent of crime and treachery in China is undoubtedly the known strength to resist, or power to punish. Where the first is wanting, swiftness and certainty in the punishing power is the only substitute. Through the Chinese rulers neither of these will ever be secured. We repeat, they have never been known to intervene in time either to save life or property. In the last melancholy example of such impotence — the butchery of Tien-tsin, no effective action had been taken fifty days after the event. Nor in the end have any of the responsible and active participators in the outrage suffered punishment. All that has been done by the Chinese Government has been illusive and utterly inadequate. The Executive has shown its weakness in a way to revolt the least exigent; and the anti-foreign party has given us a specimen of their strength of a very ominous kind. The Tsungli-Yamĕn did not arrest Chĕn-kwo-jui, who seems, by common report, to have been the chief plotter of all the mischief. They made no step in this direction, although the Representative of France openly charged him with complicity in the evil doings of the 21st of June. Tsĕng-kwo-fau, by his weak trimming and

indecision when sent to the spot to punish the chief offenders, has lost credit with every party. His tardy memorial absolving the unfortunate Sisters from blame deprived him of the leadership of the anti-foreign party in the State, of which he had long been regarded the head; and his want of decision and his fear of the people have led the smaller group of pro-foreign officials to fancy that he must have been greatly over-rated hitherto. He was six weeks at Tien-tsin before he had the courage to make a single arrest. The last reports from Peking say that he is about to retire into private life, discredited and disgraced in the estimation of all his friends. Yangchow, where he came in collision with the British Minister and was compelled to afford redress for a popular attack on the missionaries in that place, and Tien-tsin, where he was confronted with the French Representative in a still more serious affair, have clipped the wings of his soaring ambition, and sent him back into private life from his Viceroyalty and the foremost place in the councils of the nation. He has suffered a downfall scarcely less great than Yêh of Canton memory. Certainly if foreigners often suffer from the hostility and ineptitude of Chinese officials, the latter have reason to look with fear on any serious conflict with those they so often seek to trample on. '*Malheur à qui s'y frotte*,' might well be the motto over every foreigner's escutcheon in China. This fact itself should be, and no doubt is, some protection.

The next greatest man in Chinese estimation to the Viceroy Tsĕng-kwo-fau, who is now passing off the stage, is Li-hung-chang, the generalissimo of the 'ever-victorious army,' which, with Colonel Gordon's aid, gave the *coup de grâce* to the Taepings shut up in Nanking. He has been appointed Viceroy and Governor-General of the province of Chili in succession to Tsĕng-kwo-fau, and by last accounts had gone to Tien-tsin, that port as well as the capital being within the limits of his province. It remains to be seen how he will act. He has the reputation of not being afraid of the people, as his predecessor unfortunately was; and has shown himself quick in taking a decision. Of late people say, however, that his palm itches, and the rich folk at Tien-tsin may have already greased it for him. We fear matters were not well managed on the foreign side in the beginning. M. de Rochechouart seems to have complicated matters by demanding the heads of three officials at the offset. He did not get them of course. To have given them without a trial would have been an act of pusillanimity; and to give them now, if a legal conviction could be secured, would be regarded by the people as evincing fear of the

foreigners, and the beheaded would be glorified, as have been the coolies executed, as martyrs in a patriotic cause. He also seems to have greatly erred in separating himself from his colleagues after having proposed a common action, and thus suggested to the Chinese the idea of isolation. As he brought up gunboats and threatened to use them, the Chinese at once began their preparations for which he furnished so valid an excuse, and the province is now filled with troops, and all along the coast they are reported as prepared to meet the French. The officials—some at least—think they are strong enough to meet any one Foreign Power in the field, and they have so reversed the position, that from playing the part of the wolf in troubling the stream, they now regard themselves as the injured party, and will fight if France does not accept their terms! This, we presume, is the blustering talk of the braves and fire-brigades of Tien-tsin. As the French are not contemplating any attack, it seems probable that there may be quiet during this winter; but how next year may go on it is impossible to say. One thing seems certain; although the official telegrams from Peking do not sanction such a conclusion, the demeanour of the people is everywhere changed. We have this from many witnesses of the most reliable kind, and from one among others who has lately been at all the principal ports, and is thoroughly conversant with the people and their language, and could not be mistaken on such a plain matter of observation. There is evidence of a general desire to turn the foreigner out; so that unless they speedily get the only sort of lesson which they seem capable of understanding or really profiting by—teaching them respect for the foreigner's life and his property, there is a prospect of increasing difficulty in the future, and nothing but difficulties. If the French were in a position to act alone, they would for a time beat all conceit out of the most obstinate of the Celestial race, and inflict a lesson that would leave little to be desired—as to effectiveness. But if France were left to act alone, great mischief would inevitably follow, and it is probable that in the present state of that country she will be unable to act at all. Already much evil has been caused by the domineering spirit and intermeddling policy of the French agents, as well as by the Ultramontanism of the missionaries under their protection. But what could be anticipated if they were left to act alone in humbling the Chinese, and compelling them to accept such terms of peace as it might please France, in her own political or missionary interest, to dictate? That at least must not be. It would be too utterly destructive of all hope of maintaining any permanent relations of peace and amity

with either Chinese rulers or people; and would undoubtedly pave the way for the disintegration of the Empire, or its partition among the Foreign Powers—attempts to subjugate whole provinces and appropriate the morsels in perfectly indigestible quantities. So far as the interests of commerce or of civilisation are concerned, nothing could be more fatal.

It is not without interest, in a political and historical point of view, to note the strange coincidence by which two countries, at the extreme west and east of the great Asiatic continent, afford at the present time striking analogies in their political situation and prospects. Both are objects of solicitude to the great European Powers, and both are, to a great degree, under their tutelage. Russia hangs on the frontiers of both with a menacing and crushing power, and is hated and dreaded accordingly by each of them for somewhat similar reasons. Against disintegrating forces, applied by rival and contending Western States, in the form of advice—imperious demands for reforms—privileges and concessions of the most sweeping kind—China, no more than Turkey, can offer any defence, save such as weakness suggests in presence of superior force—to temporise and oppose a certain immoveable and dogged *inertia*—a passive resistance such as the Pope's *non possumus* typifies. It is thus that they are alone enabled to meet demands made upon them for concessions larger than were ever demanded except from a defeated enemy. After all, however much we may regret this chronic state of antagonism, it is impossible not to admit that the Chinese ruling classes may be not wholly wrong if they conceive that a nation of some three or four hundred millions was not made merely for foreign trade and that foreign nations and merchants might grow rich, or even that foreign statesmen and political philosophers might enjoy, free of cost, a new and vast field for experiments. They may be pardoned if they sometimes feel—and feel strongly—that every other object and interest in the Empire should not be wholly subordinated to their commercial relations, or the nation governed entirely and exclusively by the demands of foreign merchants or the will of foreign States.

ART. VIII.—1. *The Military Forces of the Crown. Their Administration and Government.* By C. M. CLODE. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1869.

2. *Letters on Military Organisation, reprinted from the 'Times,' with Additions.* By Lord ELCHO, M.P. London: 1871.

3. *On Army Organisation.* By Sir ARCHIBALD ALISON, Bart. Edinburgh: 1869.

'LET it suffice,' says Lord Bacon, in one of those pregnant sentences which are the wisdom of ages—'Let it suffice, 'that no estate expect to be great, that is not awake upon any 'just occasion of arming.' The people of England, not unmindful of their former and their present greatness, are awake to the events passing around them, and to their own duties in the midst of them. Whether they look to the East or to the West, to Central Europe or to the Furthest Isles, it is apparent to the simplest capacity that if we hope to retain the blessings of peace for ourselves, it must be that we are prepared to defend them; and that the rights of nations and the obligations of public law are, at this present time, protected solely by the force which can be brought to their support. It would be infatuation to imagine that the naval and military power which sufficed in years of peace and lassitude can suffice for this Empire when Europe rings with the din of arms, and when our interests in Asia and America are alike assailable. On this point the expectations of the nation are unanimously and confidently fixed. The security of the country and the duration of the present Administration depend on the fulfilment of these expectations. Mr. Gladstone is called upon to meet Parliament with measures widely different from those bills of internal reform which he has heretofore introduced and carried with so much spirit and success. We trust that he and his colleagues will display equal vigour and resolution in framing and proposing comprehensive legislative and executive measures for a thorough reorganisation of the military forces of the Crown. That is manifestly the task which now awaits his hand and calls for all his power. Parliament and the country are prepared to accept from him measures which might some months ago have found them indifferent or reluctant. We know nothing of the intentions of the Government; we do not pretend to penetrate them; but Ministers have a signal opportunity before them, and we trust they will use it with signal success. The following pages are offered as a contribution to the discussion

of this most important subject, with the conviction that, although differences must occur as to the mode of application, the principles we are about to advocate are those on which alone a sound and searching reform of the army can be effected.

It is therefore at an opportune time that Mr. Clode's book has appeared; a more valuable record of the constitutional history of the army could not have been written; but we rise from its perusal with a feeling of utter amazement that a practical nation like ourselves can entrust its defences to a machine consisting of parts so intricate, unwieldy, and even antagonistic to each other, as the British military system.

The military forces of the Crown are a heterogeneous medley. The Regular Army is under the Commander-in-Chief. The Pensioners and Army Reserve are under the War Office. The Militia, the Volunteers, and the Yeomanry are under the lords-lieutenant of counties. There is no cohesion, no unity. The laws which govern these several forces are contained in various Acts of Parliament which it would puzzle even Mr. Clode to collate. The regulations which rule the pay, the promotion, and the discipline are partly contained in scattered regulations, partly in an unwritten code wrapped up in the breasts of officials at the War Office and Horse Guards, by whom it is enunciated, and by whom alone it can be interpreted.

The Regular Army, the Militia, and the Volunteers are severally recruited by voluntary enlistment, but instead of assisting each other they rather tend to compete in the same market.

In the scientific corps officers are appointed by open competition, and promoted by seniority. In the Guards, Infantry, and Cavalry they are nominated by the Commander-in-Chief; they are promoted, partly by seniority, but mainly by purchase. In the Militia and Volunteers the officers are commissioned by the lords-lieutenant.

Departments of supply exist for the Regular Army alone, not for the Militia or Volunteers, nor is the latter force furnished with any field equipment. The Supply Departments are now in a state of transition, indeed of entire reconstruction. The Secretary of State is accustomed to make an announcement annually in his speech on moving the Army Estimates that the War Office, in its internal arrangements and in its relations with the Horse Guards, is also in a state of reorganisation. Yet there have been, says Lord Longford, 17 Royal Commissions, 18 Select Committees, 19 Committees of officers within the War Office, besides 35 Committees of officers to consider

points of military policy during the twelve years of the existence of the Consolidated War department.

We have expended upon our army nearly 150,000,000*l.* in the last ten years, of which probably 18,000,000*l.* has been spent upon equipment and stores, and yet our sea defences are not armed with guns capable of piercing armour-clad ships; our regular troops are not yet fully armed with breech-loaders; our supply of powder is inadequate for our ordinary wants; if we embarked in war and lost a force but one-tenth in number of that French force now prisoners in Germany, we should not know where to turn for reserves. Such is the state to which our military power in Europe has been reduced by the absence of one essential condition—organisation. We have men, material, money, public spirit in abundance. Nay, on the banks of the Ganges we have ourselves an army of 180,000 men, well administered and perfectly equipped for war. But on the shores of the Channel scarcely four divisions could be drawn up in battle. Come but the man, come but the will, and this disgraceful chaos would subside into order and force, and this at no greater cost than we incur already. But men must first know how to set about it. Army Reform means simply the introduction of unity into the constitution of the military forces of the Crown, and consistency into the organisation of the departments which administer them.

It will clear the way for understanding these problems, to show how the present condition of things has been reached.

The defence of the realm is the first duty of the Crown, but the Crown cannot legally maintain an army without the consent of Parliament. The constitutional arrangements which followed the Revolution of 1688, and which still obtain, may be summed up under three heads:—

1. The Bill of Rights and Act of Settlement which gave Parliament the power to limit the number of armed men to be retained by the Crown within the realm.

2. The payment of the men by Parliament through the agency of the Crown.

3. The government of the army by the Crown through the statutory authority of the Mutiny Act.

Parliament annually voted the supplies, but the administration of those supplies rested with the Crown. Parliament could easily control the amounts which it annually voted on the Army Estimates, but wars and the protection of distant colonies caused unforeseen expenditure, which the Crown was accustomed to ask Parliament to vote in a subsequent year under the head of 'Extraordinary Services incurred and not

'provided for.' These 'Army Extraordinaries' were used by the Crown as a constant pretext for exceeding the supply, and their existence was a complete bar to real control over military expenditure. Hence a continual struggle was maintained by the House of Commons, from the time of William III. almost until the present reign, to obtain this control; but it was reserved for the Reformed Parliament in 1835 to abolish 'Army 'Extraordinaries,' and thus to obtain that efficient control over military expenditure which had so long been desired.

The earliest method adopted by the Crown for raising men was to contract with 'some knight or gentleman expert in 'war, and of great revenues,' to provide a number of men to serve; and this principle, though much modified, prevailed to a late period, and was even practised during the Crimean War. The colonel of the regiment was responsible for the finance, and received a sum to cover the expense of clothing and recruiting. By degrees, as the army became a more permanent institution, recruiting and enlistment were subjected to special legal enactments; and after 1783, the cost of recruiting was specially voted by Parliament. The object sought by the Crown was to procure as cheap a material as possible out of which to make soldiers, and in time of pressure the ranks were sometimes recruited by taking from the prisons debtors and even criminals. The ordinary enlistments were for life, notwithstanding repeated efforts made in Parliament to fix a limit to the period of service, but special levies were made for short periods. The constitutional policy pursued by the Crown in officering the army was to appoint gentlemen alone to commissions, and that policy has been confirmed by Parliament. Thus whilst the ranks of the army were raised from the lower classes, the command was entrusted to the higher class. Out of this system pursued in the formation of corps and regiments arose the purchase and sale of military commissions; but this subject has been so fully discussed of late years that we shall not now advert to it further, regarding the abolition of purchase as a subsidiary rather than as an essential part of the reorganisation of the army.

The Militia, a force independent of the Standing Army, under the military command of the lords-lieutenant of counties, was raised and trained immediately under parliamentary control; but after the great war the House of Commons had so reduced this force, that in 1835 it consisted only of a few staff officers. The Volunteer Force, which in 1814 had numbered 360,000 men, at an annual cost of 1,160,000*l.*, practically ceased to exist during the long European peace.

About twenty-five years ago the agitation for Army Reform may be said to have begun, with meritorious but disconnected efforts to improve the status of the soldiers. Lord Grey was the first to draw practical attention to the defective sanitary and educational condition of the troops. In 1843 the Act was passed enrolling the Pensioners as a reserve force, and an aid to the civil power. In 1847 another Act put an end to enlistment for life and compelled the Crown to enlist all men for a limited period; i.e., in the infantry, engagements for ten years, and in the cavalry and artillery for twelve years, with re-engagements for eleven years. In 1854, Lord Hardinge, the General Commanding-in-Chief, who had held the post of Commander-in-Chief in India, and had served as Master-General of the Ordnance, issued the warrant by which the promotion of officers to appointments and commands became a matter of selection. He introduced the Minié rifle into the army, formed the School of Musketry which has had an important influence in giving an impulse to the education of the nation in the use of the rifle; and finding the army of England devoid of field artillery, he created that arm as we now see it. Lord Herbert introduced numerous reforms for promoting the well-being of the soldiers, and thus raising the character of the army. The threat directed against Great Britain by the French colonels caused the Volunteers to spring into existence in 1859, and induced Lord Palmerston to give effect to the Duke of Wellington's recommendation to add greatly to our fortifications. The Militia Acts (1758–63) were passed as an experiment; but after an experience of a quarter of a century, the Militia Laws were consolidated (in the year 1786) in one Act containing as its preamble these emphatic words:—that 'A respectable military force, under the command of officers 'possessing landed property within Great Britain, is *essential* 'to the constitution of this realm, and the Militia, as by law 'established, has been capable of fulfilling the purposes of its 'institution; and through its constant readiness on short notice 'for effectual service, has been of the utmost importance to 'the national defence of the kingdom of Great Britain.' In 1802 the numbers of the Militia were raised; and the powers of the Crown in relation to the Militia, as well as the strength of the force itself, have been extended by the Acts of 1852, 1854, and 1859. The third chapter of Mr. Clode's work, which gives the history of the laws regulating this great constitutional force, is one of the most valuable parts of his book. We wish we had space to quote the whole of it. But it must here suffice to say that it dates from the fifteenth

century; that it has ever been regarded by Parliament as the force arrayed under the lords-lieutenant for the defence of the realm, even when Parliament mistrusted the standing army; that *the ballot is the true basis on which the Militia rests* in all the Acts of Parliament from 1757 to the present time, though the operation of it has been and is suspended by an annual Act passed regularly since 1829; and that, in our opinion, the want of a more vigorous exercise and organisation of the Militia, on the ancient principles of the Constitution, is the main cause of the relative inefficiency of our whole military system, as we hope presently to show. As it is, the Militia has provided the country with an army of imperfectly trained men which may be called out for the defence of our shores, or for duty, when the Line is sent abroad.

This is a brief enumeration of the principal steps which have been taken of late years.

Under the old organisation of the army, which is now considerably changed, the Crown was the direct head of the Standing Army and signed all commissions. The officer Commanding-in-Chief was responsible for the discipline of the infantry and cavalry under the Mutiny Act and Articles of War. The Master-General of the Ordnance was responsible for the discipline and efficiency of the artillery and engineers. The Secretary of State for War and the Colonies advised the Cabinet upon the numbers to be maintained and the strength of the garrisons, and he nominated to important commands. The Secretary at War, appointed by the Crown under the countersign of a Secretary of State, controlled the pay and allowances of the infantry, cavalry, and staff, and the movement and billeting of troops in the United Kingdom. The Treasury provided by its own agents the pay, food, fuel, and light for all troops in the Colonies. The infantry and cavalry were clothed by the colonels of regiments. The Master-General of the Ordnance, a Cabinet Minister, who was head of the artillery and engineers, selected and provided all military equip ment, arms and munitions, he constructed fortifications and barracks, and held land used for military purposes, subject to the financial control of the Treasury. The Militia and Yeomanry were under the Home Secretary.

At the period of the Crimean War the present War Department was formed. The Secretaryship of State for War was separated from that for the Colonies. The Secretary at War and Master-General of Ordnance were abolished and their departments transferred to the Secretary of State for War. The discipline of the artillery and engineers was placed

under the General Commanding in Chief. The clothing of the army was removed from the colonels and undertaken by the Secretary of State for War. The Commissariat Department was removed from the Treasury, and the Militia and Yeomanry from the Home Office, and transferred to the Secretary of State for War; but the military command of the Militia and Yeomanry remained with the lords-lieutenant of counties.

Various departments were thus thrown together under one roof, and under one head, by a stroke of the pen, but they were not reconstructed upon any clearly devised system; consequently clashing of duties, waste of power, and extravagance in administration have reigned in the War department ever since its consolidation. Under the former system the discipline of the forces was scattered, but the financial control was very considerable; because the Treasury was enabled to exercise an intelligent supervision over the demands of the military, in that it had its own civilian agents in direct communication with the troops in every garrison; and the Ordnance similarly maintained at every station a civil staff in direct communication with the department in London, and to a great extent independent of the officer commanding.

Under the new system, the division between executive and financial functions, which had been the distinguishing characteristic of the separate departments, was changed; but the discipline of the army was concentrated under one head, and its wants and desires could be urged with greater force. The Permanent Official Staff, formerly civilian, which practically decided on the claims of the military, acquired under the new system a large infusion of the military element, and naturally looked with more favour on applications for improved or special allowances than a civilian tribunal would have done; the Treasury lost its means of acquiring local knowledge, and with it its power of intelligent control of Army Finance.

The pecuniary result of the change is summed up by Mr. Clode as follows:—

In the year 1868–9 the number of men in the army was only to a small extent greater than the number in 1853–4; yet a material increase had taken place in the charges for the following services:

	1853–54.	1868–69.
	£	£
Barrack stores	47,829	116,000
Fuel and light	129,753	297,621
Lodging money and rents . .	89,392	290,500
Material of war and experiments	600,000	1,550,000

Some part of the increase was no doubt due to more costly appliances for war; but independently of the diminished efficiency of the financial check from outside the department, the effect of consolidation itself must be taken into account. Lord Hardinge said, 'Consolidation is bad when it prevents the 'responsible head of the department from personally investi-'gating all important details; and this applies more particu-'larly to a military department, because the army is a mass 'of small details.' In the departments as at first united, the several supply services maintained their individuality. Lord Herbert, warned by the experience of the French Intendance in the Crimean war, and his successor, Lord de Grey, laboured at perfecting each department of supply; i.e. the commissariat for feeding the army, the purveyors for care of sick and wounded, and the store department for military equipments and munitions, so as to insure that a clear responsibility for failure in any class of supply should be brought home to individuals. The result of their policy was shown in the efficient manner in which the army was supplied in the Chinese war; and in the rapid and complete arrangements made for the passage of the troops in their winter journey through New Brunswick, on the occasion of the 'Trent' affair.

The classification and definition of responsibility was moreover a powerful aid to the financial department of the Secretary of State in controlling the expenditure; at the same time it was no doubt open to the objection that in some cases a duplicate staff and duplicate stores were maintained. Each department, moreover, had charge of waggons and horses for transport, the commissariat for bringing up food, the store department for moving forward reserve stores, and the purveyor's department for carrying hospital equipment and for collecting and removing wounded. Some uncertainty existed as to the transport arrangements necessary for regimental and quartermaster-general's purposes. Consequently, a Board of Military Officers was formed in 1866, by Lord Hartington, to consider the subject of the transport duties of an army in the field. We learn from Mr. Clode's book that when the seals of office were transferred to another Minister, the Board sought for and obtained from him a roving commission of inquiry, without any more definite instructions. Mr. Clode remarks that the report of this Board is unique in that 'there is an entire 'absence from its pages of all constitutional considerations, 'and of all knowledge relating to the civil administration of 'the army.' The Board recommended the abolition of the

supply departments, viz., the commissariat, military store, and purveyor's departments, so recently reorganised by Lord Herbert and Lord de Grey, and the formation of a new department, to be termed the Control Department, based upon the system of the French Intendance—a system which broke down in the Crimea, which failed to feed the French army in the Italian campaign, and which has utterly collapsed in the present war. The incredible details recently published in the intercepted telegrams of the French generals prove the utter inefficiency of their Intendance, which General Trochu had pointed out three years before. In England the new department was initiated by Sir John Pakington, and brought into final shape by Mr. Cardwell.

The same absence of system in the arrangements made at the union of the departments which has been the cause of the friction and dual government in the War Office and Horse Guards, has pervaded the whole of our army arrangements, and has prevented us from possessing any really effective reserves in connexion with our standing army. We rely for our reserves upon our Militia, Volunteers, and Army and Militia Reserve, and enrolled Pensioners. The Militia regiments, unless embodied, are a mass of raw material; they may have learned a certain dexterity in marching and handling arms, but without long embodiment they cannot acquire the habit of mind called military discipline, without which it is impossible to carry operations of war to a successful end. The distinction between *drill* and *discipline* was well pointed out by Sir Charles Napier, in a passage quoted by Sir Archibald Alison, in his valuable Essay: 'Drill teaches the body to 'move with exactness as to time and place. Discipline does 'for the mind what drill does for the body. Without both an 'army must be defeated. Without *obedience* neither can exist; 'it is their essence, and like them it must be *produced by* '*habit*, or it is a mere word, a sound, and of no utility.' Or, to quote a still higher authority, that of Napoleon, 'Un homme 'n'est pas un soldat. Point d'offensive, point d'attaque, point 'd'audace—rien ne peut réussir avec de mauvaises ou de '*nouvelles* troupes.' How cruelly has this remark been verified by the failure of the gallant but unavailing efforts of the Army of the Loire! The Prussian success in this campaign is due to the fact that through their system the whole armed population had been trained in a real military school for at least three years. Before the introduction of steam there was time after a declaration of war to convert raw levies into good troops. Now there is no such time; and hence our militia

arrangements are no longer adequate to the wants of the country; they are, moreover, a source of weakness to the other forces.

The Militia, as at present raised, rests on the voluntary principle, i.e. on a system of enlistment. It is, however, only voluntary by the annual vote of Parliament and the Militia Ballot Suspension Act. In its system of voluntary recruitment it comes into immediate competition for men with the Line. This competition is enhanced by the power which militia officers possess and exercise of preventing their men from volunteering into the Line. Under the present system we can expect no other result; indeed the Legislature has encouraged it. The Militia Reserve Act of 1867 provides, in the third section, that militia-men can only enter the Militia Reserve of the Army with the consent of their commanding officers. It is scarcely conceivable that, if such a plan of national defence as the Act sketches out were really necessary, the success of the plan should be made contingent on the will of certain individual officers. Then again, in the case of the Militia Reserve, under section six, it remains optional with the men who enlist into that force to choose whether they shall be trained or not.

If we turn to the Volunteers for a reserve force, we find we practically rely on 'chance.' We are told there are 160,000 men, and volunteer officers are eager to obtain the best arms and increased grants for their men; but when it is recollected that these volunteers for the most part consist of men engaged in the most important business of the country, in professions, trades, industry, and public offices, it is clear that this force could only be called out for prolonged active service, as is the Landsturm, in the very last resort. To expose the Volunteers to a lasting and deadly campaign would be a greater injury to the interests of the United Kingdom than an enemy could inflict. Besides, it is a necessary consequence of the importance of the individual volunteers in carrying on the business of the country, that if the 160,000 men were called out they would dwindle to a fourth of their number.

Von Moltke has pointed out that the distinction between the Militia and the Prussian military system lies in the fact that the former are armed but raw levies, the latter is that of a nation trained to habits of military obedience. In the one case we have the voluntary system, which is like a rope of sand; but in Prussia every man must pass through the school of arms in the regular forces; having served there for three years or one year, according to the rules of the service, he lapses to the

Reserve for four years, remaining liable to be recalled to the standards in the event of war. Consequently, when war does come, the moving army is at once doubled in numbers by thoroughly trained men, who revert to the regiments and serve under the officers amongst whom they passed their early days. Thus was the army formed which destroyed the French armies and Empire in six weeks after the declaration of war.

The War Department has made repeated attempts to organise an Army of Reserve, and to introduce somewhat of an imitation of the Prussian system of reserves

1. In the Army Reserve of 1860.
2. The Militia Reserve.
3. The Army Reserve of 1867 and 1870.

Men may now enlist for twelve years to serve in the army for six years, or any other term not less than three years, at the option of the Secretary of State; provided the balance of six or nine years be passed in the Reserve force, with liability to be summoned to join the standards of their regiments when necessary. This portion of the forces would constitute the Army Reserve, as distinguished from the Militia Reserve. It would be composed entirely of men who had served many years in the regular troops and had experience of actual service. As the Militia would be the nursery of young soldiers, so the Army Reserve would be the retreat of old soldiers.*

The Militia Reserve Act binds a certain number of militiamen to serve in regiments of the Line in case of war. The Militia Reserve would no doubt swell the ranks of the Line regiments on an emergency, but does not add to the reserve force of the country; it merely transfers men from the Militia to the Line at the moment when the Militia regiments would be embodied and required to furnish garrisons for the various fortresses in the United Kingdom, and to fill the camps on the coasts to make a demonstration against an enemy's landing, and to resist invasion. We therefore think that this Reserve should be abolished

The principle of the Army Reserve is a step in the right direction; it has not, however, hitherto been successful in practice. The soldier may enlist at his choice for twelve years in

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* Lord Elcho states in his second letter that the whole amount of our Army Reserve No. I. at present amounts to 2,000 men. During the last year, he says, that nineteen men volunteered for this service, of whom ten were rejected. It must be observed that, as regards the men who have enlisted under Mr. Cardwell's Act, none of them will fall into the reserve until their six years of active service have expired.

the Line, or for six years in the Line and six in the Reserves. This option is the probable cause of the failure; for officers of the army hanker after long-service men, and may have used pressure to influence the men against the new system.

We have thus far sought to give our readers a succinct but not unfair picture of the military forces of the Crown in their present condition. This brief description of our army as it exists shows that our system is a mere patchwork. When we treat of the trained forces we consider tens of thousands of men, the Continental nations deal with hundreds of thousands; they cause their military system to embrace the whole resources of the country upon the bases of duty and obligation; we tap certain conduits of national force independently of duty and obligation, and solely according to individual option or chance. It must never be forgotten that the Prussian system, which will be rapidly extended to other continental States, has brought nations instead of armies into the field, and has converted the whole population of the country into a standing army.

We now proceed to consider the British Army of the Future; and we shall endeavour to point out the principles, few, simple, and not onerous, on which we conceive that the people of these islands may raise and maintain a force of different descriptions, perfectly adapted to protect themselves at home and uphold their influence abroad. The cardinal principle upon which the reform of our system of reserves must be based is *compulsory enrolment or conscription for the Militia affecting every man in the country between certain ages*; that is to say, the Militia Ballot Suspension Act should no longer be passed. Exemption under the original Ballot Act included peers, soldiers, Volunteers, Yeomanry, resident members of universities, clergymen, parish schoolmasters, articled clerks, apprentices, seafaring men, and Crown *employés*. These exemptions should be retained or modified, but we doubt the expediency of allowing any exemption for a pecuniary indemnity. It may be argued that a man whose time is too valuable for him to serve in person, should be allowed to buy himself off. But the privilege is an invidious one, and the great merit of the ballot lies in its universal application to all ranks of society. We should propose to raise the force in the first instance from adults between 17 and 25 years of age, and subsequently to take the necessary number from persons between the ages of 17 to 20, so as not to interfere more than is necessary with settled trades, professions, or occupations. We have already shown

that this is the ancient constitutional law of the realm, which has been in force for centuries, though its operation has been so long and so often suspended, that the suspension has in men's minds superseded the law. The ballot is commonly regarded, not as the proper basis of the Militia, but as an expedient only to be resorted to when voluntary enlistment fails. This misconception has vitiated the institution. Voluntary enlistment for the Militia means that men of the lowest class are to be picked up in country towns and villages, to do twenty-eight days' service in the year for a small consideration. Even this recruiting competes mischievously with the far more important recruiting for the Line, since both services address themselves to the same market. Compulsory service by lot, or ballot, has this grand advantage, that it brings young men of all ranks and classes into the ranks of the Militia. The whole character of the force is thus enormously raised, for it becomes a true section of society itself. It represents the nation in arms. Moreover, as has been well pointed out by Lord Elcho, the exemption in favour of the Volunteers or Yeomanry would at once give a totally different character to that force also. Young men would have the option of standing the ballot to serve in the ranks of the paid Militia, or of volunteering to serve at their own expense in the other corps. But if this privilege of exemption were conceded to them, it would be on the condition of making the service of the Volunteer corps a stricter and more regular service. They would enter it of their own free will, but having entered it, they would be required, like the Prussian *einjährige*, to fulfil the conditions of actual service, failing which, they would have to fall back on the Militia. Thus, in giving strength and efficiency to the Militia, the same qualities would be obtained from the Volunteers, without which, indeed, those corps had better cease to exist altogether.

The strength of the Militia should be largely increased; the names of the men enrolled might remain on the rolls for seven years, during the first three of which they would be required to attend the yearly musters; during the remaining four years they would be liable to be called out in cases of national emergency. Thus the National Reserve would consist of two classes; the first to be trained yearly; the second, having undergone training, to be liable to be called out when the national danger is great. We find that the number of adult males between the ages of 17 and 25 in the United Kingdom in 1870, excluding the army, navy, and merchant seamen abroad, is about 2,230,000; and as the number of the popula-

tion vary little between the ages of 17 and 25, we may assume that about 260,000 would yearly come on for ballot. If we assume our Militia force at 300,000, then we should absorb at once 1 in 8 of the available population, and require 1 in 5 or 6 of those who would yearly come forward for ballot to keep up the reserves when once fully established.* The nominations to the command of these national forces should cease to be an affair of patronage of the lords-lieutenant of counties, or of the partialities, prejudices, or goodwill of individual commanding officers. The whole command and discipline of the Reserve forces, like that of the Army, must be under the Commander-in-Chief, who should provide officers under the direction of the Secretary of State. We shall presently show by what means the military character of officers of the Reserve forces may be raised. But whilst it is necessary to abolish the intervention of an obsolete local authority in the management and officering of the national reserves, it is indispensable to uphold the county or territorial character of the force, both in maintaining and training it, except when embodied for actual service. The Militia battalions should, as now, remain in the counties, and the counties would become, what they ought to be, the local centres of military action and organisation. The troops must be provided with adequate barracks during training, and not be billeted in public houses.

Compulsory enrolment for the Militia at once abolishes the rivalry for recruits between the Militia and the Line. The demand upon the regular troops for service abroad and in India renders it necessary to maintain voluntary recruiting for these services. It has always been a matter of pain and regret that the efforts of the recruiting-sergeant are generally directed to the dregs of the population in our cities and market-towns. Recent legislation has improved the moral and material status of the individual soldier by affording better barracks, diet, and education; it is high time therefore to seek a higher field for recruitment. That field will be found in the Militia when enrolled on the compulsory principle. Commanding officers of Militia regiments oppose the removal of soldiers painfully recruited by them; but when they receive the men from conscription, this feeling would no longer reign. The law actually prohibits the enlistment of these men, the most useful and

* Sir A. Alison states that the percentage of recruits to he population is in the following ratios in the great European States: In France, 1 in 600; in Austria, 1 in 370; in North Germany, 1 in 300; in Great Britain, 1 in 2,000.

valuable class of young soldiers. At the annual training it should be a rule, on the contrary, to hold out inducements to the men to volunteer for the Regular Army, according to the service wants of the year, but this should not stop recruiting in the great cities and other places where it now goes on.

The Militia would still consist generally of imperfectly trained men; it is therefore clear that if the force is to be efficient, it must make up for want of instruction and military habit in the men by efficiency and knowledge in the regimental officers. It is absurd to send untrained ensigns, or officers of higher degree, to officiate in the militia ranks, where every man stands in need of direct guidance; therefore the rank of ensign should disappear in militia corps. Further, no officer should be permitted to hold a commission who could not show his competence to command a company in quarters and in the field. The pay of officers on the unattached and half-pay and retired lists may in the case of very old officers be properly looked upon as a pension; but in the case of all able to serve, it should be held to be a retaining fee for liability to serve in England, and thus would afford a considerable fund from which experienced officers could be supplied for officering militia regiments in the counties. These resources should be augmented by giving a preference over uninstructed country gentlemen to officers who, having left the army, are willing to serve in the militia of their own counties. We entertain no doubt that retired officers, having a knowledge of their profession and a local interest in the respective militia regiments, would be found to perform these duties in large numbers, and at a very small additional cost. Such plans, largely and generously carried out, would provide the Militia with a body of officers as efficient as those of the Line itself. We are not alluding to the accomplishment of a little drill, and the ability to manœuvre a regiment or brigade on a field day, but to those habits of command and obedience, the results of long practice and not of petty instruction; habits which rarely come to any man when the middle age of life has been passed. The battalions of Militia should be of uniform strength; the number of battalions for each county being dependent on the population. If the unit of a company were 100 men, and of a battalion eight companies, one field-officer in command, one captain-adjutant, one captain-quartermaster, and one captain and one lieutenant for each company would amply suffice.

As regards the Volunteers, we owe this force a debt of gratitude for making a great military demonstration in time of danger, and for spreading the new rifle practice throughout all

classes of the community, but they should not be allowed to hamper the recruitment of the Line or Militia. Volunteers would properly consist of persons in business who on that account might seek exemption from regular service. As we have already pointed out, that very exemption would be a privilege which would greatly strengthen their ranks and their discipline. It is worthy of consideration whether Volunteers should not be encouraged in great cities and towns, but discouraged in rural districts; the position in which special Volunteer corps would however be exceptionally useful and appropriate would be as artillery corps to man batteries in defence of rivers, creeks, and harbours; there they would be on their own ground, defending their own property against the invader. It might also be worthy of consideration whether in great cities and within a certain radius from them the maintenance of a given strength of Volunteers in a fair condition of efficiency might not be held to exempt the locality altogether from Militia conscription. It would be no easy matter to resort to conscription in the crowds of London or Glasgow; it is easy in rural districts. Such an arrangement would relieve us of the difficulties, whilst it would still leave the crowded cities as a field open for voluntary enlistment into the army.

In Germany, on the outbreak of a war, the regiments of the active army are filled with young men all thoroughly trained in compulsory service. Notwithstanding this important example our circumstances impose on us the necessity of adhering to a rule of voluntary recruitment for our regular Line forces. The requirements of Indian service and of our Colonial garrisons render this condition indispensable; a condition from which foreign armies are exempt. The difficulty, however, is not insuperable. No reform will be satisfactory which does not include the condition of giving us an effective reserve immediately on the outbreak of a war. We have shown the objections to the Militia Reserve, and there would be strong administrative reasons for not interfering with the Militia by means of a Militia Reserve, when the Militia is raised by conscription, and the Regular Army by men volunteering from its ranks; because the entire Militia would form the reserve for the Line, in so far that the latter might at any time seek for volunteers from the Militia to fill its ranks. But if the Army Reserve as distinguished from the Militia Reserve were fully established, we should not, on the occurrence of an emergency, be under the necessity of immediately on the outbreak of war calling on the Militia for volunteers for the

regular army; because the forces ordered for embarkation would be at once doubled by the mobilisation of the Army Reserve. Consequently, the Militia would be undisturbed by a call for volunteers for the Line, and would have time to complete the individual training of the men, and the growth of a military spirit among them; they would be thus more likely to volunteer for the Line in the sequel and would form an efficient force for home defence.

In order to work out the Army Reserve system, the option now given on enlistment should be abolished; a man should enlist for six years in the Army and six years in the Reserve, or for other periods, at the discretion of the Secretary of State according to the Act. We purposely avoid entering into the question of numbers; but assuming that the men have been obtained, it will be necessary to ensure their presence when wanted. The necessary hold over the men would be retained by the pensions they would have earned. We agree with Lord Elcho that the pension is the link which binds their duty and their interest together, and it ought to increase as they advance in life and years of service.

The German conscription takes, as we gather from published documents, young men who have completed their twenty-first year: volunteers only are accepted at an earlier age. One of the worst parts of our present system is that recruits are generally just turned eighteen when they enlist; under that age they can only be admitted as boys. The majority of lads of eighteen or nineteen are totally unfit for service in India or other hot climates at that age, and they go out to India to cumber the hospitals, to die in great numbers, to be invalided at great expense; whereas, had they gone at twenty-one, they would have turned into hardy soldiers. Medical men and military men protest almost annually against this waste and inhumanity. The War Department has not thought fit to listen to representations on this subject, because of the difficulty, it may be said the impossibility, of obtaining full-grown men under the present system. Can a plea be found more condemnatory of the system? If we were thrown into conflict with the hardy soldiers of Germany, such boys could not endure the fatigues which would be required of them to give them a chance of success against an enemy so determined, who fights by the vigour of his legs and his power of enduring hardships at least as much as he does by the use of his fire-arms. Recruits from the Militia for Line regiments should not be less than twenty-one years of age.

The regimental depôt of each corps in the army should be

fixed in its own county. At this depôt should be gathered the recruits on their being obtained from the Militia or elsewhere; and at this depôt should be *yearly* assembled the Army Reserve men of the adjacent districts, and the rolls and military history of the men should be deposited in the orderly room of the depôt. The present depôt staff would suffice if reinforced by additional clerical assistance. Thus the regimental depôts would form the point of fusion between the country Militia regiments, the Line corps fed with recruits from them, and the Army Reserve men, who on the occurrence of war would rejoin their old corps, or such corps as they might be called to. The depôts would be absolutely stationary in their county towns, and thus the expense and inconvenience attendant on the present ambulatory system would be saved. The Enrolled Pensioners, so long as they continue as a separate force from the Army Reserve, should be looked after by the staff of the regimental depôt of the county in which they reside.

Having suggested these general principles of administering our reserves, we proceed to say a few words on the officers of the army. Sir Charles Trevelyan has effectually disposed of the question of purchase: it is doomed; its existence is incompatible with the true nationalisation of the British army. The notion of pecuniary property in a commission interferes with the selection of good, or the dismissal of inefficient officers; and leads the public to imagine that the cadres are maintained in the interests of the officers, rather than in those of the public service. Purchase saps authority; the knowledge that a commanding officer, before he resolves to give up his command, spends a year or two in bargaining and finally sells to the highest bidder, is fatal to the moral influence of the commander. It is hostile to any *esprit de corps*, for the vaunted *esprit de corps* always fades away in the individual who wants to sell his commission, and thinks he can obtain more money outside his regiment, though it be to the detriment of his immediate comrades.

The question of expense is serious and must be met. Sir Charles Trevelyan considers that the compensation need only be paid when an officer leaves the service. There are, however, others who allege that every officer holding a purchased commission will consider himself entitled to compensation as soon as the system is abolished; and that the officer who has invested all his money in a commission, and who receives as pay a sum barely equal to the ordinary interest of money, will feel himself unjustly treated if he is held to serve without

compensation, whilst his brother officer who has entered under the new system, and possesses equal private fortune, receives his pay and the interest on his fortune. Knowing as we do the prevalence of this view, we fear that from the day when purchase is abolished, an agitation in and out of Parliament will be commenced for immediate compensation.

The purchase system having been abolished, a difficulty will arise as to the system which is to follow. So engrained are the habits of buying and selling commissions in the British army, that if the practice were abolished to-morrow, and a large compensation paid out of the public purse, it would recommence in some other form the next day. The seniority system affords no safeguard, as the arrangements in the old East India Company's army testify. But a seniority system is even more one of chance with regard to obtaining the best men for regimental command than even the purchase system.

We are convinced that there is but one remedy, viz., to apply to the military service of Great Britain the principle in force in the Royal Navy, and to a certain extent in the local army in India. That principle is one of selection. We should wish every officer in a regiment to be put under the five years or staff rule, and his position to be one of appointment with his commission and rank depending on his place on the unattached list as in the Navy. Each grade would contain as many officers as are required from time to time for the appointments. The promotions in rank and appointments to regimental positions would be managed at the Horse Guards according to the wants of the army as those of the Navy are at the Admiralty. Under such a *régime* idle and bad officers would disappear, on seeing that employment and promotion were denied to them, whilst the highest incentive to become efficient would be afforded to the army at large. It is so with staff appointments. It may be urged that such a system would interfere with *esprit de corps*, but it would certainly not interfere more than we have shown that the purchase system does. *Esprit de corps* is certainly not wanting in a well-conducted ship in the Navy. Probably it would be desirable to proceed gradually, and apply the system to lieutenant-colonels and majors in the first instance, and to extend it afterwards to all ranks. We are aware that none of the suggestions we here venture to make are less likely to be received with favour than this one. For the strict maintenance of what is termed the British regimental system is regarded by many reformers as the one essential characteristic of our forces worthy to be retained. Yet the subject has already been

mooted by Sir Charles Trevelyan in one of his able pamphlets on Army Reform, when he advocated the more extended substitution of *army* rank for *regimental* rank; and, in fact, the principle is already applied more extensively than is commonly supposed by the introduction of brevet-rank in the army. Officers are ready enough to exchange from one regiment to another by purchase, when they conceive it to be for their advantage; and nothing is more injurious to the fair hopes of promotion than the circumstance that promotion always goes in the regiment. Our proposal would open a far wider field of promotion to every meritorious officer in the army, for he might be appointed to an advanced step in the service wherever a vacancy occurs in his arm. The one advantage of the purchase system is, that it encourages senior officers to retire, and consequently facilitates promotion. In the scientific corps, in which purchase does not prevail, there is at this moment a block in the advancement of junior officers. The only remedy is, as it appears to us, the system of selection for all the higher ranks of officers, combined with a plan for the retirement of men advanced in life, somewhat similar to that which has been recently applied with effect in the Navy. The system of retirement might be further aided by a combination with service in a somewhat higher rank in the organised Militia, which would be to many officers advantageous and acceptable. In advocating this important change we are happy to invoke the high authority of Sir William Mansfield: the suggestion was first adopted by that distinguished officer in a printed letter dated 10th May, 1867, and addressed to Sir Charles Trevelyan, which we have now before us. In this letter he points out that if the two ranks of field officers in the regiment were *Army* ranks, the ordinary promotion should go by seniority, but with considerable exceptional promotion for distinguished conduct, and this would confer on the State the inestimable advantage of selection for the important position of regimental commanders. As a complement to this system of selection, he recommends that regimental command should be limited to five years, as is the case with the superior commands of the Army, the Staff, &c. This limitation would serve to accelerate the stream of promotion. 'It is surely a fair question to ask,' says Sir William, 'why the command of a regiment should be without limit, while that of a brigade is confined to five years, 'and that of a ship to three?'

As regards promotion from the ranks, the population of England is not at present sufficiently educated for it. Soldiers as a rule do not prosper under officers so promoted; they

are more rough and exacting than gentlemen-born officers. The reformation which is needed in this direction is the formation of a cadet system in each regiment instead of the rank of ensign. The cadets should be under the commanding officer *in statu pupillari*, as is the case with midshipmen; a rank formed for practical instruction, between the officers and men. Two real officers per company would then suffice, and cadets should be selected by competitive examination; and men from the ranks might pass this examination and enter as cadets. For aspirants to cadetships public school education is better than that of special colleges, except possibly in the case of the scientific arms, but there should be a military college open to commissioned officers.

The system we have thus sketched out would provide the best officers for regiments, and would place at the disposal of the Commander-in-Chief and War Minister adequate resources for officering the Reserve Forces. It would avoid the error of the Indian staff corps, the organisation of which encumbers the Indian service with more men of high rank than it requires. There may be difficulties in selection, but selection is already the rule for the higher appointments and for any situation connected with staff and administration; with firmness and discretion it could be equally well applied to regimental appointments; and it is equally wanted, for upon the good management of a regiment depends its conduct before the enemy and in quarters, and the happiness of some hundreds of men.

It follows from what we have said, that the military forces in each district, whether Army, Reserves, or Volunteers, would be under the general commanding the districts for all disciplinary purposes. The system of county organisation we have sketched out, and the formation of districts with a distinct staff in each, would enable form and harmony to be given to the united bodies of Militia, Army, and Army Reserves, by assembling them in brigades and divisions. The constituent parts of the national forces should meet and work together, so that the habit of military assembly, or 'coming to call,' should be instilled into all classes.

It may be well here to recapitulate the arrangements we have described for rendering our Reserves efficient. As regards the Militia we propose—

To revert to the system of enrolment for the Militia by ballot, which is the ancient law of the land, and is only suspended from year to year by temporary Acts.

To abolish the authority of lords-lieutenant of counties in

the nomination and patronage of a Militia corps, and transfer that authority to the Minister of War.

To preserve the local character of Militia regiments and battalions.

To render the Militia regiments a recruiting ground for the Line.

To place the officers of Militia regiments on a footing according to which from the time of joining such regiments, they should be able to exercise real command and guidance. By these means the Militia will be organised on a principle of national obligation and conscription.

The Line, or regular Army, should be recruited in the Militia ranks yearly, or whenever necessary, in addition to the present mode of recruitment.

Recruits taken from the Militia for the Line regiments should not be under twenty-one years of age.

The Militia Reserve should be abolished.

The Army Reserve should be largely developed, and on no account be less in numbers than the Line corps it is intended to swell in the event of war; with time and experience, it may be brought to exceed the numbers of the first Line.

The regimental depôts should be established in their counties; this measure to affect regiments at home as well as abroad.

Lastly, we should aim at the fusion or establishment of a *solidarité* between the Militia and the first and second formation of the Line; viz., the short service men with the regiment and the Army Reserve, the regimental depôt being the point of fusion.

In this manner the discord of existing arrangements may be expected to disappear, and the military strength of the country may, by working on certain broad principles, be sufficiently developed for a defensive policy, without pressing too hardly on the population at large, or any portion of it. The conclusions at which we have arrived, although based on different grounds, are substantially the same as those put forward by Lord Elcho; to whom great credit is due for the clear and persistent manner in which he has for years past urged upon successive Governments the adoption of broad principles of defensive policy. We are happy to see that his recent letters to the 'Times' have just been republished, and we must refer our readers to them for many details which it is impossible for us to insert here.

In concluding our remarks on this part of our subject, we

would add this reminder. When the Government determined on war in 1854, and for many months after Lord Raglan sailed, it did not occur to them to organise reserves, or to prepare for feeding the army with men to replace casualties. Hence the disasters of 1854–5, and the loss of our military prestige in Europe, when, for want of numbers, the British forces sank into a contingent of the French army. Whatever plans the Government may frame, it must adhere steadily to this; viz., that in future for every man that embarks on active service another should be prepared at the depôt to embark in his place, and this not only in recruits for the regiments but in whole battalions. In such times it is not sufficient that the Militia or Volunteers should be called out, because their duties are limited to home defence proper; and this should not be tampered with as was the case in 1855, when in truth a breach of faith with the Militia was committed, which seriously interfered with their utility in feeding the Line reserve.

Much remains to be said about special arms, and the many details which, if attended to, might add to efficiency without appreciable difference of expense. Thus, in the Artillery, before adding to the number of batteries, and therefore largely to the number of officers, two guns should be added to each battery, which would put it on the strength of an Austrian battery. A battery so augmented would require one additional sub-officer, with a due proportion of men and horses, but officers of high degree would be saved. The like may be said of Cavalry; a regiment does not reach war proportions till a corps consist of four squadrons of 150 sabres each. Although, ultimately, it may be found expedient to reduce the Infantry to a service of three years, with the exception of men sent on foreign service, it will probably be found inexpedient to shorten the period of service in the Cavalry, Artillery, or Engineers to a less period than six years; especially for the latter service, the men in which take rank as highly-skilled artisans. The six years' rule will afford an ample reserve of artillery; and we must not deprive the service of the skill acquired in the first three years of service as soon as gained. It is important to remember that as cavalry soldiers and artillerymen cannot be formed as rapidly as soldiers of the line, these arms ought to be maintained at a higher relative point of strength and efficiency in time of peace than the infantry of an army. The Prussians have rigorously acted upon this principle: we have done just the reverse, and reduced our cavalry regiments to a shadow because they were the most costly.

We have not, however, space to deal with the many details

required for improving the regular forces. Mr. Cardwell has already introduced one main reform, viz., a reduction in the period of service; with the introduction of a better class of men through the operation of this measure, in connexion with the superior field for recruiting which the Militia will afford, we may look forward to the extension of industrial occupation among the soldiers in employment in military works and repair of barracks, and other useful work. But this must never interfere with their training for their real duty, War—which should be taught by exercising the troops to some extent in campaigns on the Prussian principle, when the real qualities of officers and men are developed. This system alone calls out the soldier's interest. The difficulty of a soldier's profession is that whilst in war his highest qualities of acuteness and endurance are called out, in peace he feels that all his duty, except that relating to the well-being of the men, is a mere sham.

The troops including reserves and volunteers in each district should be looked after by the staff, under the arrangements sketched out above. Each of the existing districts would contain a very large force of Militia, Yeomanry, Volunteers, and Army reserves to be provided for and amalgamated with the regiments serving there; consequently the district staff must be rendered efficient, if necessary, by subdividing districts. So that the size of each district should be such that the general officer commanding can look into all the details of the services. The general commanding a district must have absolute military control over all military services in his district, and we are glad to see that recent arrangements made by Mr. Cardwell have tended in this direction.

A very important feature in the district organisation lies in the departments of supply. These departments feed the troops, clothe them, supply them with arms, ammunition, equipment, and general stores; and provide for the sick and wounded. The food, fuel, and clothing is a part of the remuneration of the soldier; formerly he received money pay only and provided for himself; later, a regulated quantity of bread and meat was furnished, for which a portion of pay or stoppage was deducted. The Treasury contracted with private parties to supply the bread and meat to the regiment at its quarters—of a quality to be approved by the commanding officer, upon whose certificate payment was made. This system dispensed with all intermediate staff, and had the advantage of throwing on the regimental officer the duty of looking after his men's supplies. Abroad and in the field, where

the troops could not easily procure their own food as in England, a staff of commissariat officers supplied the bread and meat, frequently from bakeries and abattoirs under their own immediate direction. As a means of educating commissariat officers in their duties with an army in the field, Lord Herbert, after the Crimean war, extended the system to this country, built bakeries and abattoirs, and formed a corps of commissariat subordinates, butchers, bakers, &c. The duties of a commissariat officer are to ascertain the probable wants of the troops, in food, forage, fuel, and such consumable articles, specify them for tender, examine, accept, certify for payment, store them, carry them to the spot where required for use, and distribute them. To reduce the chances of collusion to a minimum, the contract and the payment should be made quite independently of the purchasing department. With an army in the field, the commissariat officer must frequently buy without contract and with ready money; in such an emergency, rules which are necessary as a financial safeguard in peace must be temporarily dispensed with. The commissariat officer requires considerable technical knowledge of foods and their values. When the commissariat departments were under the Treasury, they were at the same time purchasers of food for, and bankers of, the army departments: and consequently they have been required to perform both the duty of supply and financial duties. The recent changes, which we believe to be unsound and extravagantly expensive, have had their origin in the anomalous position thus held by commissariat officers. Whilst the commissariat officer was charged with purchasing articles on the spot, the military store officer was simply the custodian and repairer of those numerous articles which are required for the equipment of an army, and which are not purchased locally but supplied from the manufacturing departments at Woolwich, or from a central store—articles of so complicated a nature, that it requires an apprenticeship to know their names and natures. The duty of the store department in the field was to bring up the reserve munitions, so as to have a depôt always ready at a short distance behind an advancing army. The next duty of the supply departments, viz., the care of sick and wounded, differs from the commissariat duties in that it is to supply bedding, clothing, and food ready cooked, which varies in its nature and amount for almost every patient. In the field their duty is to collect the wounded on stretchers and in ambulance waggons and bring them to the field hospitals. This department had been brought to great perfection by Lord Herbert, because he had been satisfied, by the experience of the Crimean war, that

the commissariat had such heavy duties in feeding the fighting soldier, that the wounded must always be neglected unless entrusted to the care of a department specially instructed and organised.

In the new department of Control, which embraces these several duties as well as the provision of transport and financial duties, the subordinates of the supply and transport services are interchangeable; so that if each man is to be efficient he must possess a very complete knowledge of points of detail which in practice it takes many years to acquire. We believe the result will be incomplete knowledge and waste. The Controller is to make all purchases, to be the adviser and agent of the officer commanding in all matters connected with raising or issuing money, the supply or purchase of provisions, stores, clothing, and transport, and to relieve the officer commanding of all details connected with these services. 'If the Controller 'receive orders from the officer commanding inconsistent with 'regulations, and which have not proceeded from his (the Con- 'troller's) suggestion, and to which he does not agree, he may 'report the commanding officer to the Secretary of State.' He is in fact placed as a duenna to watch over general officers in one of the most essential parts of their command.

This system is based on complete centralisation. It charges one department with multifarious duties, many of which partake of the nature of specialities, each requiring distinct qualifications. In our opinion, it is contrary to sound principle, in that it places under the same control the entering into contracts for supplies, the survey and receipt of the articles, the payment, the custody and issue, the rendering and examination of the account; and it is contrary to economical administration in that its complication must necessarily prevent the direct responsibility for failure or waste being fixed on individuals. We cannot believe that any large commercial firm would place such duties under one single control. In our opinion, the finance and provision of money should be separated from the Supply department. And as regards the work of the Supply department itself, we believe that to overload one department with the duty of supplying *provisions de bouche*, barrack accommodation, ordnance supplies, waggons and horses for carrying all the baggage of the army—all the equipments, munitions, and food, obtaining and holding money, and to provide for the care of the wounded, can never ensure satisfactory results on the field of battle. There success will not be gained by throwing all the duties together; but by keeping each unit self-reliant and responsible for definite duties.

Besides, in forming a department to be educated in peace for carrying on the large operations required for feeding an army in war, it should have been recollected that a department of military officers, such as to all intents the control officers are, can never permanently maintain that intimate knowledge of and connexion with trade which enables a great firm to carry out a large business of supply *proprio motu*. The limited experience acquired by such a department at our stations in time of peace is, if anything, antagonistic to the class of proceedings necessary to supply moving armies on a large scale in war. General Trochu shows how the Military Intendance breaks down, starves the army, and finally is obliged to have recourse to the civil unofficial element which has been bred in trade and large commercial transactions. It will be in the recollection of some of our readers that a similar result to that observed by General Trochu with regard to the French arrangements actually took place in the war of 1848–9 in India, when a great Hindoo contractor came to the assistance of the military commissariat, and fed the army in the most successful manner, thereby enabling Lord Gough to complete his operations. Moreover, the control system cannot but fetter the action of the combatant officer in charge of the troops. We fear that it is a system for uneducating general officers in all their functions except mere fighting; for to deprive a general officer of the actual daily contact with the departments of supply under him during his five years' tenure of command, is to forbid him from knowing anything of the detail of the services, their resources, their working, and their difficulties. Nothing is more remarkable in the despatches of the Duke of Wellington, both in India and Spain, as well as in those of Napoleon, than the consummate knowledge and minute attention those great generals displayed in all that relates to the food, transport, and clothing of their armies. They very well knew that these are the first conditions of success in war, and a good general *must never lose sight of them*. But this new system, instead of preparing an officer for real service, must render him, if not helpless, yet wholly dependent on another for feeding, moving, and supplying his army. Such arrangements are destructive of due responsibility. In the field a General can alone be the judge of what is necessary for the safety of the troops; if the General orders an expenditure not contemplated by regulation, and the Controller objects to it, the expenditure must yet be incurred on the responsibility of the General. The proportions of equipment or provisions to be issued to the troops or maintained as a reserve are all matters capable of being fixed

by regulations; purchases and issues can be efficiently checked by a careful audit; the responsibility is incurred on a departure from regulation. Sound organisation would place such responsibility entirely on the person on whom it must rest in the last resort, viz. the General who is answerable for the safety of the troops. Moreover, we fear that in practice it must act in one of two ways; either the Controller will be the instrument of the general officer, who, relieved of personal responsibility, will make the Controller do things which he, the general officer, would not do if he were personally responsible; or the Controller will be antagonistic to the general officer commanding, and discord and opposition will prevail throughout the command.

We believe it is indispensable to efficiency that the general officer commanding at each station should be the only controller, and to economy that the finance department should be subordinate to no officer but the Minister to whom the House of Commons entrusts the expenditure of the money voted for the service of the army; and that for the provision and supply of money, to be issued only on due authority, local civilian financial officers, treasurers, or accountants should be appointed at all stations, who would give due security and be educated in duties of accounts; these should be distinct from the departments of supply, which under the present organisation are manned by enlisted men and commissioned officers.

We shall take the liberty to close our observations on this part of the subject by repeating a description of the decentralised arrangements of the Prussian army which appeared not long ago in our own pages:—

'The corps supplies all its own wants as a whole direct from the War Office, but distributes and checks the supplies so received within itself, being (except as to filling up of its depôts) regarded as its own war administration and responsible for its own doings. . . .

'This decentralisation is carried further within the corps itself, and the transport is divided especially so that no one branch shall be dependent on any outside authority. This subdivision has been condemned as complicated and needlessly expensive. But the Prussian authorities hold that an army is above all intended for war, and that the machinery of that which is to be effective should be maintained intact in its framework in time of peace. Carriages of themselves cost little to keep up. Horses, on the contrary, must under any system be brought up for transport in time of war; but the only way in the Prussian view by which each department can be made thoroughly responsible for its own efficiency, and taught to vie with others in readiness for action, is to hand over to it all the rest of the machinery which would be needed to equip it for the field, and thus prepare it for independent action as soon as the call sounds to arms.

'As a consequence of this system it no doubt at some time happens that a particular corps or column or department may have a superfluity of supplies, but, on the other hand, delay at the outset to wait for issue of necessaries from distant stores is prevented. There is no excuse for failure. The Prussian system enlists on its side the motive of emulation in each general in each department and each regimental commander. The opposite system takes from these officers a large share of their responsibility to throw it upon a special class of men trained in peace to raise objections to every demand, and blamed in war if their minds do not instantly rise to the full necessities of the occasion.'

The limited space at our command will only allow us to remark briefly upon the important question of the government of the army. Mr. Clode has given us a very caustic account of it in his twenty-ninth chapter, which deserves the careful consideration of statesmen. We cannot agree with him in regretting much that is destroyed, denouncing all that exists, and dreading all that is to come; but we admit with him, for the reasons we are about to give, that the present government of the army is unsatisfactory both in an executive and in a constitutional point of view. Upon the accession of the present Ministry to office, Mr. Cardwell appointed a Committee to advise him generally upon this subject in connexion with that of the organisation of the War Office and Horse Guards. The Committee, in their Report, disclaim any intention of dealing with the constitutional question of the position of the Commander-in-Chief in relation to the Secretary of State; but if all their recommendations are adopted, we cannot but think that his position would be materially affected. The Committee, in their Report, divide the army services under three heads—Discipline, Supply, and Finance; or, as we should put it, the fighters, the suppliers, and the accountants, or guardians of public money. They propose to bring the officer Commanding-in-Chief under the same roof as the Secretary of State, and to appoint two Members of the House of Commons, one as Financial officer and the other as head of the Supply branch, and apparently to endow the latter also with some amount of financial control. These recommendations were embodied in an Act passed last session, which created two new offices; one the Financial office referred to, the other the office of Surveyor-General of Ordnance. Both officers are appointed by the Secretary of State, and are subject to removal by him, and both may hold seats in Parliament.

The Master-General of the Ordnance, a Cabinet Minister, who was always a great soldier, was charged by the Crown with providing arms and munitions, fortifications, and barracks, and in virtue of his military and technical knowledge he was the

arbiter of the nature and quality of arms and military equipment to be adopted in the service. As he was frequently in the Cabinet, it followed that there was in his person a military man of high rank among the confidential servants of the Crown—a very essential element of a good Government, which does not now exist. There was also another member of the Board of Ordnance, an officer of state, appointed by the Crown, under the Great Seal—viz. the Surveyor-General of the Ordnance. He was invariably a Member of the House of Commons. The duties of this officer were to examine estimates for barracks and fortifications, to survey and certify stores before payment, to check the returns of employment of workmen in the Store, Manufacturing, and Engineer Departments. He was thus an auditor of material things directly appointed by the Crown, and responsible to Parliament. The present office of Surveyor-General replaces the late office of Controller-in-Chief. His duty is to contract for, purchase, manufacture, and distribute stores; to allot all barracks and accommodation for troops; and to provide all transport for an army; he is also to audit all expenditure relating to his own department; that expenditure being examined in the department itself. He is not an officer of state appointed by the Crown, like the former officer under the Board of Ordnance, but he is merely a clerk or servant of the Secretary of State, by whom he is removable at pleasure. We believe that these arrangements are unsound. They appear to be based on the following sentence in the Report of the Committee—viz., 'The modern 'notion of financial control means the union of finance and 'administration;' and, as a consequence, 'now we possess a 'Secretary of State, the duties of checking and watching ex-'penditure ought no longer to be accepted as necessary.' In simple language this means that the constitutional check upon expenditure heretofore considered necessary are no longer required.

Prior to William III.'s reign—to the Revolution of 1688—finance and administration were united, and the same union will be found in every despotism or absolute monarchy. The union is not incidental to our possessing a Secretary of State, but to a confusion between the nature and objects of a limited monarchy and of a constitutional government. The most elementary knowledge of Hallam's History would satisfy any reader, and every tyro in politics knows, that the very essence of constitutional government consists, as Mr. Fox said, 'in checks, and in opposition—one part bearing upon and 'controlling another.' Lord Palmerston, in his evidence

before the Finance Committee of 1828, remarked: 'The prin-
'ciple upon which the public service has been constructed has
'been to make one department a check and control upon an-
'other, and not to leave it in the power of any one department
'to make an unlimited issue of public money; making one
'department the judge of the amount to be issued and the
'giver of the authority to make the issue, and to make an-
'other department the depository of the money, and lay on it
'the duty of issuing according to the authority it may receive.'

It is, indeed, incontestable that the main reason why it is rare to find a breach of trust in persons entrusted with the expenditure of Government money in this country lies in the checks and control by which the provision of public money is encircled. But in the recent arrangements of the War Office the one object which Parliament has always had in view—viz. strictly independent audit—appears to be abandoned.

Moreover, the appointment of Surveyor-General of Ordnance would appear eminently to create a dual government. The responsible military and technical adviser by whom the Secretary of State must be guided in the last resort, either in selecting weapons or in deciding upon the quantities of equipments or munitions necessary to be maintained for the defence of the kingdom, or in the choice of fortified positions, is the officer commanding-in-chief, who ought to be the officer of highest military experience in the country, and who, at any rate, has at his command the best military advice; yet the Surveyor-General of Ordnance, a military officer, not under the officer commanding-in-chief, is interposed as adviser of the Secretary of State, without the responsibility as to efficiency which attaches to the former officer.

It is not apparent upon what principle the new Surveyor-General is to be a Parliamentary officer. The proper performance of the duties which have been assigned to the office requires a rare amount of scientific and professional knowledge, as well as an intimate acquaintance with the character and antecedents of the subordinates of the department; and nothing could be more detrimental to the service than for the chief of a department of this nature to be subject to removal from political motives. Moreover the only object in such a department of appointing a parliamentary officer can be to give him charge of Finance; but the Financial officer of the department, if his position is to be of any service, should have sole charge of army finance under the Secretary of State. We have already mentioned that the Surveyor-General is charged with some financial functions; it is therefore difficult to see how

the duality which will pervade the financial business of the department under the duties assigned to the Surveyor-General and the Financial officer can work satisfactorily.

The position proposed to be assigned to the Commander-in-Chief under the report of the Committee is even more questionable. Under the British Constitution the command and discipline of the army are vested in an officer who holds directly from the Crown. For the regulation of the discipline, promotion, and selection of officers and men for service, and the general management of the army, it is essential that the Commander-in-Chief should be an officer possessing the highest professional skill and knowledge, and with a fixed tenure of office. It is, moreover, essential that he should be assisted by a staff of the ablest officers in the army. The Committee would place him under the same roof as the Secretary of State, and merge his office into that of the Secretary of State by abolishing all separation of documents.

In despotic Governments, where Parliamentary control is absent, finance and administration are united; the War Minister and Commander-in-Chief are merged in one person, who is responsible to the Sovereign for efficiency and expenditure; but under our system the powers of the Crown and of Parliament were formerly distributed in the hands of several officers and ministers each responsible for his share, but subordinate to the Cabinet. The Commander-in-Chief was separate from and only financially subordinate to the Parliamentary Minister.

The arrangement now proposed for bringing into one office the Secretary of State and the Commander-in-Chief—a measure nominally framed for facilitating the transaction of business—must, as two persons in one office cannot be equal, place the Commander-in-Chief in subordination to the Secretary of State; it will diminish the *éclat* of the position of the Commander-in-Chief in the eyes of the army and of the outside world, but except in the at present very rare case of our possessing a really able Secretary of State, it will give him almost absolute power, freed from responsibility, to rule the Secretary of State by his superior knowledge of those details which make up army administration and expenditure. Facilities in the transaction of business can only be obtained by preserving the true line of demarcation between the functions of the several departments—not by collecting them in one building. The difficulties of the present War Department have arisen solely from the want of a clear conception in the minds of its originators as to the proper functions and duties of each of the departments then brought

together. Under the arrangements now proposed of merging into one office the civil and military organisation of the army, the easy transaction of business will only be attained by the sacrifice of those checks and controls in army administration which our constitution has established, and the removal of which must leave the executive officer the Commander-in-Chief supreme. Once place side by side the Commander-in-Chief with his military staff, and the Secretary of State with his clerks, and as one or the other, according to the theory of the report in which this plan is proposed, must act exclusively, i.e. without control, the army and Commander-in-Chief will prevail in the end.

We would, therefore, earnestly entreat Parliament to consider how, while devising means to extend and improve the military instruction and liabilities of our population for the purpose of protecting this country against calamities such as those from which our neighbour is suffering, we may be enabled to retain those constitutional checks which have hitherto prevented the military power from becoming supreme, as it has become in Prussia.

We must not forget that the system under which the army has been officered is a material guarantee against military supremacy. So long as the purchase system exists, a large number of men enter the army for a pastime or a young man's education, who do not look on it as a profession, and whose interests in the civilian community are greater than their interests in the profession they have temporarily joined. But when once purchase is abolished the army will be officered by men who look to it as their sole object in life; it will possess their warmest interest; they will endeavour to exalt it on every occasion. If we are to have an efficient army, we must make it purely professional; but if we have a professional army we must take the greater care to keep up those safeguards against military supremacy which our ancestors have handed down to us. The supremacy of a class would develope itself gradually, first by gaining the monopoly of power in all matters connected with its own class, and, after having established this supremacy, by extending the influence of its own class into other departments of the State. Such was the course of the Church in the Middle Ages; such is practically the case under the pretended constitution of Prussia, in which the representatives of the people are in fact completely in the power of the chiefs of the army.

This supremacy may be exercised against the public treasure and the constitutional functions of civil Ministers, either through

Parliament and the constituencies or through the Minister and his bureau. Parliament has endeavoured to guard against the first method of encroachment, viz. at elections, by prohibiting the presence of soldiers in a town at such times, except on a special call from the civil power; and until a period subsequent to the Crimean war the national jealousy felt towards the army furnished a protection against the second. But now the War Department is managed by a bureaucracy of soldiers; and the care of the public treasure has passed more under the control of the military than before the Crimean war, and the civil supremacy has declined. We have shown in an earlier part of this article that hitherto the financial result of this increased military control has been to add largely to the expense of those material allowances which assist in making up for the small money pay of officers and men; and under the new constitution of the War Office military control over public treasure will be materially increased. It is the function of the Crown to ask for supplies, but the Crown is guided in the demand it makes by its responsible Ministers. In the case of army supplies, the Secretary of State is the *only* responsible Minister; he is overwhelmed with work, and his acts must be those of his permanent staff, which is military rather than civil, and is therefore open to distrust both in respect of expenditure and audit. As to expenditure, because the military officer owes allegiance to the Crown and *not* to Parliament, whilst allegiance for all expenditure ought to be due to Parliament only; but commissioned officers, whose allegiance is due to the Crown alone, are appointed to take charge of public treasure. As to audit, because the one object Parliament has always had in view is a strictly independent audit; but by the constitution of the War Office, namely, as a Military Department, charged with the detailed audit of its own accounts, independent audit is at an end.*

The changes recently made and those proposed are remarkable in their constitutional aspect. The creation of the Control epartment, built up of military officers in charge of treasure, incompatible with our Parliamentary system. The proposal bring the Commander-in-chief and his staff to the War

* The Abyssinian expedition, though marked by a prompt and brilliant success which does great honour to its commanders, was, in a financial point of view, a very novel and dangerous precedent; for it was the first time that a British army took the field freed from all Parliamentary control over its expenditure. Extraordinary and unlimited powers were given to Lord Napier of Magdala, unchecked either by the Government at home or by the Indian Government; and nothing remained in the end but for the British taxpayer to pay the bill.

Department, merged into one office with, and therefore subordinate to, the Secretary of State, would, whilst the present holders retain office, only intensify military supremacy, and on their retirement place the patronage of the army in the hands of the Commons. Between the responsible and executive Ministers would not *all* security be lost? Who would dare to impeach or censure a Minister upheld by the army, and how dare *one* Minister act against its prejudices or its interests in the face of a Military Board of Coadjutors? May we not add in the words of Mr. Clode—'To abrogate our constitutional 'safeguards leads to revolution, to weaken them leads to danger.'

The true function of the Secretary of State for War under the British Constitution is that of Control as distinct from Command; the former function is civil and appertains to a Parliamentary officer, the latter is military and technical. From the want in the minds of the reorganisers of our army departments of a clear appreciation of the true constitutional position which the Secretary of State for War should occupy, in regard to the army, the friction and extravagance in the administration of the War Office and Horse Guards has arisen; and it is alone by a rigid adherence to the broad line of demarcation between the functions of the Secretary of State and the Commander-in-Chief which we have laid down that the difficulties will vanish.

We have felt it the more incumbent upon us to draw attention to the conclusions of the Committee upon whose recommendations the recent changes in the government of the army have been made, because the conduct of the War Minister in one recent instance at least appears to show a forgetfulness of constitutional procedure in Parliament. The practice pursued by the Cabinet on any augmentation of the forces is within the knowledge of most members of any parliamentary experience, and from the reign of William III. it has been uniform. The policy of the Crown and of the Cabinet is communicated to both Houses by a Message setting forth the causes calling for an augmentation of our land and sea forces. On this policy each House by an Address to the Crown has an opportunity of debate. Assuming the policy to be approved, and the augmentation to be assented to, the Ministers then, but not till then, submit an estimate to or ask for a vote of credit from the Commons. By following such a course, Parliament has a free opportunity for discussion. But this was not the course taken by Ministers at the end of last session. In the absence of any definite statement of policy, Mr. Disraeli opened one or two somewhat irregular discussions on War and Foreign Affairs

in the House of Commons, while Lord Russell, quite against the Ministers' wishes, introduced a Militia Bill, in order to give their Lordships an opportunity of learning what the Cabinet proposed to do for putting the country on a proper footing of defence. After these irregular proceedings in both Houses, Mr. Cardwell brought in an estimate for 20,000 men to be laid on the table of the House of Commons, upon which the House of Lords never had an opportunity for expressing its opinion at all.

The subject with which we have undertaken to deal is too vast to be thoroughly examined in the limits of this Article. It involves not only the safety of the realm from foreign enemies, but the preservation of the fundamental principles of our Constitution, and with them our liberties. It is the most important question which at the present time can occupy the attention of statesmen; but we regret to see that the present Government do not appear hitherto to have understood its full importance, inasmuch as they have accepted the conclusions of a committee of subordinate officers upon matters vital to the government of the army, whose report only gives evidence of this, that these officers have failed to apprehend the constitutional principles upon which our army system has hitherto rested—principles laid down by great statesmen, and approved by great generals. These are, we venture with some confidence to affirm, doctrines which the Whig party has contended for the last hundred and seventy years; and although we ardently desire to see the organisation of the army placed on a far more efficient and popular footing, there is no reason to purchase that advantage by a sacrifice of any of the constitutional checks which have been placed upon the administration and command of her Majesty's forces.

ART. IX.—1. *The Earthly Paradise.* By WILLIAM MORRIS. Parts I.—IV. London: 1869–70.

2. *The Life and Death of Jason.* A Poem. By WILLIAM MORRIS. London: 1868.

NOT many men have been more richly endowed with the gift of song than the author of the beautiful poems which are here woven together as a garland of flowers gathered in an earthly Paradise. Not many poets have so successfully schooled themselves to rest content with the mere appearances of things; and hence it is that, while he professes to seek only to draw forth sweet music from a harp which could scarcely be swept by more skilful fingers, he has succeeded in impressing on all his utterances the character of the philosophy, which regards the outward aspect of things as all that may be known about them. This success he has achieved, not by any efforts to fathom the depths and measure the varying currents of human thought. His purpose is rather to watch the movements or the calms on the surface of the waters, without an answer to the question of that inner life which dwells beneath it. Thus while his words flow on in streams soft as any which might come from the lyre of Hermes or the reed of Pan, they carry with them the burden of a strange weariness and sadness.

In truth, the exquisite simplicity and grace of Mr. Morris's poems are the fruit of consummate art and skill. The subjects which he has chosen are with few exceptions subjects which have been already handled by the Homeric and Orphic poets, by Pindar and Stesichorus, by Sophocles and Euripides. They are, in other words, the stories with which the bards of the Greek heroic age charmed their countrymen, and which in the hands of the tragic and lyric poets were made vehicles of the highest lessons of political or ethical wisdom, or means of imparting the purest and most intense delight. These stories Mr. Morris has told again, professedly with the latter of these two purposes only. He speaks of himself emphatically as 'the idle singer of 'an empty day;' and, as we read tale after tale, it would be vain to attribute to him the fixed design by which Mr. Tennyson has worked the several parts of the Arthurian story into one magnificent whole. But as our thoughts rest on the Medea and Alcestis of Mr. Morris, we cannot banish from our minds the images of the Medea and Alcestis of Euripides, and we are led to contrast the atmosphere in which these creatures of Greek imagination move, with that in which the same forms are exhibited to us by the modern poet. Probably none have sought

more earnestly to relate these stories simply as stories, and certainly none have imparted to them a more touching charm. The Arthur of Mr. Tennyson is manifestly the embodiment of the highest Christian chivalry, and the Prometheus of Shelley is the man who strives against injustice and wrong in all ages and in all countries; these poems may therefore be regarded from a point of view lofty and immutable. Mr. Morris's tales can be submitted to no such criticism. They are put before us as 'murmuring rhymes;' insensibility to their delightful melodies would argue a strange coldness to versification. Yet, while we give up ourselves to the spell of the enchanter as at the waving of his wand the scenes change and each creation of his plastic power comes before us, it is impossible to rest under it. It may not be fair to compare a poet with other poets, but it can scarcely be unfair to compare him with himself; and if Mr. Morris's purpose has been only to charm away the hours when 'feeling kindly unto all the earth,' we

> 'Grudge every minute as it passes by,
> Made the more mindful that the sweet days die,'

we cannot help marking the signs which seem to show the channel in which the thoughts of the poet have been running, or sometimes pausing to reflect how far it may be wise to follow in the same path.

The melody of Mr. Morris's verse is so sweet, the movement so smooth, that we care as little to assume the attitude of critics towards these poems as to analyse our feelings while we watch the light playing on calm waters beneath a cloudless summer sky. Some flaws may doubtless be found—a few false rhymes, a few sentences which differ from prose only in the recurrence of the same sound at the end of each couplet, and, more frequently, a certain ruggedness and faultiness of scanning. With Mr. Morris, 'real' is invariably a monosyllable, and 'really' a dissyllable. But we need not give instances of defects which, after all, are little more than the purposed discords of the musician. While we accompany Mr. Morris we roam through an enchanted land; and we are too much contented with the beauty of the scenes before us to dwell on the neutral tints or the few unshapely objects which in no way mar their loveliness.

The tales related in the 'Earthly Paradise' are strung together on a very simple framework. The horrors of a wasting plague at Micklegarth give strength and shape to the vague dreams of a happier land far away to the West, with which some of its people had been wont to solace themselves while

serving among the Varangian guards at Byzantium; and the learned squire Nicholas, whose betrothed is ready to follow him over the world, makes a vow with the Swabian Lawrence and others, that they will at once set out and never give up their search for this land,

'Till death or life have set their hearts at rest.'

In the English Channel they fall in with the fleet of Edward III. and the Black Prince, who gives them some lines of writing, lest they should find it hard to deal with some of his people

'who pass not for a word
Whate'er they deem may hold a hostile sword.'

But the story of the voyage, until they descry a new land, differs little, if at all, from the story of Columbus and his men, or of others who have wandered through unknown seas led on chiefly by their hopes and fancies. It is the old tale of eager anticipation and wild enjoyment, followed by blank depression and dismay; but when, after surmounting dangers not less terrible than those which Ulysses encountered in the land of the Læstrygonians or the dwelling of Circe, after escaping from an ocean of misery, in which they had grown to be like devils and learnt what man sinks to

'When every pleasure from his life is gone,'

they come at last to a land where the simple folk, taking them to be gods, treat them as kings, we may well doubt whether the insane yearning for an earthly home where there is no death can live on in the hearts of men who had already numbered their threescore years and ten. But this passion to escape from Death is the burden of Mr. Morris's poems. From the Prologue to the Epilogue of the 'Earthly Paradise,' which concludes the fourth and last part, his ancient mariners are described as men who

'deemed all life accurst
By that cold overshadowing threat—the end.'

If the delights of a life not without some likeness to that of the Lotos-eaters still left, as it might well leave, them dissatisfied, the longing would surely be rather for the old home, where they might once again hear the old familiar speech. But though after a time their life seemed to them once more 'trivial, poor, and 'vain,' not a thought is given to Norway; and the one desire is still to find the country where the old may become young again, and the young may not die. They would be fools and victims, and the veiled prophet was not wanting to lure them on to their destruction. From the horrible captivity which follows they

escape at last, only to see their numbers dwindle quickly away from sickness of body and mind, until Nicholas, the most learned and the most besotted of them all, dies and is left beneath the trees upon the nameless shore, and the scanty remnant is at length brought to a shining city in a distant sea, where they hear not the language of Norway, but the softer sounds of that Greek tongue to which they had listened long ago in Byzantium. Here, kindly welcomed by the grey-haired elders, they feel that their earthly wanderings are done, and their journey to the grave must now be

> 'like those days of later autumn-tide,
> When he who in some town may chance to bide
> Opens the window for the balmy air,
> And seeing the golden hazy sky so fair,
> And from some city garden hearing still
> The wheeling rooks the air with music fill,
> Sweet hopeful music, thinketh, Is this spring,
> Surely the year can scarce be perishing?
> But then he leaves the clamour of the town,
> And sees the withered scanty leaves fall down,
> The half-ploughed field, the flowerless garden-plot,
> The dark full stream by summer long forgot,
> The tangled hedges where relaxed and dead
> The twining plants their withered berries shed,
> And feels therewith the treachery of the sun,
> And knows the pleasant time is well-nigh done.'

This mournful sound of autumn-tide runs as a keynote through all the tales which the city elders and these storm-tossed men relate to each other, and which are here woven into the chaplet of the 'Earthly Paradise.' They may be tales which tell of high hopes and heroic deeds; they may paint the joys of the young and the mighty achievements of fearless men; but the shadow of death is on these 'murmuring rhymes' which

> 'Beat with light wing against the ivory gate,
> Telling a tale not too importunate
> To those who in the sleepy region stay;'

and the touch of the very fingers of death alone stirs within us whatever sense of life there may be left. If it be hard to say whether the music of Mr. Morris's song carries with it more of pleasure than of pain, the pleasure must at the least be that of men who sit at the banquet-table in the presence of the veiled skeleton, and the enjoyment that of the youth who is bidden to rejoice because all is vanity and vexation of spirit, and because the hour will soon come when the bowl shall be broken at the fountain. That 'the idle singer of an empty day,' who

has here woven together some blossoms which lay before his footsteps 'in a flowery land, fair beyond words,'

> 'Not plucked by him, not overfresh or bright,'

has given us melodies of exquisite sweetness, it would be mere ingratitude to deny; but the music of this Earthly Paradise is mournful because it is so earthly. Whether the tale be that of Perseus victorious over every enemy who seeks to bar his way, or of Alcestis going forth in all the freshness of youth to the dark land whither her husband should have gone, or of Ogier the Dane, who rises from his charmed sleep to strike a blow for the land where the great Karl had reigned; whether it be the legend of Jason turning deliberately from the old love to the new, or of Psyche toiling on with the very sickness of hope deferred in her search for the glorious being on whom her eyes had but for one moment rested, there is everywhere the same thought that gladness is only gladness because it is dogged by decay and change. The lesson may be true; but the penalty for the iteration of it is a monotony which disposes rather for drowsiness than enjoyment; and the words by which it is enforced leave on the mind the impression of a faith altogether less hopeful than that of the poets who told these tales long ago in their old land, and of whom we are wont to speak as heathens.

The truth is that Mr. Morris never cares to lift his eyes from the earth, except to the visible heaven in which we may see the glories of dawn and sunset; and only on this earth and under this heaven is there any real hope and any real joy for man. For the agonies involved in the constant flux and reflux of human affairs the only remedy lies in the 'crucible of time,'

> 'that tempers all things well,
> That worketh pleasure out of pain,
> And out of ruin golden gain.'

But for the individual man the language of the poet throughout is not only that of resignation to a doom of absolute extinction after a short sojourn here, but of the philosophy which makes this extinction the one justification of merriment. The cornel-wood image stands in the city of Rome

> 'For twice a hundred years and ten,
> While many a band of striving men
> Were driven betwixt woe and mirth
> Swiftly across the weary earth,
> From nothing unto dark nothing;'

and the fact that a log of wood will last

> 'While many a life of man goes past,
> And all is over in short space,'

is a reason for not fearing what any son of man can do, and for being

> 'merry while we may,
> For men much quicker pass away'

than the tablet on which a tale is written. It is true that it is a wicked sorcerer who asks

> 'who knoweth certainly
> What haps to us when we are dead?'

and answers

> 'Truly, I think, by likelihood,
> Nought haps to us of good or bad.
> Therefore on earth will I be glad
> A short space, free from hope or fear.'

But everywhere the signs are manifest that to the mind of the poet the future presents the same utter blank, and that life is not merely a mystery but an unsubstantial and wearisome dream. This is the cold comfort administered by Phœbus Apollo to Admetus, when he tells him

> 'The times change, and I can see a day,
> When all thy happiness shall fade away.
> And yet be merry. Strive not with the end,
> Thou canst not change it;

and when the end comes, it swallows up the thought of all other things. Trust or reliance in a loving Father, or even in a guiding Mind, there had been none; and with the fading away of hope the last props give way,

> 'When death comes to stare
> Full in men's faces and the truth lays bare,
> How can we then have wish for anything
> But unto life that gives us all to cling?'

Hence, although great things are said of the power of love, it is not easy to think of a love stronger than death. Love is bounded by the limits of time, and derives its strength from the certainty of coming separation which shall last for ever. In the words of Admetus to Alcestis,

> 'O love, a little time we have been one,
> And if we now are twain, weep not therefore;'

or of Cupid to Psyche,

> 'Time will go
> Over thine head, and thou mayest mingle yet
> The bitter and the sweet, nor quite forget,
> Nor quite remember, till those things shall seem
> The wavering memory of a lovely dream.'

There is nothing solid, nothing real anywhere; and life itself is but a mirage which lasts a little longer than the mocking paradise of the desert. It is not here and there only that the same chords are struck. The one burden runs through all. We have it in the beautiful song in Ogier the Dane:—

> 'By the white-flowered hawthorn brake,
> Love, be merry for my sake;
> Twine the blossoms in my hair,
> Kiss me where I am most fair;
> Kiss me, love, for who knoweth
> What thing cometh after death?'

The placid resignation of the lover passes into something like the impassiveness of the mystic:—

> 'Shall we weep for a dead day,
> Or set sorrow in our way?
> Hidden by my golden hair,
> Wilt thou weep that sweet days wear?
> Kiss me, love, for who knoweth
> What thing cometh after death?'

Rejoicing in the love of the Icelander Kiartan, the beautiful sister of the Norwegian Olaf still casts not away

> 'From out her heart thought of the coming day,
> When all should be as it had never been,
> And the wild sea should roll its waves between
> His grey eyes and her weary useless tears;'

and the same lesson is preached still more pointedly when Perseus rescues Andromeda from the dragon:—

> 'Love while ye may; if twain grow into one,
> 'Tis for a little while: the time goes by,
> No hatred 'twixt the pair of friends doth lie,
> No troubles break their hearts,—and yet, and yet—
> How could it be? we strove not to forget;
> Rather in vain to that old time we clung,
> Its hopes and wishes round our hearts we hung:
> We played old parts, we used old names,—in vain,
> We go our ways, and twain once more are twain;
> Let pass,—at latest when we come to die,
> Then shall the fashion of the world go by.'

This cold consolation, couched in words whose music is sweet as that of a dream, is introduced somewhat gratuitously into a myth which, unlike those of Phœbus, Theseus, Dionysos, Heracles, or Jason, knows nothing of inconstancy or forgetfulness. From first to last Perseus is bent on avenging his mother's wrong; and with him Danaê returns in glory to the land from which she had been cast forth with her babe into the

unpitying sea. From first to last his love is given unvaryingly to the maiden whom he had rescued on the Libyan sands from the jaws of the merciless monster.

How thoroughly the same strain pervades these poems we may see by comparing almost any one portion of them with another. When Jason, in the full exultation of early manhood, undertakes the quest of the Golden Fleece, he still thought

> 'When sixty years are gone at most,
> Then will all pleasure and all pain be lost,
> Although my name indeed be cast about
> From hill to temple, amid song and shout;
> So let me now be merry with the best.'

When, at the beginning of March, the poet rejoices in the outburst of a new spring, he asks

> 'Ah! what begetteth all this storm of bliss,
> But death himself, who, crying solemnly
> E'en from the heart of sweet forgetfulness,
> Bids us, "Rejoice, lest pleasureless ye die;
> Within a little time must ye go by.
> Stretch forth your open hands, and while ye live
> Take all the gifts that death and life may give."'

It is the old maxim, 'Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we 'die.' Hence, although almost every story is a tale of love, whether happy or unrequited, all exhibit the same type. In each case it is the armed Eros who pierces his victim, and holds him as the captive of his bow and spear. If we have ecstatic unions and unimaginable bliss, this joy is the fruit of a glance or a touch. The love, in short, is both sudden and physical; and we look in vain for anything more. While Medea, at her father's bidding, is telling Jason of the perils to be surmounted before he can win the Golden Fleece,

> 'Love came unseen, and cast his golden yoke
> About them both, and sweeter her voice grew
> And softer ever, as betwixt them flew
> With fluttering wings the new-born strong desire;'

and, when coming to offer him her aid in the quest, she expresses her dread of the wrath of Æetes after the departure of the Argonauts, the words rush to the lips of Jason,

> 'By this unseen delight
> Of thy fair body, may I rather burn,
> Nor may the flame die ever, if I turn
> Back to my hollow ship, and leave thee here,
> Who in one minute art become so dear,

Thy limbs so longed for, that at last I know
Why men have been content to suffer woe
Past telling, if the gods but granted this
A little while such lips as thine to kiss,
A little while to drink such deep delight.'

So is it again when, sated with the exacting love of the wise Colchian woman, Jason first sees the brilliant Glauce. No sooner have her fingers touched his than he forgets

'all the joys that he had ever known;
And when her hand left his hand with the ring
Still in the palm, like some lost stricken thing
He stood and stared, as from his eyes she passed;
And from that hour all fear away was cast,
All memory of the past time, all regret
For days that did those changèd days beget;
And there withal adown the wind he flung
The love whereon his yearning heart once hung.'

So is it with Accontius when first he sees the Delian maiden whom he is to win as his bride:—

'Then standing there in mazed wise,
He saw the black-heart tulips bow
Before her knees, as wavering now
A half step unto him she made,
With a glad cry, though half afraid,
He stretched his arms out, and the twain
E'en at the birth of love's great pain,
Each unto each so nigh were grown,
That little lacked to make them one,
That little lacked that they should be
Wedded that hour, knee touching knee,
Cheek laid to cheek.'

So, again, when, in the story of the Lovers of Gudrun, Thorgerd, Kiartan's sister, seeks to excite his love for Refna, she can think of no other way of attaining her end than by saying

'if I were a man, not old or wise,
Methinks I should remember wide grey eyes,
Lips like a scarlet thread, skin lily white,
Round chin, smooth brow 'neath the dark hair's delight,
Fair neck, slim hands, and dainty limbs well hid,
Since unto most of men doth fate forbid
To hold them as their own.'

In all this there is not much in harmony with the thought and feelings, perhaps even with the ethics, of our own day; and, as we are compelled in some degree to measure humanity by our own standard, we may fairly say that such words as these possess no great human interest. It is for this reason that

although Mr. Morris is already one of the most voluminous of poets, and has a marvellous power of imagery and diction, we question whether his works will attain great popularity or pass to lasting fame. They lack entirely the divine element, which touches in its power the human heart, and makes the poet, like itself, immortal. Yet of all the old stories which Mr. Morris has related again in the 'Earthly Paradise,' and not a few of which may be resolved even into grotesque absurdities, there is probably not one which fails to exercise over us an indescribable fascination. They are tales which have been told for ages on ages in almost every land, and on which have been built the great fabrics of the epic and tragic poets of old time. They are tales which mingle possible events with things impossible, and exhibit characters which we can conceive as those of real men by the side of others which must be to us simply unmeaning. But, although the possible and the impossible elements of the story are so mingled together that no attempt to separate or decompose them can be successful, we cannot say that our interest is excited only by the words and deeds of those who are manifestly represented as of our own flesh and blood, and not at all by the joys and sufferings of beings who, if they have any existence, belong to another sphere of life. We do feel moved by the sorrow of Zeus when he mourns that Sarpedon, his bright and beautiful child, must die; and we smile no smile of contempt when the poet tells us how the tears, great as drops of blood, fell from the sky when the brave Lycian chieftain was smitten by the spear of Patroclos, how Phœbus bathed the body in the stream of Simoeis, and how, as the first flush of dawn lit up the sky, the Powers of Sleep and Death laid him on the threshold of his Eastern home nigh to the banks of the golden river. We can feel the woes of Psyche, as she wanders on in all but hopeless misery in her search for the beautiful being whom her envious sisters had slandered to her as an unsightly monster; and if the story of Aphroditê weeping for the lovely Adonis done to death by the wild-boar's tusk be too sensuous for northern taste, no such flaw mars the pathos of the tales which tell us how Baldur and the heroic Helgis, smitten down in the fulness of youth and beauty, rise again to a renewed life and strength which should never waste away. But, if we would raise our enjoyment of these stories to the highest point, we must take them simply as they are. Any attempts to define sharply the boundaries which separate the human from the divine are as wise as the efforts of the man who might think to heighten the butterfly's beauty by brushing the down from its wings.

There can be no doubt that the attempt to treat the actors in the old tales as specimens of human character has done much towards blinding us to the real beauty of the tales themselves, and that this attempt in the case of legends which we are in the habit of regarding as nearer to our time and as framed by men whose thoughts were more akin to our own, can be made only at the cost of more or less serious moral mischief. Mr. Morris is well aware of this, and he is careful before beginning some of his stories to warn us that they are dreams and no histories of men who ever lived; but he touches on doubtful ground when he adds—

> 'Yet as in dreams
> Of known things still we dream, whatever gleams
> Of unknown light may make them strange, so here
> Our dreamland story holdeth such things dear,
> And such things loathed, as we do: else, indeed,
> Were all its marvels nought to help our need'

If we follow the beautiful rhymes in which 'the idle singer 'of an empty day' introduces us to his fairy garden, we must believe that we have no needs to help; but if we have, then it may fairly be doubted whether some or any of the poet's legends will stand the test which he has himself laid down. Taken in its bare outlines, few myths are more repulsive than that of the maiden who stakes her person on the issue of a race in which the penalty for the unsuccessful lover is instant death by the headsman's axe, and who day by day sees human blood poured out with eyes unmoved and heart untroubled. Nor can the magic of the poet's verse at all reconcile us to the thought of the pitiless being who, armed with superhuman powers, can see brave men die for her sake, until one comes who wins her only because he has the special aid of a god. It is of little use to tell us of her beauty as, standing at the starting-post,

> 'She seemed all earthly matters to forget,
> Of all tormenting lines her face was clear;
> Her wide grey eyes upon the goal were set,
> Calm and unmoved as though no soul were near;'

Or again how, when she had reached the goal, she stood

> 'breathing like a little child
> Amid some warlike clamour laid asleep,
> For no victorious joy her red lips smiled,
> Her cheek its wonted freshness did but keep:
> No glance lit up her clear grey eyes and deep,
> Though some divine thought softened all her face,
> As once more rang the trumpet through the place.'

We remember that this divine thought is no thought of pity for the victim whose head falls at the trumpet blast; and if we judge by any human standard, we turn aside from the maiden as we should from the ferocious rites which marked the devil-worship of Artemis Tauropola or the Spartan Iphigeneia. But although the poet speaks of Atalanta as reared up, like Helen, to be 'a kingdom's curse,' and as making her

> 'city's name accurst
> Among all mothers for its cruelty,'

he does not wish us so to dwell upon this thought as to kill all our sympathy for her when the warm human feeling wakes up in her heart as Milanion, by the help of a god, and by this help alone, at last outruns her. Neither do we wish it. But we can avoid this only by ceasing to look upon her as human at all. The beauty of the tale cannot be questioned, but neither can we question the beauty of those many other tales in which we find the two thoughts that furnish the framework of the story of Atalanta—the idea, namely, of the maiden whom hundreds stake their lives to win, and the idea of the suitors who meet their death until in due time comes the man destined to win her. Some of these stories have been wedded to verse by modern as well as by ancient poets; and if the beauty of their work must be measured by the degree of their fidelity to the ideas which lie at the root of these stories, we can but wonder at the magic power which those ideas have exercised on poets who seem to have scarcely felt a temptation even to modify them.

In the 'Doom of King Acrisius' Mr. Morris handles a subject which might furnish materials for many epics, and which is handled by himself more than once in other poems. The child Perseus is also 'the Man born to be King;' and none will read the two tales as the one follows the other, without seeing that the framework in both is the same and that not a few of the incidents correspond. No beauty can exceed that of Danaê, no grace surpass that of her child Perseus, the pure hero, whose office it is to redress wrong and punish the evil-doers. Here then is the chord struck which excites our human sympathy; but we cannot rest on this or on the love of Perseus for the Libyan maiden, as we wander along in the midst of wonders, marvellous as any in Arabian story, which tempt us continually to stray into the many other regions where we may survey the same scenes and hear the same sounds. The temptation is the stronger, because the points of likeness between the several tales heighten their charm; and thus we may follow the 'idle

'singer' through his 'murmuring rhymes,' being well assured that the imagery of his stories will at each step recall other scenes in the enchanted land.

We feel ourselves in the old and well-known paths as we

> 'There on the sill she laid her slender hand,
> And, looking seaward, pensive did she stand,
> And seemed as though she waited for the Sun
> To bring her news her misery was done;
> At last he came, and over the green sea
> His golden road shone out right gloriously,
> And into Danae's face his glory came
> And lit her softly waving hair like flame.
> But in his light she held out both her hands,
> As though he brought her from some far off lands
> Healing for all her great distress and woe.'

In the incidents that follow, Mr. Morris adheres more strictly to the old legend, which shows with singular clearness how thoroughly the elements of European folk lore were known to the nurses and poets of ancient Hellas.

In the rescue of Andromeda we approach the true work of all heroes; and Mr. Morris's dragon, which is very well described, may serve excellently as a type of all the monsters slain by Theseus, Heracles, Bellerophon, or Jason, by Cadmus, Œdipus, St. George, or Feridun. True to himself, Mr. Morris closes the scene in which Perseus first sees and wins his bride by words which, put into the mouth of Andromeda, throw over it the shadow of future darkness:—

> 'O love, to think that love can pass away,
> That soon or late to us shall come a day
> When this shall be forgotten! e'en this kiss
> That makes us now forget the high God's bliss,
> And sons of men with all their miseries.'

Mr. Morris introduces us into a very garden of delights when he tells us again the often-told story of Psyche—the history of lovers severed by the malice of others almost as soon as they are wed, and retaining no other consolation than the thought that it is 'better to have loved and lost than never to have 'loved at all.' If to explain the hatred of Aphroditê for Psyche Mr. Morris has departed from the ordinary story, his language still shows that her jealousy of the fair maiden is but another form of the jealousy of Eos in the story of Procris. Psyche is receiving at all hands the worship which should be reserved for the Queen of Beauty only: she is a maid

'Whom any amorous man this day would kiss
As gladly as a goddess like to me;
And though I know an end to this must be,
When white and red and gold are waxen grey
Down on the earth, while unto me one day
Is as another, yet behold, my son,
And go through all my temples one by one,
And look what incense rises unto me;
Hearken the talk of sailors from the sea
Just landed, ever will it be the same,
"Hast thou then seen her?"'

The Love-God promises obedience; but his cruel purpose gives way to a feeling of absorbing rapture when he comes upon the desolate Psyche, who has sunk to sleep beneath the weight of her sorrow. The god kneels beside her as she slumbers, and the picture, sensuous though it may be, is full of beauty:—

'From place to place Love followed her that day,
And ever fairer to his eye she grew,
So that at last, when from her bower he flew,
And underneath his feet the moonlit sea
Went shepherding his waves disorderly,
He swore that of all gods and men, not one
Should hold her in his arms but he alone;
That she should dwell with him in glorious wise,
Like to a goddess in some paradise;
Yea, he would get from Father Jove this grace,
That she should never die, but her sweet face
And wonderful fair body should endure
Till the foundations of the mountains sure
Were molten in the sea.'

After a long and grievous pilgrimage—after tasks wholly beyond human powers, in which, like the wandering princes and maidens of folk lore in like case, she is aided by birds and beasts whom she has befriended, this consummation is at last brought about: but although to do full justice to the way in which Mr. Morris has told the story, we should have to quote the whole of it, we must pause for awhile to look on the picture of the beautiful maiden who leaves the abode of lost love and happiness, with a weight of misery not to be described in words, yet nerved by a purpose which no earthly power could conquer or turn aside:—

'Thenceforth her back upon the world she turned,
As she had known it; in her heart there burned
Such deathless love, that still untired she went:
The huntsman dropping down the woody bent
In the still evening saw her passing by,
And for her beauty fain would draw anigh,

But yet durst not; the shepherd on the down,
Wondering, would shade his eyes with fingers brown,
As on the hill's brow, looking o'er the lands,
She stood with strainèd eyes and claspèd hands,
While the wind blew the raiment from her feet;
The wondering soldier her grey eyes would meet,
That took no heed of him, and drop his own;
Like a thin dream she passed the clattering town;
On the thronged quays she watched the ships come in,
Patient, amid the strange outlandish din;
Unscared, she saw the sacked town's miseries,
And marching armies passed before her eyes.
And still of her the god had such a care,
None did her wrong, although alone and fair
Through rough and smooth she wandered many a day,
Till all her hope had well-nigh passed away.'

From this image of purely spiritual beauty, the loveliness of Una which the touch of neither man nor beast may mar, the poet takes us with consummate art to the sensuous home of the Paphian Queen,—

'Whose beauty sole had lighted up the place,'

where the maidens danced in the house made beautiful with gold.

'A crown there was upon her glorious head,
A garland round about her girdlestead,
Where matchless wonders of the hidden sea
Were brought together and set wonderfully.
Naked she was of all else, but her hair
About her body rippled here and there,
And lay in heaps upon the golden seat,
And even brushed the gold cloth where her feet
Lay amid roses,—ah! how kind she seemed,
What depths of love from out her grey eyes streamed.'

But the kindness and the love are not for those who approach her too nearly in their beauty; and her unconscious rival bleeds beneath her cruel scourges, until the time comes when Psyche must drink the draught which after her grievous sorrows is to render her immortal.

We must hasten through the other scenes of the 'Earthly 'Paradise.' We must not be tempted to linger amidst the beauties of the legend of the brave Ogier, some portion of whose story Mr. Morris tells again in his charming poem of the 'Land East of the Sun.' But the simple hero of the 'Land 'East of the Sun' comes back, not like Ogier, to the scenes of his ancient glory and renown, but like Psyche for a long and agonising quest, which lasts until the spell is broken

by the utterance of the magic name of the land where he finds again the love whom he had lost. In the fourth part of the work, recently published, the legend of Bellerophon appears again, in Argos and in Lycia; but in our judgment the 'Ring 'given to Venus' is the most attractive portion of this volume, and one of the most perfect of Mr. Morris's compositions, for he avoids in it his two besetting sins of despondency and prolixity.

From this banquet in the halls of Fairyland we turn to the most powerful of the stories told in the 'Earthly Paradise,' and the most human. In the poem which tells the story of Gudrun and her lovers we have the working only of human passions; but of the result we are bound to say plainly that it is more repulsive and more shocking to our moral sense than any incidents of the stories which professedly carry us out of the region of human ethics. The Gudrun of this terrible drama is not the Gudrun of the Volsung and Niblung legend, although she is one

> 'Whose birth the wondering world no more would blame
> Than her's who erst called Tyndarus her sire,
> What hearts soe'er, what roof-trees she might fire,
> What hearts soe'er, what hearths she might leave cold,
> Before the ending of the tale be told.'

If we choose to sup on horrors, knowing them to be impossible or unreal, it may perhaps be well. If we take these horrors as in any sort true pictures of the society of an historical age, it is not well; and the claim which Mr. Morris has put forward for the substantially historical character of the Grettir Saga, a story of like complexion, justifies some further comments on a poem, to the beauty and power of which we can have no wish to shut our eyes.

The course of Gudrun's future life is revealed to her, while she is yet a girl, by Guest the Wise; but our concern is not with the predictions but with the incidents of her strange career. The first is her marriage with Thorvald, whom she weds without feeling for him a spark of affection, but only because it was too much trouble to say 'no' for ever. The man is coarse; but his coarseness must of itself reflect on the choice of a maiden who had grown up to 'perfect womanhood.' He is also rough and passionate, and

> 'As she ever gloomed before his eyes,'

he is moved by some not altogether unnatural or inexcusable anger against the woman who, at the first, was at the least as much to blame as himself, and far more so in the end, when on a time it fell

'That he, most fain indeed to love her well,
Would she but turn to him, had striven sore
To gain her love, and yet got nothing more
Than a faint smile of scorn, 'neath eyes whose gaze
Seemed fixed for ever on the hoped-for days
Wherein he no more should have part or lot.'

All other feelings are now overpowered by resentment, and smiting her on the face in his despair, he rushes out and rides away furiously over hill and moor. Gudrun after this behaves more kindly to Thorvald, whose wife she continues to be for several months, till, when he is gone to the Thing, she rides over with one man to Bathstead to tell her tale:—

'And as in those days law strained not to hold
Folk whom love held not, or some common tie,
So her divorce was set forth speedily,
For mighty were her kin.'

This is plain speaking; and the thought may be pardoned that, if Gudrun, on subsequent occasions, had chosen to set in motion the simple machinery which she had shown herself so competent to use, she needed not to have undergone the miseries of her life, or the poet to have related the horrors of her history. Freed from Thorvald, she soon marries Thord, a man of whom nothing more can be said than that he was 'brisk, and brave, and fair;' and the fact would seem to imply that with Gudrun marriage was the end of life rather than marriage with true love. We are, however, told that 'she 'deemed she loved him well;' and that things might perhaps have continued to run smoothly had not her husband been drowned in a summer gale. Her eyes are next turned to Kiartan, a man who is described as the bravest of the brave and the fairest of the fair—a man worthy of the love of the noblest and best of women. But Gudrun, who had thus far shown no unwillingness to run into marriage, now betakes herself to other ways; and when her father hints that she might do well to take Kiartan as her third husband,

'She answered nought, but drew her hand away,
And heavier yet the weight upon her lay
That thus men spake of her. But, turning round,
Kiartan upon the other hand she found
Gazing upon her with wide hungry eyes
And parted lips; then did strange joy surprise
Her listless heart, and changed her old world was;
Ere she had time to think, all woe did pass
Away from her, and still her life grew sweet,
And scarce she felt the ground beneath her feet,

> Or knew who stood around, or in what place
> Of heaven or earth she was; soft grew her face;
> In tears that fell not yet, her eyes did swim,
> As, trembling, she reached forth her hand to him,
> And with the shame of love her smooth cheek burned,
> And her lips quivered, as if sore they yearned
> For words they had not learned, and might not know
> Till night and loneliness their form should show.'

This is very pretty; but when we remember what she had done before, and what she did afterwards, we may well think that she might have married him at once, and so made an end of the business. Instead of this, when Kiartan suggests to his bosom friend and foster-brother Bodli Thorleikson that he should get him a wife, and when Bodli, who in secret loves Gudrun, says that his sword must bring home a bride, Gudrun urges that all three should take a voyage up the Thames or Seine. Kiartan, taking up the thought, says that he will go with Bodli, and will wed Gudrun when he comes back to Iceland full of fame. The next scene shows Kiartan and his friend in the court of the sainted Olaf, whose faith they would have been willing to adopt, but that they

> 'knew not how their forefathers to call
> Souls damned for ever and ever.'

Olaf, however, is less peremptory with them than it was his wont to be; but when they fail to be convinced by the exposition of a German bishop, 'that seemed both dull and long,' they bring themselves into some jeopardy, from which they are delivered by the noble and chivalrous candour of Kiartan. At length, both the friends are hallowed at the font, and Kiartan, while he says that 'nought at all may move his heart from 'Gudrun,' allows Ingebjorg, Olaf's sister, to fall in love with him, until the king, pleased with the affection growing up between them, has in heart to raise Kiartan so that he too should be a king. A ship is now to sail for Iceland; but Kiartan will not go, the reason given being that he 'passed his life, 'fulfilled of praise and love and glory.' Bodli, whom Kiartan charges with a cold message to Gudrun that he had won great honour and bliss, and that they should meet again, tells Gudrun, in answer to her importunate questionings, that Kiartan sits ever by Ingebjorg's side, and that men said that he should wed her and be king; and in so saying he spoke but the plain truth. If he thought that Gudrun might now turn from his friend to himself, her former history might pardon, or even justify, the hope. Kiartan tarries three years in Norway,

sending no tidings of himself to Gudrun; but at the end of this time he determines to return to Iceland, and goes to bid farewell to Ingebjorg, whom

> 'He loved with a strange love very sore,
> Despite the past and future.'

We are at a loss to know what name is to be given to this kind of love, however great may be our sympathy with the gentle Ingebjorg, who, seeing the tears streaming down his cheeks, says in all simplicity—

> 'Weep, then!
> If thou, who art the kindest of all men,
> Must sorrow for me, yet more glad were I
> To see thee leave my bower joyfully
> This last time; that when o'er thee sorrow came,
> And thought of me therewith, thou might'st not blame
> My little love for ever saddening thee.
> Love! let me say Love once—great shalt thou be,
> Beloved of all, and dying ne'er forgot.'

Kiartan, on reaching Iceland, learns from his sister Thurid that Gudrun, incapable, it would seem, of abstaining from marriage for more than a few months, is the wife of his friend Bodli, and bursts into the cry—

> 'O Gudrun, Gudrun,
> Have I come back with all the honour won
> We talked of, that thou saidst thou knewest well
> Was but for thee—to whom then shall I tell
> The tale of that well-doing? And thou, friend,
> How might I deem that aught but death should end
> Our love together? Yea, and even now,
> How shall I learn to hate thee, friend, though thou
> Art changed into a shadow and a lie?'

The words sound much like rhodomontade, and we can but ask how he can speak of Gudrun as his love, when he had but a little while before confessed that despite the past and future he loved Ingebjorg with a strange love very sore, and in what way Bodli had become to him a shadow and a lie. If fault there were anywhere, it lay now, as before, with Gudrun; and if Kiartan had particularly wished to tell her of his exploits, he might have returned with Bodli for this purpose; for it does not appear that he added greatly to his achievements after his friend's departure, his time being chiefly taken up with furnishing fuel for the fire which was to consume the heart of Ingebjorg.

At this point a new lover of Kiartan is brought on the

stage; nor is it to be wondered at that the beautiful Refna should be drawn towards Kiartan, or that Kiartan should speak kindly to her. Meanwhile, at Bathstead, Gudrun had received the tidings of Kiartan's return to Iceland, and late in the night she leaves her chamber to hold forth to her husband after the following fashion:—

'Night hides thee not, O Bodli Thorleikson,
Nor shall death hide from thee what thou hast done.
What, thou art grown afraid, thou tremblest then,
Because I name death, seed of fearless men?
Fear not, I bear no sword, Kiartan is kind;
He will not slay thee because he was blind,
And took thee for a true man time agone.
My curse upon thee! Know'st thou how alone
Thy deed hath made me? Dreamest thou what pain
Burns in me now when he has come again?
Now, when the longed-for Sun has risen at last
To light an empty world, whence all has passed
Of joy and hope—great is thy gain herein!
A bitter broken thing to seem to win,
A soul the fruit of lies shall yet make vile,
A body for thy base lust to defile,
If thou durst come anigh me any more,
Now I have curst thee, that thy mother bore
So base a wretch among good men to dwell,
That thou might'st build me up this hot-walled hell.'

It has been said of Cranmer, that it is difficult to speak our mind of the lessons given by him to Edward VI. in the art of persecution without calling foul names; but without thus assailing Gudrun, the answer to this furious and unseemly outburst is, briefly, that Bodli had done nothing but speak the truth; that if she felt dissatisfied with his report, her business was to ascertain the real state of things by writing to Kiartan, or, if need be, by going herself to Norway; that instead of doing this, she had chosen to repeat in Bodli's case what she had done twice already, and married for the third time without real love; that her words meant nothing, for at a later time she bore children to Bodli, and that all the difficulty might have been settled at once by a resort to that court whose aid she had effectually invoked for a far smaller matter, even if her words were true, in the case of her first husband, Thorvald. It seems almost idle to waste words on this wretched medley of unnecessary miseries. Kiartan, we are told, would now sit and watch the weary sun go by,

'Feeling as though his heart in him were dead.'

He had already made the voyage to Norway once; he had

only to make it again to find there a true and devoted woman whose love would be worth that of a thousand Gudruns. But of Ingebjorg there is no further count taken; and because Gudrun will not divorce herself from Bodli, Kiartan weds not Ingebjorg but Refna. It would not be easy to find a parallel to this mingled baseness and absurdity, unless perhaps we look for it to the confessions of Augustine, who sends away the long-loved mother of his child because he wishes to marry a Milanese lady, and because this lady is still too young, enters into another unlawful connexion until she should be old enough to marry him. To make the matter even worse, when his sister Thurid has told Kiartan the truth about Refna, Kiartan with a certain feeling of relief lays himself on his bed, thinking of Ingebjorg

> 'And all the pleasure her sweet love had brought
> While he was with her; and this maid did seem
> Like her come back amidst a happy dream:'

and Kiartan now called himself a Christian. 'Ah, well! what 'will you have?' asks Mr. Morris.

> 'This was a man some shreds of joy to save
> From out the wreck, if so he might, to win
> Some garden from the waste and dwell therein.
> And yet he lingered long, or e'er he told
> His heart that it another name might hold
> With that of the lost Gudrun.'

This is intolerable. What we would have is the plain duty of a Christian man—which in such a case would be, either that he should remain as he was, or that, as he could not marry the woman whom he had first loved, he should betake himself to her whom he professed to love with a strange love great and sore. In strict truth, there was no wreck and no waste except such as he had chosen to make. According to the Icelandic ethics of the day, all might be settled on Gudrun's part by an appeal to the divorce court; on his own part, he was bound to make Ingebjorg happy and not to make Refna miserable. But in point of fact, he had allowed another name to hold his heart along with that of Gudrun, if there was but a grain of truth in the words which he had spoken of Ingebjorg; nor can we shut our eyes to these glaring inconsistencies in an awkwardly constructed story.

We need all our patience to go through the sequel of the tale. It is enough to say that a feud is made to spring up between the house of Bathstead and Kiartan's house of Herdholt —that Kiartan finds it consistent with his Christian profession

to harry his neighbour's house and steal his cattle, and that in the issue

'Gudrun's five brethren, and three stout men more,'

valiantly attack Kiartan and his single attendant in a desolate pass, and at length succeed in slaying him, their luck being better than that of the eighty assailants of Grettir, who are vanquished by that hero as easily as the thousand Philistines were smitten by Samson when armed with the jaw-bone of an ass. The rest may be told in few words, but these are not the less noteworthy. Refna dies soon of a broken heart; and three years later Bodli is slain by Kiartan's kinsfolk. As to Gudrun,

'when Bodli's sons were men,
And many things had happed, she wed again;'

and when Thorkel in his turn had been dead for a long while, she discourses to one of the sons of Bodli on the merits of her several husbands. If we allow, as well we may, when she came to speak of one who had not been her husband, that she told no more than the bare truth in saying,

'I did the worst to him I loved the most,'

we must also allow that, if these words imply blame to herself, that blame was most fully deserved; but as we can see nothing to praise or to love in her life, we can find little that is wholesome in the chronicle of her self-inflicted miseries.

It may, indeed, be said that if there are horrors here, there are horrors also in the story of Jason. But when we get among fire-breathing bulls, and men springing up after the sowing of dragon's teeth, and the marvels wrought by the wise Colchian maiden, our thoughts pass at once into another channel, where the contrast of the tale of Gudrun with the laws which underlie all our social life is not forced upon us; and in the story of Jason Mr. Morris has found a subject which he has handled with even greater skill than the most beautiful of the legends selected for the poems of the 'Earthly Paradise.' That this poem is tinged with the same tones of thought and feeling which pervade all the others, we have already seen; but here, as elsewhere, the lines in which these feelings are expressed are among the most melodious of Mr. Morris's rhymes. The Argonautic legend itself is worked up into a tale of absorbing interest; and from the moment when the Olympian Queen reveals her loving purpose respecting Jason to the hour when he lies down to take his last sleep beneath the divine Argo, we are carried on with the art of the bard whose strains drive away all sleep from the eyes of his hearers. The contrast

between the earlier scenes of the story and those in which the career of Jason is brought to the end, is drawn with singular force. The great work of Medea is done, and she sits a queen besides her crowned king:—

'Yet surely now, if never more again,
Had she and all these folk forgotten pain,
And idle words to them were Death and Fear;
For in the gathering evening could they hear
The carols of the glad talk through the town
The song of birds within the garden drown:
And when the golden sun had gone away,
Still little darker was the night than day
Without the windows of the goodly hall.
But many an hour after the night did fall,
Though outside silence fell on man and beast,
There still they sate, nor wearied of the feast;
Yea, ere they parted, glimmering light had come
From the far mountains, nigh the Colchian's home,
And in the twilight birds began to wake.'

The golden light rests on all,

'And there in happy days, and rest and peace,
Here ends the winning of the Golden Fleece.'

But the winning of the Golden Fleece is not the end of the story; and, as though to nerve himself for the great catastrophe, Mr. Morris breaks off into one of the few passages in which he speaks of himself; nor will his readers think that in these lines he advances a claim which savours in the least of presumption.

'So ends the winning of the Golden Fleece,
So ends the tale of that sweet rest and peace,
That unto Jason and his love befell.
Another story now my tongue must tell,
And tremble in the telling. Would that I
Had but some portion of that mastery
That from the rose-hung lanes of woody Kent
Through these five hundred years such songs have sent
To us who, meshed within this smoky net
Of unrejoicing labour, love them yet.
And thou, O master!—yes, my master still,
Whatever feet have scaled Parnassus' hill,
Since like thy measures, clear and sweet and strong,
Thames' stream scarce fettered, bore the bream along
Unto the bastioned bridge, his only chain.
O master, pardon me, if yet in vain
Thou art my master, and I fail to bring
Before men's eyes the image of the thing

My heart is filled with; thou, whose dreamy eyes
Beheld the flush to Cressid's cheeks arise,
When Troilus rode up the praising street,
As clearly as they saw thytownsmen meet
Those who in vineyards of Poitou withstood
The glittering horror of the steel-topped wood.'

Chaucer himself might regard with complacency the work of his disciple throughout this poem, and, most of all, in that closing scene in which Jason thinks with tenderness of his first love and with more than tenderness of the later-won maiden,

'Whose innocent sweet eyes and tender hands
Made [him] a mocking unto distant lands,'

and with high purpose nerving his heart, can still say

'with the next returning light will I
Cast off my moody sorrow utterly,
And once more live my life as in times past,
And 'mid the chance of war the die will cast.'

So, thinking of great deeds still to be done in other lands, and

'gazing still across the sea,
Heavy with days and nights of misery,
His eyes waxed dim, and calmer still he grew,
Still pondering over times and things he knew,
While now the sun had sunk behind the hill,
And from a white-thorn nigh a thrush did fill
The balmy air with echoing minstrelsy,
And cool the night-wind blew across the sea,
And round about the soft-winged bats did sweep.'

The next day a shepherd of the lone grey slope finds crushed under the ruined stem of Argo all dead of Jason that here can die; and amid the funeral rites of the great king and hero the divine ship is offered

'to the Deity
Who shakes the hard earth with the rolling sea.'

We turn reluctantly from this noble poem as from the charming tales which Mr. Morris has gathered from the great storehouse of Greek tradition. Of the 'Earthly Paradise' we need only say that if, as in the story of Gudrun, there may be some thorny plants in its beautiful garden, and if the songs which tell us of its glories and its pleasures rather add to than lighten the burden of life, we are not blind to the loveliness of its flowers, or deaf to the music which is heard amidst its groves.

ART. X.—1. *Aktenstücke zur Orientalischen Frage, nebst chronologischer Uebersicht.* Zusammengestellt von Dr. J. von JASMUND. Drei Bände. 8vo. Berlin: 1855–1859.

2. *Papers on Eastern Question.* Presented to Parliament 1855–1856.

3. *Treaty, Protocols, and Correspondence relative to the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg.* Presented to Parliament May 1867.

4. *L'Impasse orientale. Souvenirs et Observations.* Par le Baron CHARLES de * * *. Leipzig and Brussels: 1871.

WE shall deal very briefly with the question which has been suddenly cast upon the troubled waters of Europe, by the declaration of the Court of St. Petersburgh that it should cease to be bound by one of the most important of its public engagements. For we do not propose to speculate at all upon the matter. We leave Mr. Mill in possession of his theory of the faith of treaties; we leave Mr. Froude to the belief that England and Russia are the 'two great civilising Powers of the 'East,' and that we ought to have accepted in a 'less jealous 'spirit' the Emperor Nicholas' proposal made to Sir Hamilton Seymour for a partition of the Ottoman Empire. These are speculative questions of morals and politics. Our object is simply to remind our readers of the history of the transaction and engagement which has been so suddenly and violently impugned. For this purpose we shall turn to the records of the negotiations carried on during the war of 1854 and 1855, which happily led to the Peace of Paris. Dr. Jasmund's volumes supply us with these documents in the most convenient form. A short recapitulation of the passages relating to that engagement which Prince Gortschakoff proposes to throw off and annul at the pleasure of his august master, will demonstrate that this breach of faith is of the most radical and fundamental character—that it is directed against the most important result of the Crimean war, and against that condition which in the judgment of all Europe was regarded as the most essential for the maintenance of peace. Diplomatic protocols and correspondence are apt to be forgotten, and they are never of a very amusing character. But when they bear upon the interests of the day and determine the basis of a great European settlement, it is proper that they should be brought back to light. Whilst we were engaged in the researches imposed on us by our task, a foreign diplomatist of experience and ability was pursuing the same path of inquiry. We have just

received his pamphlet, the title of which stands at the head of this Article, and we shall avail ourselves of his assistance to establish our case. Like ourselves, he holds the Russian declaration of the 31st October to be 'the most serious blow 'which public law has received in the course of modern his-'tory, and that it must be regarded as the starting-point of a 'new situation in politics.'

The first mention of the limitation of the naval forces of Russia in the Black Sea occurs in a despatch of M. Drouyn de Lhuys to the French Minister at Vienna, dated the 23rd July, 1854. In this despatch, after stating, amongst other things, that 'the privileged position of Russia on the Euxine 'Sea enabled her to create establishments on its coasts and to 'develope a maritime power on its waters, which in the total 'absence of any counteracting force are a permanent menace 'against the Ottoman Empire,' the French Minister went on to lay down the four conditions or points for which the Allies were contending. Of these the third was that 'the Treaty of 'the 13th July, 1841 (known as the Treaty of the Straits), 'should be revised by the high contracting parties in the in-'terest of the European balance of power, and *with a view to* '*a limitation of the Russian power on the Black Sea.*' It is remarkable that this despatch was written some time before the Allied fleets and armies had sailed for the Crimea. Throughout the war and the subsequent negotiations, these Four Points were steadily kept in view. The Western Powers never asked more and would never accept less; they were eventually incorporated in the treaty of peace, and marked the successful termination of the war. But of these points the *third*, providing for the limitation of Russian power in the Black Sea, was the most strenuously resisted by Russia and the most firmly insisted on by the British and French Governments.*

The Four Points proposed by France and adopted by England were communicated to Austria, and accepted by her as conditions and principles without which she declared that she would not negotiate. Prussia gave in her adhesion to them. They

* The same idea had occurred to M. de Vergennes, Minister of Louis XVI., after the conquest of the Crimea by the Empress Catherine. On the 22nd August, 1783, this statesman proposed to the Cabinets of London and Vienna to make their recognition of this Russian conquest conditional, by demanding of the Empress to limit her forces in the Black Sea to a fixed number of small vessels, in order to protect Turkey against systematic aggression. But this proposal was not adopted. (*L'Impasse orientale*, p. 5.)

were communicated by the neutral Powers to the Court of St. Petersburgh as the fundamental conditions of peace; and the third point was incorporated in the following terms in the Memorandum of the 28th December, 1854, which was the basis of the Vienna Conference.

'3. The revision of the Treaty of July 13, 1841, must have for its object to connect the existence of the Ottoman Empire more completely with the European equilibrium, and to put an end to the preponderance of Russia in the Black Sea. As to the arrangements to be made in this respect, they depend too directly on the events of the war for it to be possible at present to determine the basis; it is sufficient to point out the principle.'

The Vienna Conference, at which England was represented by Lord John Russell, and France by M. Drouyn de Lhuys, began its deliberations on the 15th of March, 1855. The siege of Sebastopol was then going on, and the allied armies had suffered severely during the winter. Passing over the discussions on the first two points, on which no serious difficulty arose, the Conference reached on the 19th of April the third point, and more especially the latter part of the clause. An adjournment of seventeen days had taken place in the interval to enable the Court of St. Petersburgh fully to consider it. Russia declined to take the initiative in making any proposal on the subject, though she professed to have accepted the Memorandum as the basis of negotiation. Austria recommended a system of naval equipoise—that is, that the two riverain Powers, Russia and Turkey, should bind themselves by treaty to maintain in the Black Sea a certain number of ships and no more. In this state of the question the discussion opened. M. Drouyn de Lhuys declared that 'the most natural 'and efficacious means of putting an end to the preponderance 'of Russia in the Black Sea consisted in the limitation of her 'maritime forces there.' He added that, 'in point of fact, 'the Black Sea was at that moment in the exclusive possession of England, France, and Turkey, and would remain so 'as long as the war lasted. It was not therefore for those 'Powers to ask concessions of Russia, but to consider on what 'terms they will consent to put an end to her absolute exclusion from those waters.'

Lord John Russell concurred in these remarks and supported this proposition. He observed 'that the Black Sea was exceptional; that the principle of closing the Dardanelles had been 'adopted by the public law of Europe; that of the two Powers 'which alone command the shores of the Black Sea the one, 'already very strong, continually augments its forces, whilst

'the other is weakened by her contest with Russia. In this 'state of things England regards the excessive increase of the 'Russian fleet in the Black Sea as a perpetual menace hang- 'ing over the Bosphorus and Constantinople. To admit that 'the Ottoman Empire is an essential element of the European 'equilibrium, and to wish to maintain at the same time a per- 'petual menace directed against that Empire, is a flagrant in- 'consistency.'

The principle of limitation of naval forces was at that time formally rejected by Russia as incompatible with her dignity. But, on the other hand, Prince Gortschakoff submitted to the Conference a document (known as Annex A to Protocol 12) in which Russia rebutted the charge of abusing her preponderance in the Black Sea, and proposed on the contrary to open the Dardanelles and the Black Sea to the naval flags of all nations—provided that as the fleets of other States would have the right to enter the Black Sea, so the fleet of Russia would have the right (with the consent of the Porte) *to sail out of it.* This proposition was absolutely negatived by Turkey, England, and France as totally incompatible with their policy and objects. It was, therefore, on this point that the negotiations broke off, and the hope of terminating the war at that stage came to an end. Lord John Russell and M. Drouyn de Lhuys rather inclined to accept the principle of equivalents which had been recommended by Austria; and those Ministers were in fact wrecked on that shoal. But throughout the negotiation the British Government insisted with great energy that the limitation of the Russian fleet *should be absolute,* and not based on the system of counterpoise, for reasons which are fully stated in the published correspondence.

The history of this transaction was written with his usual ability by Lord Clarendon in a circular despatch addressed to the Queen's Representatives abroad, and the following observations deserve to be reproduced, because they are just as applicable to Prince Gortschakoff's Note of October 1870, as they were to Prince Gortschakoff's Project of April 1855. After referring to the earlier stages of the negotiation, Lord Clarendon goes on:—

'Russia has asserted that a regard for her dignity precludes her from acceding to the terms proposed by the Allies on the third point. But the dignity of Russia cannot require that she should keep up in time of peace, and on the immediate threshold of her weaker neighbour, a force wholly unnecessary for purposes of self-defence, but enabling her at the shortest notice to subvert the independence of that neighbour,

and to change the territorial distribution of Europe. Yet such is the position which Russia has maintained in the Black Sea, and which she has even now publicly avowed her determination not to renounce.

'It is needless to dwell on the absence of any motive of self-preservation to justify this determination on the part of Russia. It would be a mockery to pretend that she has anything to fear from the hostility of Turkey; and while Turkey is at peace and free from threatened attack by Russia, and while the Straits between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea are closed except to a small and limited number of ships of war of the Western Powers, Russia has nothing to fear from the naval forces of England and France; while, on the other hand, the present state of things in the Black Sea demonstrates that when war exists between Russia and Turkey, and when the Straits are consequently open to all the naval forces of the Sultan's allies, England and France, if sufficient time be afforded them, can collect in the Euxine a naval armament strong enough to sweep from the waters of that sea every ship bearing the flag of Russia.

'Russia has indeed alleged that the preponderance which she wishes to maintain in the Black Sea is essential for the security of the Turkish Empire against the aggressions of other Powers; but it is not from the hostility of the Western Powers, but from the traditional, and it is not too much to say avowed, policy of Russia, that the Turkish Empire has danger to apprehend. The present war has been undertaken to provide securities against those ambitious designs of Russia which menace the safety of Turkey and the future repose of Europe; and, in short, to quote the words of a recent Russian Proclamation, to prevent, as far as Turkey is concerned, the accomplishment of the wishes and the views of Peter, of Catherine, of Alexander, and of Nicholas.

'The Western Powers, in conjunction with Austria, have considered that this object would most effectually be secured by restricting within reasonable bounds the power of Russia in the Black Sea. Russia, however, has refused to subscribe to these reasonable proposals; and in their place she has offered two schemes of modification of the Treaty of 1841, the practical effect of which would be, that whichever of the two schemes the Western Powers might accept, those Powers would be obliged to keep up perpetually in the vicinity of the Dardanelles a large naval force prepared to act in any contingency which might occur. For, according to one scheme, Russia proposed that the Straits between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea should at all times be open to the ships of war of all nations, and therefore, of course, to her own Black Sea and Baltic fleets.

'The effect of this scheme would have been, that Constantinople would at all times have been exposed to all the dangers which might have arisen from the sudden appearance before that city of an overwhelming Russian armament; while the tranquillity of the Mediterranean, and all the great interests in that sea, would have been liable to disturbance by the action of a powerful Russian fleet, sallying forth at any moment from the Euxine.

'To guard against this double danger, the Governments of England and of France would have been compelled to maintain in the Mediter-

ranean war establishments in time of peace, and permanently to station their armaments at a great distance from their arsenals and resources; so that a peace concluded on such conditions would have been nothing more than an armed truce divested of the security which is the essence of peace, and unaccompanied by that cessation of expenditure which ought to follow the termination of a war.'

In September, 1855, Sebastopol fell. The Allies, or at least England and Turkey, were preparing to carry on the war with vigour in the following spring; and the exhaustion of Russia was, as we have since learned, almost complete. A treaty had been concluded between the Western Powers and Sweden in November 1855, and that Power was prepared to assume the offensive in Finland had the war continued. Austria had also agreed, if necessary, to join the alliance. The King of Prussia earnestly adjured the Emperor Alexander to make peace.

At this stage Austria again tendered her good offices, and the Four Points were presented to the acceptance of Russia in a more detailed and precise form. The third point then assumed the following shape:—

'3. Mer Noire: La Mer Noire sera neutralisée. Ouvertes à la marine marchande de toutes les nations, ses eaux resteront interdites aux marines militaires. Par conséquent il n'y sera ni créé ni conservé d'arsenaux militaires maritimes. La protection des intérêts commerciaux et maritimes de toutes les nations sera assurée, dans les ports respectifs de la Mer Noire, par l'établissement d'institutions conformes au droit international et aux usages consacrés dans la matière. Les deux Puissances riveraines s'engageront mutuellement à n'y entretenir que le nombre de bâtimens légers d'une force déterminée, nécessaires au service de leurs côtes. La convention qui sera passée entre elles à cet effet sera, après avoir été préalablement agréée par les Puissances signataires du traité général, annexée au dit traité, et aura même force et valeur que si elle en faisait partie intégrante. Cette convention séparée ne pourra être ni annulée ni modifiée sans l'assentiment des Puissances signataires du traité général. La clôture des Détroits admettra l'exception applicable aux stationnaires mentionnée dans l'article précédent.'

This ultimatum, though presented to Russia by Austria, had previously been discussed with considerable animation by the Western Powers. France had already attempted to lower the terms demanded by the Allies. England had indignantly protested against this course, as an infraction of the alliance; and Lord Palmerston declared, in a letter to Count Persigny of the 21st November, that rather than subscribe to inadequate conditions, England would carry on the war alone with Turkey. On the 26th November, the British Government declared in

her Majesty's name that 'the Treaty for the neutralisation of 'the Black Sea must be a reality, and not an illusory stipula- 'tion, which would inevitably be the case, if it were made to 'depend on a separate Treaty between Russia and Turkey.' England, therefore, insisted that this essential condition should be embodied in the Treaty to be signed by all the Powers, and should not be subject to modification without their assent. These views, energetically supported by the British Minister, prevailed, and the preliminaries were drawn up in conformity with them.

These preliminaries were *formally accepted* by Count Nesselrode on behalf of Russia in his despatch to Prince Gortschakoff of the 5th January, 1856. His words with reference to the third point are these:—

'Art. III. is at bottom only a reproduction *of the proposal emanating from the Imperial Cabinet* (that is Russia herself), which your Excellency was charged to communicate to the Austrian Government. *We accept it*, and thereby consent to the convention to be made between Russia and the Porte for this purpose should be previously submitted to the sanction of the contracting Powers. We have only two amendments to propose, one of which is solely intended to make the terms more clear and avoid all misconstruction; the other is a trifling addition of a word with reference to the suppression of the slave trade on the Black Sea coast.'

On the 1st February, 1856, Russia signed a protocol at Vienna, in conjunction with the belligerent Powers and Austria, by which she recognised and accepted these preliminaries as the basis of an armistice and of a definitive treaty of peace.

This was the foundation of the negotiation opened at the Congress of Paris on the 25th February, 1856. We pass over the discussion of the points which first occupied the Congress, and are not now at issue.* On the 4th March the third point was brought under consideration. The first clause in it, which established the neutralisation of the Black Sea, was adopted without observations in the Protocol, and incorporated in the XIth, XIIth, and XIIIth articles of the General Treaty, in the terms we are about to cite. The first paragraph stands

* It must, however, be observed that the other points touching the Roumanian Provinces and the navigation of the Danube are more or less dependent on the neutralisation of the Black Sea, and would be open to objections from other Powers, if that main point were successfully repudiated by Russia. All that relates to the navigation of the Danube is at least as important to Austria as to Turkey, for that river was opened on the express condition that no ships of war were to be within reach of its mouth.

thus in the Protocol, and our readers will observe that the observations which accompanied the adoption of the second paragraph are of the utmost importance:—

'"The Black Sea is neutralised; its waters and its ports thrown open "to the mercantile marine of every nation, *are formally and in per-* "*petuity interdicted to the flag of war, either of the Powers possessing* "*its coasts, or of any other Power*, with the exceptions stipulated in the "present Treaty. Free from any impediment, the commerce, in the "ports and waters of the Black Sea, shall be subject only to the regu- "lations in force."

'The second paragraph is in like manner agreed to by all the Plenipotentiaries, after having been settled in the following form:—

"The Black Sea being declared neutral, the maintenance or esta- "blishment upon its coast of military-maritime fortresses, becomes "alike unnecessary and purposeless. In consequence, his Majesty the "Emperor of Russia, and his Majesty the Sultan, engage not to esta- "blish or to maintain, upon that coast, any military-maritime arsenal."

'The first Plenipotentiary of Great Britain states that Russia possesses at Nicolaieff an arsenal of the first class for maritime works, the maintenance of which would be in contradiction to the principles on which the paragraph, of which the Congress has just settled the terms, is founded. This arsenal not being situated on the shores of the Black Sea, Lord Clarendon does not mean to assert that Russia is bound to destroy the ship-building yards which exist there; but he remarks that public opinion would be authorised in attributing to Russia intentions which she cannot entertain, if Nicolaieff were to retain, as a centre for all maritime works, the importance which it has acquired.

'The first Plenipotentiary of Russia replies that *the Emperor, his august master, on acceding with sincerity to the propositions of peace, firmly resolved strictly to carry out all the engagements resulting from them*; but that Nicolaieff, being situated far from the shores of the Black Sea, respect for her dignity would not permit Russia to allow a principle solely applicable to the coast to be extended to the interior of the Empire; that the security of, and watching over, the coasts required, moreover, that Russia should have, as had been admitted, a certain number of light vessels in the Black Sea, and that, if she consented to give up the ship-building yards of Nicolaieff, she would be compelled to establish others in some other point of her southern possessions; that, *in order at once to provide for his engagements, and for the requirements of the naval service, the Emperor intends only to authorise the construction at Nicolaieff of the vessels of war mentioned in the bases of the negotiation.*

'The first Plenipotentiary of Great Britain, and, after him, the other Plenipotentiaries, consider this declaration satisfactory.

'The Earl of Clarendon inquires of the first Plenipotentiary of Russia *whether he agrees to the insertion of his declaration in the Protocol.* After having replied in the affirmative, Count Orloff adds that, in order to prove the sincerity of his intentions, the Emperor has instructed him to demand a free passage through the Straits of the Bos-

phorus and of the Dardanelles for the two ships of the line which alone are now at Nicolaieff, and which would have to proceed to the Baltic as soon as peace was concluded.' (*Protocol of Congress of Paris, No.* 4, 4*th March*, 1856.)

In addition, therefore, to the specific contract of the General Treaty, there was an express declaration and engagement of personal honour made by Count Orloff on behalf of the Emperor of Russia to carry out these stipulations. This declaration was also the result of a previous discussion between the Plenipotentiaries, which is not recorded in the papers. Lord Palmerston had desired to demand the independence of Circassia. Lord Clarendon required an engagement from Russia that she would not rebuild her forts on the eastern shores of the Black Sea, and that Nicolaieff should be included in the declaration. But on these points the British Ministers yielded to the solicitations of the Emperor Napoleon, and the assurance of Count Orloff, which we have just cited, was substituted for them. Lord Clarendon afterwards declared in the House of Lords that if ever a Government could be said to have contracted a moral obligation, Russia had done so by this Protocol.

On the same day that the Treaty of Peace was concluded a Convention was signed between all the Powers re-asserting and establishing the principle of the closing of the Dardanelles against the ships of war of all nations in time of peace: and another convention between Russia and the Porte limiting their naval forces in the Black Sea respectively to six steam vessels of fifty metres in length, and four sailing vessels not exceeding 200 tons each. These conditions were annexed to, and included in, the definitive Treaty of Peace signed in Paris on the 30th March, 1856, and it was expressly provided by the 14th Article of the General Treaty that the Convention about the naval forces *should not be annulled or modified without the consent* of the Parties to the General Treaty.

In addition to these contracts, on the 15th April a separate Treaty was concluded between England, France, and Austria in the following form, to which Prussia declined to be a party:—

'Art. 1. Les hautes parties contractantes garantissent conjointement et séparément l'indépendance et l'intégrité de l'empire ottoman, consignées dans le traité conclu à Paris le 30 mars 1856.

'Art. 2. Toute infraction aux stipulations dudit traité sera considérée par les Puissances signataires du présent traité comme un casus belli. Elles s'entendront avec la Sublime-Porte pour les mesures qui seront devenues nécessaires, et régleront entre elles, sans délai, l'emploi à faire de leurs forces militaires et navales.

'Art. 3. Le présent traité sera ratifié, et les ratifications seront échangées dans la quinzaine ou plus tôt, s'il est possible.

'En foi de quoi, les Plénipotentiaires respectifs ont signé ledit traité et y ont apposé le sceau de leurs armes.' (*Fait à Paris, le quinzième jour d'avril, en l'an* 1856.)

We are indebted to our foreign pamphleteer for a more exact account than we had before seen, of the origin of this important Treaty. Throughout the war it was considered by the Western Powers to be an object of the first consequence to connect the existence of the Ottoman Empire with the general system of the politics of Europe. This was the basis of the declaration signed at Vienna as early as the 3rd December, 1853, by England, France, Austria, and Prussia. At the Conference of Vienna in 1855, it was again proposed to place the territorial integrity of Turkey under the protection of Europe, Russia alone objecting. Austria subsequently proposed a separate Treaty for this object, and this was one of the chief inducements held out to England to lead her to consent to the very moderate terms of the ultimatum offered to Russia. France hesitated, but Count Buol reminded the Emperor Napoleon, that England would not have consented to that ultimatum without the promise of the separate Treaty for the protection of the Ottoman Empire, and Lord Palmerston insisted on the fulfilment of that promise. Hence, after some further negotiation, this separate Treaty was signed in the form just cited.

We have thought it opportune to reproduce in this place these engagements. None were ever entered into with greater deliberation or solemnity. They were not mere formal contracts, but they were expressly adopted by Count Nesselrode as his own; and Count Orloff pointedly declared on the Protocol that the Emperor his sovereign had 'firmly resolved to 'keep all the engagements resulting from them.' They were framed not with a view to any temporary expediency, but to regulate the permanent relations of Russia and Turkey on the Euxine. Nor can such limitation be of the slightest inconvenience to Russia, any more than the limitation of our own naval forces on the North American Lakes, unless a design existed of employing such forces for some sinister purpose. At the time these Treaties were signed the Western Powers were in full and absolute possession of the Black Sea. Russia could not launch a fishing-boat upon it. The Allied Fleets were immediately withdrawn, never we hope to return there. Above all, Russia obtained in exchange for this limitation that which she most required—peace. The victorious Powers claimed no accession of territory, nor any other advantage for themselves

They did not even ask for the expenses of the war, which they might well have demanded. Their sole object, from first to last, was to deprive Russia of the means of continuing and renewing her aggressive policy against the Ottoman Empire, of which she had just given a signal example; and so to put an end to a state of things which had frequently brought Europe to the brink of war. It is especially as a pledge and guarantee of peace that these articles of the General Treaty of Paris are valuable. We say nothing of the interests of the Ottoman Empire itself. They may or may not deserve the armed support of this country. But no one—not even the Emperor Nicholas—has ever supposed that it would be possible to proceed to the demolition and partition of the Ottoman Empire without giving the signal of a general war in Europe: and such a war must in Egypt and the Levant affect directly some of the most important interests of Great Britain. Our object is to prevent the occurrence of that convulsion. It is, no doubt, possible that war may arise from a fixed determination to uphold the faith of treaties; but it is certain that war must arise from the acts which would follow the breach of them. Public law being abolished, the territories of the Ottoman Empire would be abandoned to a scramble for possession between the Great Powers. The great excellence of Lord Palmerston's policy in the East was, that on two occasions he foresaw this danger and averted it, by re-establishing the legal authority of the Porte. The value of the Ottoman Empire to England is that it stands between us and a state of anarchy and violence, which would convulse the East and compel us to resort to arms in self-defence. Russia is once more preparing to profit by some such revolution: we desire to prevent it.

Prince Gortschakoff asserts in a despatch of the 1st November, that 'the position in which Russia was placed by the 'Treaty of 1856 is prejudicial to all Europe, because it pre-'vents the Imperial Government from exercising in matters of 'international import its due share of influence in favour of 'peace and conservative politics.' And in another despatch he observes that the opening of the Suez Canal, and the creation of an independent State in Italy, render it more than ever necessary that the power of Russia should make itself felt in the Levant and in the Mediterranean. The Russian Empire can never fail to exercise what Prince Gortschakoff terms 'its 'pacific and conservative influence in the Council of Powers,' as long as that influence is regulated by good faith and by respect for the public law of Europe. But we have yet to learn how this pacific and conservative influence can be aided

by the reconstruction of another Sebastopol, or the equipment of a fleet of iron-clads to force the passage of the Bosphorus. The arguments of the English and French envoys at Vienna are as forcible now as at the time at which they were first used; and we see no reason to depart from the principles defended by Lord Palmerston, Lord Clarendon, and Lord Russell, and ultimately adopted by Russia herself and all the other Powers. Our present object, however, is not to discuss the questions which may be brought before the Conference, but simply to place before the world what has been thought, and said, and done upon them on former occasions. The stipulations based upon these views appear to us to be as wise and useful as they are binding: and we are confident that they cannot be abrogated—least of all by the sole will of the Power which is peculiarly bound by them—without re-opening a series of intrigues and dangers against which they were designed to protect the world.

The ink with which the foregoing remarks were written was scarcely dry, when Europe was startled by another declaration, emanating this time from Count Bismarck on behalf of the King of Prussia, but strikingly similar both in form and spirit to that which Prince Gortschakoff had so recently made to the world. It is stated by the Prussian Minister that, in consequence of certain breaches of neutrality alleged to have been committed in the little State of Luxemburg, King William will no longer regard as binding upon himself in his military operations the Treaty of 1867, by which the neutrality of the Grand Duchy was recognised and guaranteed by Prussia and all the other Great Powers. The same principle asserted by Russia—viz. that a Great Power may with impunity repudiate an obligation previously sanctioned by the consent of Europe, whenever it thinks it has the power to do so—is therefore to be adopted and acted upon by the Court of Berlin. It is obvious that such a principle is absolutely fatal to the existence and authority of all international contracts, whether special or collective; since even those which have not yet been denounced and repudiated may be broken, whenever it becomes the interest of one of the contracting parties to violate his engagement.

The breach of public faith thus announced to the world by Count Bismarck is, if possible, marked by still greater effrontery, and is even more at variance with honesty and good faith than that of Prince Gortschakoff. But the minds of both those eminent statesmen are apparently so constituted that they

are alike unconscious of the rules of honour which have generally been acknowledged even by diplomatists, and alike indifferent to the penalty which the opinion of mankind generally attaches to the violation of them. In the case of Russia it may at least be argued that the conditions of which she complains were imposed upon her by force of arms, at the termination of a war in which she was defeated, and that they limited the right, otherwise common to all nations, of erecting fortresses on her own coast and launching ships of war in her own harbours. She has therefore, to this extent, a grievance, and it is one which the other Powers have consented to consider in Conference, although the limitation, such as it is, sprang directly from a state of war, which she had herself provoked and begun. But Prussia has no such excuse. She is at the zenith of her power and in the midst of her triumphs. To pretend that the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg can cause her one moment of trouble and apprehension, while she is invading France and besieging Paris with half a million of men, is puerile and ludicrous. It is alleged, we understand, that a train of provisions was allowed to be run by a foreign railway company into Thionville during the siege, and that the Luxemburgers, who have no police and only about 200 soldiers, have not disarmed and imprisoned all the fugitives who reached their territory. If it be true that a few French partisans in Luxemburg have committed acts inconsistent with the neutrality of the Grand Duchy, Prussia would have fair ground to demand that they should be punished or sent out of the country. If the French Consul or Vice-Consul in Luxemburg has misconducted himself, his *exequatur* may be withdrawn, just as in the United States the *exequatur* of British Consuls was withdrawn, and even the British Minister sent away, for acts done during the war between England and Russia which the American Government conceived to be inconsistent with its own neutrality and Foreign Enlistment Act. The remedy for such abuses, if they have been committed, is simple and easy. But we are not aware that the *Government* of Luxemburg has been accused of actions which forfeit its neutrality. The Government can at most be accused of not having shown sufficient vigilance and activity in preventing them. Yet it is against the Government and the whole population of Luxemburg that Count Bismarck directs his menaces; if the neutrality of this little State is attacked by Prussia, it is the State collectively, and its Sovereign the Grand Duke, King of Holland, who are the sufferers. Is this language to be regarded as an intimation that Prussia will take the first

opportunity of overthrowing the arrangement of 1867, for the purpose of regaining her footing in one of the strongest fortresses of Europe, and bringing Luxemburg once more under the authority of Germany, from which it was released by the dissolution of the Bund, Prussia's own act, in 1866? That would be simply a rapacious act of conquest by a Power already gorged with the spoils of France; and a conquest the more unjustifiable as it would be wrung from a small neutral State, which is no party to the present war. Or does it simply mean that she is about to take possession of a neutral line of railway, and for such an object as this to trample on her engagements?

But fortunately we are enabled to show that the charges brought by Count Bismarck against the Government of Luxemburg are grossly exaggerated, disingenuous, and unfounded. We have before us a copy of a despatch addressed by M. Servais, the Luxemburg Minister, to Prussia, on the 14th December, and since communicated to the other Powers, in which these charges are effectually rebutted. Throughout the present war the Luxemburg Government has been wisely anxious not to compromise their highly-valued neutrality in the slightest degree. Thus at the end of November they refused, at the request of Prussia, to dispose of some old firearms to a house at Liège, upon a bare suggestion that they might be sent from Belgium to France, and they were thanked by Prussia for this attention. The train of provisions sent on to Thionville, which is now complained of, was a train which passed through Luxemburg *three months ago*, on the night of the 24th September. The Luxemburg Government, conscious that an act of inadvertence had been committed by the railway authorities, reported the fact to the Prussians at the time, when no notice was taken of it. The train was not made up or loaded at Luxemburg, it merely passed through the territory. It was not stopped by the Prussian sentries at the frontier. It contained provisions only, no arms. We doubt if the transit of such a train was any violation of neutrality at all; but if it were so, the blame rests with the Prussians in the first instance. During this campaign, not hundreds, but thousands of trains laden with supplies have passed through Luxemburg to the German armies, many of them laden with provisions bought in Luxemburg itself. So that the menace of Prussia is not only unjust as regards the little State of Luxemburg, but it is an attack on the rights of neutrality itself, and an attempt to wrest them in her own favour.

So, too, with the French fugitives. A few French soldiers

who had escaped from the field of battle took refuge in Luxemburg, and were passed on—not to France at all, but into Belgium. We have yet to learn that it is any breach of neutrality to receive such fugitives, and Count Bismarck himself will hardly pretend that the Luxemburghers were bound to give them up to Germany as prisoners.

As to the complaint against the French Consul, it amounts to this, that relief was given to a few French soldiers, dying of hunger and fatigue, after the siege of Metz, to help them on their way to Arlon or Namur. The charge of enlistment has never been substantiated against the Consul; if that, or any other serious charge had been brought home to him, the Luxemburg Government declare that his *exequatur* would have been withdrawn. To this answer Mr. Servais adds with modest dignity, that there can hardly be a breach of neutrality where there is no hostile intention. The Germans, on their part, have not considered themselves strictly bound by the neutrality they had sworn to respect. German Uhlans in arms have crossed the territory. Wounded German soldiers have been received there. Detached soldiers have even joined the army across it. Luxemburg railway trucks have been used by the German armies and detained. These acts were not complained of (as they might have been) by the Luxemburg Government, because they were regarded as inevitable accidents, not implying any serious violation of the neutrality of the State.

After reading this explanation, we think our readers will agree with us, that the conduct of the Prussian Government is more arbitrary and invidious than we could have conceived it possible. It is the fable of the wolf and the lamb in modern characters. The more paltry and insignificant the cause and the object of this proceeding is, the more utterly unworthy it becomes of the Minister of a great Empire; and Count Bismarck must have a very low opinion indeed of the value of an European treaty and guarantee to break it for so contemptible a pretext. The fact is the more remarkable, as the guarantee he treats so lightly was one *of his own making*.

But on this transaction also, it may be well to refresh the memory of our readers, though less than four years have elapsed since the Convention was signed. The Germans appear to retain a notion that they have some latent claim to Luxemburg, but on this point Count Bismarck's declarations were in 1867 quite explicit. In April, 1867, M. Moustier (then French Minister) stated—

'That Count Bismarck had himself admitted that since the break-up of the Germanic Confederation, each of its members has recovered

its free and sovereign action; and that neither the Government nor the people of Luxemburg wish to enter the new German Confederation which has been formed under the supremacy of Prussia, and that the Prussian Government has determined not to use any pressure to compel it to do so.' (*Luxemburg Papers*, No. 1.)

So far, so good. We applaud Count Bismarck's excellent resolution. Yet some how or other Prussia evinced an extreme reluctance to withdraw her garrison from this 'free and 'sovereign' State, and war was on the point of breaking out, as France was resolved to insist on the withdrawal. In this emergency it was Russia that first suggested, on the 24th April, that the basis of the settlement should be 'the neutrali-'sation of the Duchy and the extension to it of the guarantee 'now enjoyed by Belgium.' (*Luxemburg Papers*, No. 14.) The proposal was recommended by the other neutral Powers, and eventually accepted both by Prussia and France. But it was Prussia that especially insisted on the condition of neutrality, and on the guarantee. Count Bismarck declared to Lord A. Loftus at Berlin, that 'this stipulation was the great 'consideration to Prussia for the withdrawal of her garrison' (*Papers*, No. 47); and Lord A. Loftus added (4th May), 'No 'arrangement will be acceptable to Prussia which will not 'provide for the neutralisation of the Grand Duchy under a 'European guarantee.'

In the original draft of the Treaty submitted to the Conference, the 2nd Article simply declared that 'Luxemburg was 'henceforth to be a perpetually neutral State, bound to observe 'the same neutrality to other States, and that the High Con-'tracting Parties engaged to respect the principle of neutrality 'stipulated by that Article.' To these words the following clause, much more stringent in its language, was added: '*That 'principle is and remains placed under the collective* (*or 'common*) *guarantee of the Powers signing parties of the present 'Treaty, with the exception of Belgium, which is itself a 'neutral State.*' These words were proposed and introduced into the Treaty at the express demand of COUNT BERNSTORFF, *the Prussian Envoy.* Lord Stanley, on behalf of this country, gave a somewhat reluctant assent to them.

It is therefore certain that it was chiefly on the demand of Prussia that the principle of neutralisation under a European guarantee was adopted; yet Prussia is the Power to repudiate this engagement, although all the events which have since occurred in that part of Europe have increased her own power and security at the expense of her neighbours.

These considerations, strong as they are as regards Luxemburg, are not so strong as those which occur to us with re-

ference to the general policy of Europe, and to our own share in it. Great Britain has on several occasions, reluctantly, engaged in negotiations, concluded treaties, and even given guarantees, not for any direct advantage or object of her own, but with a view to the maintenance of peace and law in Europe. Her sole purpose on these occasions has been to protect the weak, to avert war, and to strengthen the authority of those general engagements and contracts on which the tranquillity and progress of the world depend. It was for this reason that she sought in concert with her allies to regulate the succession to the Crown of Denmark, and to maintain the integrity of the dominions of that monarchy. It was for this she fought in the Crimea. It was for this that in 1867, when war was on the point of breaking out between France and Prussia on the question of Luxemburg, England adopted an expedient which was for the time successful, and has at least prolonged the peace of Europe for three years. We assert with confidence that the policy of this country in these transactions was noble and disinterested: but we confess with deep regret that the results of our intervention are not such as to encourage us to repeat it. We have not succeeded in obtaining any permanent security for peace, and we have encumbered ourselves with some onerous obligations, which we cannot defend without great national sacrifices or relinquish without dishonour. And why have these securities failed? Because we were treating with States and Ministers who have not apparently the same conception of truth and good faith that we have; who have ambitions to gratify and selfish objects to gain. The Danish question was settled by the Treaty of 1852, which was signed by Prussia and Austria, as well as by England, France, and Russia. Baron Bunsen reluctantly put his name to it by the express command of the King, but he did not conceal his own opinion and desire that it should be made only to be broken; and it was broken in 1864, when Prussia and Austria invaded Denmark, and wrested from her not only Holstein but Schleswig. So much for that German engagement. The Crimean War ended by the Treaty of 1856, and the limitation described in the preceding pages; we are now told by Prince Gortschakoff that this stipulation is no longer binding. The Luxemburg question was settled by the Convention of 1867. Three years had not elapsed before the war it was intended to avert broke out with increased violence, and Count Bismarck informs us that Prussia will, when she pleases, dispose of the neutrality of Luxemburg. To revert in passing to other transactions, Poland has been crushed, Cracow has been absorbed, Savoy has been annexed, in spite of remonstrances and pro-

tests on our part which, as far as treaties went, were unanswerable. The only inference we can draw from these facts is that, in the present state of Europe, not the smallest reliance can be placed on the plighted faith of several of the most conspicuous of the Great Powers, and that in fact they only enter into engagements of this nature with the intention of breaking them when it suits their convenience. It is clear that an agreement entered into by one party who means to keep it with another who does not, is not an equitable contract; and it is one from which a wise man would abstain. With a strange inconsistency, Count Bismarck is signing Treaties with one hand, whilst he is tearing them with the other. What reliance can be placed on the Conventions between the German States, on the conclusion of the present Conference, or on a Treaty of Peace between Prussia and France, if the Treaties of 1856 and 1867 are set at naught with impunity? There are many excellent persons who think that a neutralisation of territory between the two great Empires which are now engaged in internecine war, and more especially of the disputed provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, would be the most satisfactory mode of terminating the contest, and of preventing the renewal of it hereafter. A barrier of neutral territory along the Rhine would, if it were practicable, restrain and protect the States on either side of it. The neutrality of Belgium and Switzerland has been of real advantage to both Prussia and France in the present war, and a blessing not only to the neutral States themselves but to all Europe. Would to God such pacific barriers were always inviolable! But, it must be acknowledged, that these menaces and attacks on the neutrality of the Black Sea and the neutrality of Luxemburg destroy our faith in such engagements How can this country pledge itself to aid in the maintenance of conditions, which those who are most interested in the observance of them are ready to violate? How can we risk the peace and honour of Great Britain on so precarious a foundation?

The object of all legislation is to substitute law for force in the government of society; not but that law itself must rely on force in the last resort to execute its provisions; but the knowledge that the law can and will be enforced suffices for the most part to compel men to obey and respect it. The sanction of international law is war. There is unfortunately no other. There are no other means of enforcing international contracts. Hence if they cease to be obeyed and respected from considerations of duty and honour, they have no real force but that which they may derive from the armed strength of those who support them. The decay of those motives of duty

and honour is therefore the greatest misfortune that can befall mankind, because it throws us back from a state of peace based on law, to a state of war regulated by force. Once or twice in history the world has dreamed of a council of nations, which should be a high court of justice and chivalry, to redress all wrongs and maintain order by peace; but like the legend of King Arthur's knights, the lofty conception was marred and destroyed by the unworthiness of those who ought to have upheld it. The evils of a long series of wars had taught men the blessings of peace in 1815, and accordingly the fabric of Europe was reconstructed on a pacific and legal basis, and for nearly fifty years the conditions were tolerably observed, or were seldom, at least, audaciously violated. The blessings of peace have apparently rendered men more impatient of those restraints by which alone peace can be preserved, and, like Luther's drunken peasant on horseback, no sooner is the world thrown back from one side than it falls over on the other. The Emperor Napoleon III. and Count Bismarck are the main authors and instigators of this new and most unhappy era in history, which has blighted the fairest promises of this century. For with the destruction of good faith and honour between man and man, between nation and nation, everything else that is worth living for comes in its turn to be destroyed. 'Populus jura 'naturæ gentiumque violans suæ quoque tranquillitatis in 'posterum rescindit munimenta.'

Whatever else may betide, the policy of England stands firm on this immoveable basis, that Treaties, when made, must be respected. No Government which is to exist in this country can abandon those principles: no Government can flinch from the active defence of them. The experience of the transactions to which we have here alluded convinces us more and more that we cannot expect to obtain from the dominant and successful politicians of the day in some foreign countries a full and steady recognition of this rule of conduct. We must wait till the more enlightened conscience of nations, and a keener experience of the consequences of violated faith, bring back our Continental neighbours to a livelier sense of these old truths. Meanwhile it imposes on us the duty of cautiously abstaining from entering into any fresh engagements whatever with States devoid of political principle, and the no less imperative duty of maintaining the positive engagements we have already contracted with the strength and energy of this Empire.

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ART. I.—1. *Recollections of a Long Life* (1786–1869). By the late Lord BROUGHTON DE GYFFORD. 5 vols. 8vo. [Not published.] 1865.

2. *The Life of Henry John Temple, Viscount Temple, with Selections from his Diaries and Correspondence.* By the Right Hon. Sir HENRY LYTTON BULWER, G.C.B., M.P. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1870.

LORD PALMERSTON and Lord Broughton—who was better known to his contemporaries, as he will be to posterity, by the familiar name of John Cam Hobhouse—were born within a few months of each other; the one in 1784, the other in 1786. The lives of both these eminent men were extended to the furthest span of human existence, for they passed the age of fourscore in full possession of their faculties. The time in which their lives were cast was the most eventful period of modern history; and in the parliamentary and administrative service of their country both of them bore a conspicuous part. Although Lord Palmerston entered life as a political descendant of Pitt and Canning, with all the advantages of high birth and early official connexions, whilst Hobhouse sprang from a humbler stock of Bristol merchants and Dissenters, and owed his earlier celebrity to the vehemence of his liberal opinions, they met at last in the Cabinets of Lord Melbourne and Lord John Russell, and no two members of those Administrations more cordially agreed in spirit and in policy, for they had both reached that broad and secure ground of Whig principles on which the Conservative traditions of the one blended with the Radical tendencies of the other.

The life of Lord Palmerston has in part been written and

published by one who, as a public servant and a private friend, is eminently qualified to do justice to that great Minister. The work in its unfinished state has already been fully examined by several of our contemporaries. We reserve our judgment upon it until it is completed, and we will then endeavour to take a connected survey of Lord Palmerston's political career. The same remark applies to the publication of the first volume of the Autobiography of another veteran of still higher distinction in the ranks of the Whig party, and of peculiar interest to ourselves,—we allude of course to the Memoirs of Lord Brougham, written by himself after he had completed his eightieth year. But in this case also we must be content to wait until the work is more advanced. At present our task is altogether different. The volumes before us—five goodly octavos—contain Lord Broughton's own reminiscences of his long and varied life. They were extracted by himself in the years immediately preceding the close of it, from journals and memoranda he had kept in his possession. They contain a vast variety of incident and anecdote, acute sketches of character, animated pictures of parliamentary contests now almost forgotten, and sometimes important elucidations of curious passages in ministerial history. But the form given to this interesting record by its author is not such as to justify its complete publication in its present shape or at the present time. These volumes were printed solely for Lord Broughton's own use, or at most for the amusement of his own family, and to ensure the preservation of them. They have therefore not the strictly confidential character of private manuscripts, but neither were they intended for the public eye: accordingly they have been communicated with the greatest reserve and to very few persons. We are however enabled, by the kind permission of his nearest representatives, to make use of them on the present occasion for the purpose of presenting to our readers a sketch of the life of one of the ablest and most energetic members of the Liberal party and champions of the Liberal cause, in times now long gone by. It has been thought that, if there be one place more than another in which such a sketch may appropriately appear, it is in the pages of this Journal, which may be regarded as a contemporary of Hobhouse himself, and which has won whatever reputation and influence it possesses on the same fields on which he contended. Much, no doubt, must be left unsaid in reviewing memoirs of a confidential character, relating to times and persons still so near to us. We shall exercise a discreet forbearance with reference to some points and some characters, which may hereafter be more fully dis-

closed; but enough and more than enough remains to accomplish our principal object, which is to preserve in these pages a memorial of a very honest politician, a high-spirited and accomplished member of society, and an able Minister of the Crown.

JOHN CAM HOBHOUSE was born on the 27th June, 1786, at Redland, near Bristol. His father was the second son of a Bristol merchant; his mother the daughter of Mr. Cam of Bradford in Wiltshire. The lady was a Dissenter; and so was Miss Parry, his father's second wife. Young Hobhouse was therefore sent in the first instance to a school at Bristol, kept by a Unitarian Minister, Dr. Estlin. His boyhood was spent amongst that highly respectable and intelligent class of English Presbyterians, who were ever cordially attached to the cause of Liberal opinions, then highly unpopular in England. Party spirit never ran higher than it did during the early years of the French Revolution; and the societies of Liberal Dissenters were the most enthusiastic advocates of the cause of freedom. Coleridge and Southey, then in their republican phase, used to frequent Dr. Estlin's modest suppers at Bristol; and Humphry Davy, then an apothecary's assistant on St. Michael's Hill, assisted Dr. Beddoes when he lectured on chemistry to the townspeople.

But notwithstanding these democratic connexions, Mr. Hobhouse the father was a man of property and good family. He stood for Bristol, and was beaten at the election of 1796, but was soon afterwards returned for the borough of Gram pound. In 1812 he obtained a baronetcy, which afterwards devolved on his son. This gentleman was intimate with the first Marquis of Lansdowne, who on more than one occasion showed the greatest liberality to the Dissenting interest, and even received Dr. Priestley into his family. Young Hobhouse was taken by his father to Bowood, which led to his removal to Westminster School, where young Lord Henry Petty had been educated; and in due time he proceeded to Cambridge, where by his own account he did nothing beyond gaining what he terms an 'obscure honour,' the Hulsean Prize. We suspect that he underrates his own classical proficiency; for he remained through life a ready and accomplished scholar, if not a profound one; and there are numerous traces, both in his travels and in his life, of an habitual familiarity with classical literature. Indeed the notes to the fourth canto of 'Childe 'Harold' are a lasting memorial of his fine taste, learning, and culture.

But the great event of his Cambridge life was the intimacy he formed there with Lord Byron. He was scarcely three-

and-twenty when he started with the poet on that memorable tour across Portugal and Spain to Gibraltar, Albania, Greece, and Constantinople, which is immortalised in the first cantos of 'Childe Harold,' and was related by Hobhouse himself on his return by the publication of his travels. Throughout life, he was animated by an ardent curiosity to witness the most striking scenes and events of his time. He was an indefatigable traveller, at a time when travelling was neither easy nor safe. He scoured Germany in the rear of the French and German armies in 1813. He was in Vienna with Mr. Kinnaird when the Truce of Prague was terminated and Austria declared war on Napoleon. He visited Leipzig two months after the battle, when heaps of cannon and offal were smoking in every direction, and the suburbs of the city were dotted with shot-holes. He reached Frankfort in January 1814, where he met Mr. Disbrowe and Mr. Rolfe—afterwards Lord Cranworth. At Wilhelmshöhe he saw the scaffolding employed in taking down the inscription 'Napoleonshöhe' and replacing the old name—little foreseeing that it would one day deserve, in another sense, the French appellation; and he reached Paris on the 19th April, about a fortnight after the occupation of the allied armies. The entry of Louis XVIII. into his capital on the 3rd May has often been described. On the following day the allied troops, chiefly Russians, defiled before the Sovereigns. All the military splendour of Europe was gathered in that spectacle. But one man was there, whom none of the illustrious personages present had probably ever seen, although his fame filled the world, and he bore away no inconsiderable share of their own glory:—

'The curiosity of curiosities was our own Wellington, on a white horse, in a plain blue frock-coat, a white neckcloth, and a round hat. He was riding between General Stewart and Lord Castlereagh. As soon as his presence was known there was a great bustling and whispering. A friend of mine, who was in the window with the Sovereigns, told me that when it was first known he was there, the Emperors and Kings stretched forward to get a sight of him. I saw the Duchesse d'Angoulême point him out to them; and when Platow and Sacken were introduced to him, they would hardly let his hand go. I heard afterwards that Platow had said, "Had you been here we should have done this sooner;" to which the Duke replied, "The business could not have been in better hands." I felt, for my own part, an insatiable desire to see him, and ran many chances of being kicked and trampled down to get near our great man. Two Englishmen near me showed as much eagerness as myself to approach him, and one of them as he passed by me said, "Oh, for God's sake, let me see him!—I know you will excuse me, Sir, for this, but I must see him!" Two strangers in

plain clothes were introduced to him, and almost kissed the ground at his horse's feet. A crowd gathered round him, and attended him to his lodgings. The Duke had just arrived in Paris, after travelling four days and nights, from Toulouse. I heard that he was much struck with the appearance of the Russian cavalry, and said to Sir Charles Stewart, "Well, to be sure, we can't turn out anything like this." Sir Charles told him, very truly, that they were men picked for the occasion.' (Vol. i. p. 43.)

The sympathies of Hobhouse, ever prone to the popular side, were rather with the conquered than the conqueror; and on the return of Napoleon from Elba he again rushed over to Paris, where he spent the Hundred Days, of which he published an account in 1816. He remained always faithful to the old Whig opinion that the return of the Bourbons was a public calamity not only to France, but to Europe; and he was disposed through life to place a favourable—we think far too favourable—construction on the policy and character of Napoleon, the most pernicious enemy of freedom and of the true greatness of France.

Mr. Hobhouse passed the autumn of 1816 with Lord Byron at the Villa Diodati on the lake of Geneva—a visit of no common interest in the life of both of them, for it was just after the noble poet had quitted England for ever, in consequence of those painful domestic occurrences in which Hobhouse had played a most confidential, conciliatory, and honourable part; and it was then that the third canto of 'Childe 'Harold' was written. Hobhouse accompanied Byron in many of the scenes and excursions commemorated in the immortal stanzas of that poem; he shared with him the animated society of Madame de Staël's château at Coppet; he entered Italy with his friend; and he subsequently contributed the valuable and interesting notes to the fourth canto of 'Childe Harold,' which are no unworthy addition to the work, and will probably be the most enduring of Mr. Hobhouse's literary performances. Nor can it here be omitted, though he makes no mention of the fact in his Memoirs, that the fourth canto of 'Childe Harold' was dedicated to himself in language which confers by the hand of friendship an imperishable fame. Lord Byron described him as one 'whom he 'had known long, accompanied far; whom he had found 'wakeful over his sickness and kind in his sorrow; glad in his 'prosperity and firm in his adversity; true in counsel, and 'trusty in peril; a friend often tried, and never found want-'ing; a man of learning, of talent, of shrewdness, and of 'honour.'

To Italy Hobhouse more than once returned. He was versed in Italian literature, and well acquainted with the character of the Italian people. One of his latest publications, entitled 'Italy in 1816,' was given to the world after his retirement from office in 1860, and has been reviewed in these pages.

It may readily be believed that a young man of fashion and talent, who had seen so much of Europe and of the East before he was thirty, and was in some manner associated with the finest poem and the greatest events of the age—professing advanced liberal opinions and gifted with agreeable social qualities—soon became a welcome guest at Holland House and in the best society of London. In 1814 he was thrown into the full tide of the London world, associated with most of the remarkable men of the day, and had no reason to complain of neglect from either of the dominant political parties. Amongst his recollections of this period those of Sheridan, then verging to his decline, are some of the most curious. For example:—

'Sheridan told us several stories of Kean, then at the height of his fame. Some one made Kean a present of a fine horse on which he was prancing along the Strand. "Take care," said a friend; "you are a good actor, but—" "But what?" asked Kean; "you don't know that I was paid 30*l.* for breaking three horses last year at Brighton." Another time a friend, hearing he was about to give readings of Milton between the acts, at Drury Lane, said, "Kean, stick to Shakspeare; don't meddle with Milton." "Why not?" asked Kean; "I gave readings from Milton three times a week at Exmouth." As a proof of the universality of his genius, it was mentioned that he had been a fencing-master and a dancing-master, and at Jersey had announced that he should quit the stage and set up a school. He told Mr. Sheridan that when a child he had been applied to in order to bring him out as a rival to Master Betty; but that Sheridan had interposed, saying, "No! one bubble at a time is enough; if you have two, they will knock against each other, and burst."

'Amongst my reminiscences of the year 1814, I find it recorded that Lord Byron, Thomas Moore, and myself, went to the orchestra at Drury Lane Theatre on the 19th of May, 1814, and saw Kean in "Othello." After the play we went to the green-room, and Byron and I were introduced to the great actor.

'I became afterwards well acquainted with Kean, and heard something of his performances from his own mouth. On December 14, 1814, I dined at Mr. Kinnaird's, in company with him and Lord Byron; and on that occasion he mentioned that at Stroud, in Gloucestershire, on one night, he acted Shylock, danced on the tight-rope, sang a song then in vogue called the "Storm," sparred with Mendoza, and then acted Three-fingered Jack. Kean also told us that one night he forgot his part, and repeated the "Allegro" of Milton without being detected by the audience. He gave us admirable imitations of Incledon, of Kemble, of Sinclair, and Master Betty. He concluded the amuse-

ments of the evening by dressing up his hand with a napkin, and painting it with cork so as to look like a man, and dancing a hornpipe with two fingers, imitating at the same time a bassoon so wonderfully, that we looked round to see if there was no one playing that instrument in the room with us. I should not think these matters worthy of record, if Kean had not been by far the greatest actor I had ever seen.' (Vol. i. p. 76.)

Here is a memorandum of a dinner at Holland House. Alas! how little can be preserved of the spirit and gaiety of such meetings, even when noted by a contemporary pen:—

'I went in Byron's carriage at seven, and dined at Holland House. There I met Miss Fox, and Martin Archer Shee, the painter and poet. There, too, was Kean, a very handsome little man, with a mild but marked countenance, and eyes as brilliant as on the stage. He knitted his brows, I observed, when he could not exactly make out what was said. There, also, was Grattan. We sat down to dinner, when in came Major Stanhope and Lord Ebrington. Kean ate most pertinaciously with his knife, and was a little too frequent with ladyships and lordships, as was natural in him; but Shee was ten times worse. . . .

'Shee talked a great deal; I thought, too much. Lady H. asked Kean why all the actors said "Give me *the* hand," as if "*thy*" were "the." Kean said that he never pronounced it so. Kean said that "Iago was three lengths longer than Othello." A *length* is *forty-two* lines. Lord Holland mentioned that he had seen a letter from a midshipman on board the "Undaunted" frigate, in which Napoleon sailed to Elba. The boy said that "Boney was so good-humoured, and laughed and talked, and was so agreeable, but that the world had been under a great mistake in thinking him a clever man; he was just like anybody else."

'When the women went the conversation turned on public speaking. Grattan gave us a specimen of Lord Chatham's way, which, he said, was colloquial, and, when he saw him, leaning on his crutch, and sometimes dozing; but, when roused by opposition, overpoweringly eloquent.* He was, however, inferior to modern speakers. Pitt, his son, was a better rhetorician. Lord Holland told us that Fox once said to him that Sheridan's speech on the Begums was the finest ever heard in Parliament. Lord H. asked him if his own speech on the Peace was not as good. "That was a damned good speech, too," was the ingenuous reply of this truly great man. Fox used to praise Pitt's speech on the Slave-trade as a fine specimen of eloquence.

'When we went to the ladies the conversation was addressed to Kean. Lady Holland asked him if he was not a capital "Scrub.' Kean replied that he had not the slightest acquaintance with the part; indeed, he was no comedian, except, perhaps, that he could play Tyke in the "School of Reform," which was a sort of sentimental character.

* Grattan was a student of the Middle Temple in 1770, and entered the Parliament of Ireland in 1775. Chatham died in 1778. Grattan may therefore have heard the celebrated speeches delivered during the American War.

Lord Ebrington and Major Stanhope left us, and then Grattan began to give us, in his inimitably grotesque, forcible, and theatrical manner, the characters of some Irishmen who had figured at the end of the last century. . . . He said that Lord Bellamont, in person, was like a black bull, always butting. He was cursed with a talent for imitation, and selected some one bad habit from each of his friends, so that he was a compound of vicious qualities, or, at least, disagreeable manners. One of these friends always stood with his toes in—Bellamont did the same; another wore black stockings and dirty brown breeches—Bellamont copied this also. He wore his wig half off his head, in imitation of some one else; and, in speaking, he took off the bad manner of some other acquaintance. He had *a watery elocution*, spoke through the nose, and had a face totally insensible to everything he was saying. Mr. Grattan added that he thought Bellamont's wig was dirtier than Curran's hair. He said a deal of a Dr. Lucas, and finished his sketch of him by saying, "When he rose to speak in Parliament, he had not a friend in the House; when he sat down, he had spoken so ill that he had not an enemy."

'During this exhibition Lord Holland and myself were in convulsions of laughter. Kean, notwithstanding every effort, roared outright. Lady Holland gave way, and Miss Fox was in ecstasy. He kept us in this way until half-past eleven, when he took me in his carriage to the Princess of Wales. He was muttering to himself, and slapping his thigh, during our ride, and twisting about into many odd shapes and forms—antics not worth recording, except when it is recollected who Mr. Grattan had been, and, indeed, was, at the time I was with him.' (Vol. i. p. 91.)

These volumes do not contain many memorials of Hobhouse's intimate and affectionate friendship with Lord Byron. They are recorded in another place, which we do not propose to touch upon now. Suffice it here to say, that whatever may have been the recklessness and selfishness of Byron to others, he was always the warm and grateful friend of Hobhouse. The last time they met was at Pisa, in September 1822, when Byron took leave of him with the touching words, 'Hobhouse, 'you should never have come, or you should never go.' At the close of the Session of 1823 and early in 1824, Hobhouse became one of the most active members of the Greek Committee in London, when his gifted friend was preparing at Cephalonia and Missolonghi for a more active championship of the Greek cause. Whilst soldiers like Colonel Leicester Stanhope were intent on providing the Greeks with the newest constitutions out of Bentham, Lord Byron was all for fighting, and had actually resolved to attack the Castle of Lepanto as soon as he could collect a sufficient body of troops. How soon were these hopes doomed to be annihilated!

'At a little after eight o'clock on the morning of Friday, May 14, I

was awakened by a loud rapping at my bedroom door, and, getting up, had a packet of letters put into my hand, signed "Sidney Osborne," and headed, "By express." There was also a note from Douglas Kinnaird; and, on opening it, I found that BYRON WAS DEAD. The despatch was from Corfu. These letters were from Lord Sidney Osborne to me, from Count Gamba to me, from Count Gamba to Lord Sidney Osborne, and from the Count to the English Consul at Zante. Besides these, there were letters from Fletcher, Byron's valet, to Fletcher's wife, to Mrs. Leigh, and to Captain George Byron; also there were four copies of a Greek proclamation by the Greek Government at Missolonghi, with a translation annexed. The proclamation contained the details which have been often published—the ten days' illness of my dear friend, the public anxiety during those days of hope and fear—his death—the universal dejection and almost despair of the Greeks around him. The proclamation next decreed that the Easter festival should be suspended; that the shops should be closed for three days; that a general mourning for twenty days should be observed; and that at sunrise the next morning, the 20th of April, thirty-seven minute-guns should be fired from the batteries to indicate the age of the deceased.

'How much soever the Greeks of that day may have differed on other topics, there was no difference of opinion in regard to the loss they had sustained by the death of Byron. Those who have read Colonel Leicester Stanhope's interesting volume, "Greece in 1823 and "1824," and more particularly Colonel Stanhope's "Sketch," and Mr. Finlay's "Reminiscences" of Byron—will have seen him just as he appeared to me during our long intimacy. I liked him a great deal too well to be an impartial judge of his character; but I can confidently appeal to the impressions he made upon the two above-mentioned witnesses of his conduct, under very trying circumstances, for a justification of my strong affection for him—an affection not weakened by the forty years of a busy and chequered life that have passed over me since I saw him laid in his grave.

'The influence he had acquired in Greece was unbounded, and he had exerted it in a manner most useful to her cause. Lord Sidney Osborne, writing to Mrs. Leigh, said, that if Byron had never written a line in his life, he had done enough, during the last six months, in Greece, to immortalise his name. He added, that no one unacquainted with the circumstances of the case could have any idea of the difficulties he had overcome: he had reconciled the contending parties, and had given a character of humanity and civilisation to the warfare in which they were engaged, besides contriving to prevent them from offending their powerful neighbours in the Ionian Islands. I heard that Sir F. Adam, in a despatch to Lord Bathurst, bore testimony to his great qualities, and lamented his death as depriving the Ionian Government of the only man with whom they could act with safety. Mavrocordato, in his letter to Dr. Bowring, called him "a great man," and confessed that he was almost ignorant how to act when deprived of such a coadjutor. . . .

'On Thursday, July 1, I heard that the "Florida," with the remains

of Byron, had arrived in the Downs, and I went, the same evening, to Rochester. The next morning I went to Standgate Creek, and, taking a boat, went on board the vessel. There I found Colonel Leicester Stanhope, Dr. Bruno, Fletcher, Byron's valet, with three others of his servants. Three dogs that had belonged to my friend were playing about the deck. I could hardly bring myself to look at them. The vessel had got under weigh, and we beat up the river to Gravesend. I cannot describe what I felt during the five or six hours of our passage. I was the last person who shook hands with Byron when he left England in 1816. I recollected his waving his cap to me as the packet bounded off on a curling wave from the pier-head at Dover, and here I was now coming back to England with his corpse.

'Poor Fletcher burst into tears when he first saw me, and wept bitterly when he told me the particulars of my friend's last illness. These have been frequently made public, and need not be repeated here. I heard, however, on undoubted authority, that, until he became delirious, he was perfectly calm; and I called to mind how often I had heard him say, that he was not apprehensive as to death itself, but as to how, from physical infirmity, he might behave at that inevitable hour. On one occasion he said to me, "Let no one come near me when I am dying, if you can help it, and we happen to be together at the time."

'The "Florida" anchored at Gravesend, and I returned to London; Colonel Stanhope accompanied me. This was on Friday, July 2. On the following Monday I went to Doctors' Commons and proved Byron's will. Mr. Hanson did so likewise. Thence I went to London Bridge, got into a boat, and went to London Docks Buoy, where the "Florida" was anchored. I found Mr. Woodeson, the undertaker, on board, employed in emptying the spirit from the large barrel containing the box that held the corpse. This box was removed and placed on deck by the side of a leaden coffin. I stayed whilst the iron hoops were knocked off the box, but I could not bear to see the remainder of the operation, and went into the cabin. Whilst there I looked over the sealed packet of papers belonging to Byron, which he had deposited at Cefalonia, and which had not been opened since he left them there. Captain Hodgson of the "Florida," the captain's father, and Fletcher, were with me: we examined every paper, and did not find any will.* Those present signed a document to that effect.

'After the removal of the corpse into the coffin, and the arrival of the order from the Custom-house, I accompanied the undertaker in the barge with the coffin. There were many boats round the ship at the time, and the shore was crowded with spectators. We passed quietly up the river, and landed at Palace Yard stairs. Thence the coffin and the small chest containing the heart were carried to the house in George Street, and deposited in the room prepared for their reception. The room was decently hung with black, but there was no other decoration

* This is at variance with the preceding statement that Hobhouse had just proved Byron's will. It probably means that there was no other testamentary instrument.

than an escutcheon of the Byron arms, roughly daubed on a deal board.

'On reaching my rooms in the Albany, I found a note from Mr. Murray, telling me that he had received a letter from Dr. Ireland, politely declining to allow the burial of Byron in Westminster Abbey; but it was not until the next day that, to my great surprise, I learnt, on reading the doctor's note, that Mr. Murray had made the request to the Dean in my name; I thought that it had been settled that Mr. Gifford should sound the Dean of Westminster previously to any formal request being made. I wrote to Mr. Murray, asking him to inform the Dean that I had not made the request. Whether he did so, I never inquired.

'I ascertained from Mrs. Leigh that it was wished the interment should take place at the family vault at Hucknall in Nottinghamshire. The utmost eagerness was shown, both publicly and privately, to get a sight of anything connected with Byron. Lafayette was at that time on his way to America, and a young Frenchman came over from the General at Havre, and wrote me a note requesting a sight of the deceased poet. The coffin had been closed, and his wishes could not be complied with. A young man came on board the "Florida," and in very moving terms besought me to allow him to take one look at him. I was sorry to be obliged to refuse, as I did not know the young man, and there were many round the vessel who would have made the same request. He was bitterly disappointed; and when I gave him a piece of the cotton in which the corpse had been wrapped, he took it with much devotion, and placed it in his pocketbook. Mr. Phillips, the Academician, applied for permission to take a likeness, but I heard from Mrs. Leigh that the features of her brother had been so disfigured by the means used to preserve his remains, that she scarcely recognised them. This was the fact; for I had summoned courage enough to look at my dead friend; so completely was he altered, that the sight did not affect me so much as looking at his handwriting, or anything that I knew had belonged to him.' (Vol. i. pp. 140–143.)

The funeral started from Nottingham on the 16th July. Hodgson the translator of Juvenal, and Colonel Wildman of Newstead, attended as mourners.

'The Mayor and Corporation of Nottingham joined the funeral procession. It extended about a quarter of a mile, and, moving very slowly, was five hours on the road to Hucknall. The view of it as it wound through the villages of Papplewick and Lindley excited sensations in me which will never be forgotten. As we passed under the hill of Annesley, "crowned with the peculiar diadem of trees" immortalised by Byron, I called to mind a thousand particulars of my first visit to Newstead. It was dining at Annesley Park that I saw the first interview of Byron, after a long interval, with his early love, Mary Anne Chaworth.

'The churchyard and the little church of Hucknall were so crowded that it was with difficulty we could follow the coffin up the aisle. The contrast between the gorgeous decorations of the coffin and the urn, and

the humble village-church, was very striking. I was told afterwards that the place was crowded until a late hour in the evening, and that the vault was not closed until the next morning.

'I returned to Bunny Park. The corporation of Nottingham offered me the freedom of the town, but I had no inclination for the ceremonies with which the acceptance of the honour would have been accompanied; I therefore declined it.

'I should have mentioned that I thought Lady Byron ought to be consulted respecting the funeral of her husband; and I advised Mrs. Leigh to write to her, and ask what her wishes might be. Her answer was, if the deceased had left no directions she thought the matter might be left to the judgment of Mr. Hobhouse. There was a postscript, saying, "If you like you may show this."

'I was present at the marriage of this lady with my friend, and handed her into the carriage which took the bride and bridegroom away. Shaking hands with Lady Byron, I wished her all happiness. Her answer was, "If I am not happy it will be my own fault."' (Vol. i. p. 145.)

We have not thought ourselves called upon in this Journal to take any part in the controversy which recently occupied several of our contemporaries as to the alleged causes of Lady Byron's alienation from her husband. The curiosity and credulity which prey upon the remains of genius and explore the recesses of forgotten slanders are not to our taste. When Hobhouse read the horrible libels published after Lord Byron's death, by a ruffian who had extorted money from him, his first impulse was to take this thankless villain in hand himself. But he adds: 'I did not do this. I remembered what was said 'to the assassin who tried to murder Harley, and who asked 'the Duke of Ormond to kill him at once: "Ce n'est pas '"l'affaire des honnêtes gens; c'est l'affaire d'un autre."' We shall therefore content ourselves with transcribing the following paragraph, which is decisive as to Mr. Hobhouse's opinion on the subject:—

'At this time (April and May, 1830) I had much of my time taken up by looking after Lord Byron's affairs, and taking advice as to the expediency of giving some public refutation to a charge made, as was stated, by Lady Byron, in regard to the separation between Byron and his wife. The attack on Lord Byron, on the authority of Lady Byron, was countenanced by Tom Campbell, who was a first-rate poet, no doubt, but a very bad pleader, even in a good cause, and made therefore a most pitiable figure when he had no case at all. I consulted friends, and amongst them Lord Holland, who strongly recommended silence; and did not scruple to say that the lady would be more annoyed if she were left unnoticed, than if, whether wrong or right, she had to figure in a controversy. I was far from wishing to annoy her at all; my sole wish was to do my duty by my friend; and I hope I have done that sufficiently by leaving behind me, to be used if necessary, a

full and scrupulously accurate account of the transaction in question. I shall content myself here with asserting that it was not fear, on the part of Lord Byron, that persuaded him to separate from his wife. On the contrary, he was quite ready to "go into court," as they call it.' (Vol. i. p. 441.)

The death of Byron placed the Greek Committee in considerable embarrassment, and at one moment Hobhouse himself was on the point of starting for Greece to manage the loan. Difficulties were, however, raised by Mr. Joseph Hume, and this plan was abandoned. The following picture of that individual, who was so much better known to the last generation than he is to the present, is not a flattering one; but it would be hard for anyone who knew him well to dispute the truth of it:—

'Joseph Hume had many valuable qualities, mixed up with some eccentricities which bordered upon moral perversity. As a political associate he was unsafe, and, although his assaults were vigorous and successful enough, it was better to have to deal with him as an enemy than a friend. As he cared little for invectives against himself, he was not aware of the effects which his own intemperate talk might produce on others. Not only was his language coarse and absurdly inaccurate, but his intellect was obtuse to a degree seldom, if ever, found in a man who had been busily employed his whole life in affairs of the utmost importance. He was of great service, previously to passing the Reform Bill, in sifting and exposing occasionally the estimates; and being a man of indefatigable industry, collected a vast mass of materials which he could sometimes skilfully employ. He, like Sir James Graham, Sir Robert Inglis, and one or two others, was essentially a part of the House of Commons for many years; and I recollect a saying of Sir Robert Peel, that he could not conceive a House of Commons without a Joseph Hume.' (Vol. i. p. 150.)

Eventually Mr. Henry Lytton Bulwer went out in the 'Forida,' in place of Hobhouse, and subsequently published an account of his mission of 1824. It is remarkable that we should now, at an interval of forty-seven years, have the pleasure to welcome another literary production of that accomplished diplomatist.

The Byron episode has led us to anticipate in some measure the earlier years of Hobhouse's political life, and to these we must now return. The city of Westminster may justly be regarded as the cradle of Parliamentary Reform. When Whigs stood aloof, and Brookes' frowned, and the most liberal Ministers of the day were on the side of the old Borough system, a committee of Westminster tradesmen, led by Mr. Brooke, the glass manufacturer in the Strand, Mr. Adams, the coach-builder in Long Acre, and Mr. Place, the tailor, and friend of Bentham, at Charing Cross, had begun to fight with

success the battle of Reform. They had brought Sir Francis Burdett into Parliament in 1807, and on the death of Sir Samuel Romilly in 1818 they offered the vacant seat to Mr. Hobhouse. He failed, however, on that occasion. 'Citizen 'Place,' who was proud of his pen, wrote a bitter appeal which irritated and divided the party, and Mr. George Lamb, a brother of Lord Melbourne's, carried the day. This election, however, brought Hobhouse into notice. He became a member of a political dinner club called 'The Rota,' to which Bickersteth, Burdett, Douglas Kinnaird, Sir Robert Wilson, &c., belonged. The object of this society was to discuss and promote the work of Parliamentary, or as it was then first called, 'Radical' Reform, and that adjective has given its name to a party throughout the world. A pamphlet was concocted at one of these meetings in answer to an intemperate anti-reform speech of Mr. Canning's. Canning attributed it to Sir Philip Francis, and was very angry; but it was in fact written by Hobhouse. Another pamphlet also written by him in answer to one by Lord Erskine, gave rise to more serious consequences. A member of the House of Commons drew attention to a passage which he erroneously conceived to convey a threat of personal violence against the House.* Party ran very high. The Westminster reformers were regarded as incarnate demons of revolution; and as the publisher of the pamphlet was authorised to give up the name of the author at the Bar of the House, the House at once voted it to be a contempt and a breach of privilege, and sent Mr. Hobhouse to Newgate. Sixty-five members, who were chiefly Whigs, voted against this arbitrary sentence. The motion was made by Mr. Courtenay, afterwards Earl of Devon, who many years afterwards in proposing the health of Lord Broughton at his daughter's marriage, took occasion to refer to what he was then pleased to call his distinguished career. Distinguished or not, it began in Newgate, when it was an honour to be sent there; and there he remained till the death of George III. caused a dissolution of Parliament, opened his prison doors, and secured his speedy return for Westminster as the popular and persecuted candidate at the ensuing general election. He retained that highly

* The sentence which called down on Hobhouse the indignation of the House and was voted a breach of privilege was as follows:—'What prevents the people from marching to the House, pulling the 'Members out by the ears, locking the door, and flinging the key into 'the Thames?' This interrogation was construed into an incitement to revolt. The answer to the question was given in the next line '— *Knightsbridge barracks.*'

honourable position of member for Westminster for nearly thirteen years. During the greater part of that time his colleague was Sir Francis Burdett, and there are yet living, we trust, many of our friends who can remember what the good old cry of 'Burdett and Hobhouse for Westminster' meant.

'During the early part of my parliamentary life my principal associate—indeed, my constant guide—was my friend and colleague. Sir Francis Burdett was endowed with qualities rarely united. A manly understanding and a tender heart gave a charm to his society such as I have never derived in any other instance from a man whose principal pursuit was politics. He was the delight both of old and young. There was no base alloy in his noble nature. His address was most pleasing and unaffected, his manners most gentle; and yet where energy and decision were required he assumed a quiet but determined superiority which few were willing or able to contest.

'As a parliamentary orator he was, to my mind, without an equal. A lofty stature, a mellifluous voice, a command of language easy and natural, but at the same time most impressive; sincere, and spoken from the heart as well as the head. He never used a note or consulted a paper of any kind. He never hesitated for a word, but he was never diffuse. I accidentally heard the opinions of two of his parliamentary contemporaries in regard to his oratory,—Mr. Canning and Mr. Tierney; each of them, on different occasions, placed Sir Francis Burdett very nearly, if not quite, at the head of the orators of their day.' (Vol. i. p. 112.)

We must pass lightly, for the way before us is long and interesting, over the first ten years of Hobhouse's public life, though they were marked by several important events, the Canning Ministry, Catholic Emancipation, and the steady progress of the Reform party in the House of Commons, where our autobiographer played no inconsiderable part. He took an active share in debate. His speeches laid no claim to high-flown eloquence, but they were full of good sense, and they were expressed with a sharpness of wit that made him a formidable antagonist. He was not afraid to cross swords with Canning in a passage of studied sarcasm and invective, to which Canning made no reply; and some of his *bon mots* were long remembered. It was on one of these occasions that Hobhouse first applied the expression 'His Majesty's Opposition' to the anti-ministerial side of the House. Canning took up the expression as a happy one; and Tierney expanded it by saying, 'No better phrase could be adopted, for we are 'certainly a branch of His Majesty's Government. Although 'the gentlemen opposite are in office, we are in power. The 'measures are ours, but all the emoluments are theirs!' But the joke originated with Mr. Hobhouse.

It was in one of these debates of the præ-Reform period

that Canning in the course of an elaborate defence of the borough system urged that it formed an essential element of the British Constitution, since it had

'Grown with our growth, and strengthened with our strength.'

Sir Francis Burdett took up the quotation in reply, and said, 'The Right Honourable Gentleman doubtless remembers the 'first line of the distich he has cited, and that it is

'"The young disease, which must subdue at length,
Grows with our growth and strengthens with our strength."'

Canning acknowledged that the retort was a happy and a just one.

The year 1830 was destined to witness changes of a momentous character. William IV. ascended the throne of England; Charles X. was driven by a revolution from that of France; the Belgian revolution followed; England was agitated to an unprecedented degree; and before the end of the year the Duke of Wellington's Ministry collapsed and the Reform Ministry of Lord Grey was in office.

It was at this time (4th November) that M. Vandeweyer, one of the Belgian Provisional Government, first arrived in London. He knew no one, but he had letters of introduction from Mr. Bulwer, and he called on Hobhouse. 'He appeared 'to me,' says our author, 'a very straightforward intelligent 'young man,' and this circumstance led Hobhouse to take a warm interest in Belgian independence. The following account of an interview between the young emissary and the old Duke is curious:—

'Mr. Vandeweyer told me that the Duke of Wellington had written to him a very polite note in the morning, asking to see him. He went, and was much surprised, so he told me, to see an infirm old man in an arm-chair, from which he raised himself with difficulty to receive him. He gave me an account of what passed between them. "Although," said he, "I am no diplomatist, I knew there was an advantage in not speaking first; and, as the Duke had invited me, and I had not invited myself, I remained silent. So did the Duke for a short time, and then began to talk. He showed that he knew what had passed between Lord Aberdeen and me, and between the Prince of Orange and me. He was extremely civil, and said, 'Je vous donne ma parole d'honneur qu'il n'y a pas la moindre intention de notre part de nous mêler dans vos affaires.' He added that the Conference of which I had complained had quite another object; and then the Duke said that 'he hoped the Belgians, in choosing a form of Government, would take care not to give cause for disquiet to neighbouring nations.' I answered that we 'should take care of that, provided there was no intervention; but that, if there was, we should

infallibly throw ourselves into the arms of France.' 'That,' replied the Duke, 'would infallibly lead to a general war; besides which, the French would act in concert with us, and would not accept you.' I said, 'We are aware that, at first, the French Government would not accept us; but we should appeal to the French People, and, in a short time, the Government would accept us. As for the war, the people would fight their own battles, and have nothing to fear.' " . . .

'I asked Vandeweyer whether, under all the circumstances, he would wish me to bring on my Belgian motion. He answered "Yes," and he then told me that he had been chosen Member for Brussels. I shook hands with him, and begged him to take care of himself. He appeared to me to be a most amiable, most honourable, and most intelligent man; and five-and-thirty years of intercourse with him have not altered the opinion that I then formed of him.' (Vol. ii. pp. 50–52.)

We have never heard any explanation of the fact that on the formation of Lord Grey's Government to carry the Reform Bill, Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse, who were certainly two of the oldest and staunchest Reformers in Parliament, were not invited to join it. 'It was soon known,' says Hobhouse after the Duke's resignation, 'that the King 'had sent for Lord Grey, *whom Sir Francis Burdett had* '*seen.*'

'Lord Durham (Privy Seal that is to be) told me that all was going well and nearly settled. Going home soon afterwards, I received a note from him, saying that Lord Grey *would like to see me the next day.* Accordingly I went to his house, and waited there some time, but *came away without seeing him.* I was, for once, wise enough to say nothing about this, neither at the time, nor ever afterwards; although many explanations were offered to me subsequently by those who, whatever they were before, became my intimate official friends.' (Vol. ii. p. 57.)

This is a curious passage; for it shows that Burdett and Hobhouse were thought of (as was natural) but not employed. But they gave a firm and unwavering support to the Government, and they used their influence in the most serviceable manner by moderating the violence of their own followers.* Then came the Bill.

'At last came the great day—Tuesday, March 1. I went to the House at twelve o'clock, and found all the benches, high and low, on all sides, patched with names. With much difficulty I got a vacant space on the fourth bench, nearly behind the Speaker, almost amongst the Opposition and the Anti-Reformers.

'Lord John Russell began his speech at six o'clock. Never shall I forget the astonishment of my neighbours as he developed his plan.

* A peerage was subsequently offered by Lord Grey to Sir F. Burdett. He was gratified by the offer, but declined to leave the House of Commons.

Indeed, all the House seemed perfectly astounded; and when he read the long list of the boroughs to be either wholly or partially disfranchised, there was a sort of wild ironical laughter, mixed with expressions of delight from the ex-Ministers, who seemed to think themselves sure of recovering their places again immediately. Our own friends were not so well pleased. Baring Wall, turning to me, said, "They are mad; they are mad!" and others made use of similar exclamations,—all but Sir Robert Peel; he looked serious and angry, as if he had discovered that the Ministers, by the boldness of their measure, had secured the support of the country. Lord John seemed rather to play with the fears of his audience; and, after detailing some clauses which seemed to complete the scheme, smiled and paused, and said, "More yet." This "more," so well as I recollect, was Schedule B, which took away one member from some boroughs that returned two previously. When Lord John sat down, we, of the Mountain, cheered long and loud; although there was hardly one of us that believed such a scheme could, by any possibility, become the law of the land. . . .

'We all huddled away, not knowing what to think—the Anti-Reformers chuckling with delight at what they supposed was a suicidal project, and the friends of Ministers in a sort of wonderment. I recollect that a very good man, Mr. John Smith, a brother of Lord Carrington's, caused much amusement by saying that Russell's speech made his hair stand on end.

'Lord Howick and others asked me if I was satisfied. I told them I did not know what to say to the 10*l.* qualification for householders in towns. Sir Robert Peel, with his usual quickness and sagacity, took care, at the end of the debate, to ask for an explanation of this part of the scheme, which, certainly, partook more of disfranchisement than any other reform, and was calculated to make the whole plan unpopular.

'Burdett and I walked home together, and both agreed that there was very little chance of the measure being carried. We thought our Westminster friends would oppose the 10*l.* qualification clause; but we were wrong; for, calling the next day on Mr. Place, we found him delighted with the Bill, and were told that all our supporters were equally pleased with it. We were told that a Westminster public meeting was to be called immediately, to thank and congratulate the King.' (Vol. ii. pp. 77–79.)

We shall not attempt to follow our author through his animated descriptions of the debates on the first Reform Bill. Nothing retains less of its original life than a Parliamentary discussion in the pages of history. The scene itself is all action—the tone of the speakers, the emotion of the audience, and the uncertainty of the result, raise the feelings of those who are present to the highest pitch of excitement; but the fire is soon burnt out, and but little remains of the most splendid displays of oratory and passion. The great trial of strength came at last on General Gascoyne's motion that the number of knights, citizens, and burgesses for England and Wales ought

not to be diminished. The end seemed at hand, for on the 20th of April the Government were beaten by eight votes. Two days afterwards Hobhouse learned that the King was resolved to come down in person to thank Parliament for granting the Civil List and to dissolve it. Sir Richard Vivyan was in the act of delivering a furious and factious speech against Ministers. He was called to order by Burdett and Tennyson, but in vain.

'Vivyan again spoke; the cannons announced the approach of the King; and at each discharge of the guns the Ministerialists cheered loudly, as if in derision of the orator's solemn sentences. At last the roaring of the cannon, the laughter, and our cheering fairly beat the Baronet, and he suddenly sat down.

'Peel, quite beside himself, now jumped up; so did Burdett. The Speaker, not quite fairly, called on Peel, and Lord Althorp rose. The calls for Peel, Burdett, Althorp, and Chair, now were heard in wild confusion. The floor was covered with members; half the House left their seats, and the Opposition seemed perfectly frantic; William Bankes looked as if his face would burst with blood; Peel stormed; the Speaker was equally furious; Lord Althorp stood silent and quite unmoved. At last the Speaker recovered himself, and said, "I am quite sure I understand what the noble Lord moves—he moves that Sir Robert Peel be heard." Althorp assented, and, after some more shouting and screaming, Sir Robert Peel was heard. The Black Rod cut short his oration just as he seemed about to fall into a fit. Then the Speaker, with a face equally red and quivering with rage, rose, and, followed by many members, went to the Lords. But Peel was not the only over-excited performer on that day; for Sir Henry Hardinge crossed the House, and said, "The next time you hear those guns they will be shotted, and take off some of your heads. I do not mean yours," said he to me, "for you have been always consistent; but those gentlemen," pointing to the Ministers. The Speaker returned and read the Royal Speech at the table—it was an admirable speech indeed.

'Lord Althorp, Sir James Graham, and myself, walked away together, and stopped to see the King pass the door of the hat-room. He was much cheered; but the crowd was not great. Lord Althorp said to me, "Well, I think I beat Peel in temper;" as, indeed, he had most completely.

'We were joined in Palace-yard by Lord Goderich, who told us that the scene in the House of Lords had been more disgraceful than that in the Commons. Lord Londonderry had shaken his fist at the Duke of Richmond; and the Lord Chancellor had been hooted by the Opposition Peers when he left the woolsack, and Lord Shaftesbury had been voted into his seat. Lord Tankerville told me that the angry Lords would, without the least scruple, have voted off the Ministers' heads that day. All this fury and despair were not surprising when we remember that the party who had been in possession of power so long now saw that their hold on that power, through the borough system,

was about to leave them—never to return. The firmness of the King had dispelled the last illusion of the Anti-Reformers, who, to do them justice, did not give way until all resistance was hopeless.' (Vol. ii. pp. 103–105.)

On the 11th of August, 1831, Sir Benjamin Hobhouse died and his son succeeded to the baronetcy. A short time afterwards, in February 1832, Lord Althorp was authorised by the Cabinet to propose to Sir John Hobhouse to take office as Secretary at War. The office was not particularly agreeable to him, especially as he stood committed to strong opinions against flogging in the army. But a sense of duty to his friends and to the party prevailed, and he accepted the appointment to their great satisfaction The King gave him a most gracious reception when he kissed hands and said, 'I 'trust your manners will be as pleasing in intercourse on 'public matters, as your father was in private life.' He was then sworn of the Privy Council with the usual formalities. It is important to remark that this proposal of office by Lord Althorp was accompanied by a positive assurance that *Ministers would carry the Reform Bill,* though their own tenure of office was not likely to be permanent. The position of Lord Grey and his colleagues was peculiar and even unprecedented. They had not the ordinary resource of withdrawing from office. They stood pledged to the country to carry the measure, which implied that they were bound to employ the means necessary to carry it. But on the nature and extent of those means they were not at all agreed among themselves, as Hobhouse soon found out. Although he was not in the Cabinet, the assurance given him by Lord Althorp gave him a right to insist on the adoption of decisive measures, and throughout this critical period he advocated with great energy the creation of Peers as indispensable to ensure the result. The following important conversation explains his position:—

'The House of Commons met at twelve the next day (11th February). Going down to Westminster, I met Lord Howick, who said he wanted to speak with me; and, accordingly, we walked together for some time. He told me that he had had a conversation with his father the night before, and that Lord Grey still hesitated about creating Peers previously to the second reading. Lord Howick said that his father was not aware of the consequences of rejecting the Bill; and that, in fact, he was not aware even of the paramount importance of the measure itself, and confessed that, had he known what would ensue, would never have embarked in it. Lord Grey added, that, up to a certain time, he and all the Cabinet were resolved upon the creation of Peers; but that Brougham fell ill, and then took fright, which was communicated to Lord Grey. Now Lord Brougham had recovered from his panic, and

Lord Grey had his doubts. He was most decidedly adverse to swamping the peerage, and desired to retire from office. He did not seem aware that he could not do that without losing his character, and risking the ruin of the country. Lord Howick concluded by begging me to call on his father, and state my opinion. I said, "I would do so;" and added that, "if the Bill was allowed to be lost, I should consider that the Cabinet had broken its pledge with me, made through Lord Althorp, and that I should be wantonly sacrificed." Lord Howick assented to this view, and repeated his entreaties that I would see Lord Grey at once—not a moment was to be lost. Some of the young men who were to be called to the Upper House had begun to cool; others might refuse, and it would take some time to make out a fresh list. I replied that I should prefer a meeting of Members of Parliament to advise Lord Grey. Lord Howick remarked that his father would not like that; he would call it dictation, and would prefer friendly advice given privately. I confess I was mightily surprised, and not a little alarmed, that a man with so much power, so much honesty, and so much intellect, should be so indifferent to his own glory and to the best interests of the country. I went to Sir Francis Burdett, and had a long conversation with him. He felt as I did; and wrote to Lord Grey. He told me that I ought to save myself, and resign office the moment I discovered that it was intended to risk the loss of the Bill, by not doing that which the Administration had the power of doing. Sir Francis added "that taking this course might, perhaps, destroy the Government; but the fault would not be mine. To sacrifice me would not save them, nor ought they to be saved."

'This day I dined at the Speaker's—my first Ministerial dinner. I sat between Charles Grant and Poulett Thompson, and had some serious talk with them both, and told them what I had resolved to do. Taking Grant afterwards to the Duke of Sussex's conversazione (of F.R.S.) at Kensington, I told him I should go to Lord Grey before the Council the next day, and would resign office if I was not assured that the Bill was to be carried. He said I was quite right. I spoke to him, as one of the Cabinet, with the utmost freedom and unreserve, for I felt that it was absolutely necessary to take some decisive step. I thought the creation of Peers, were it ever so objectionable, was nothing in comparison with the consequences of rejecting the Bill, and bringing back the old set and the old system.

'The next day I called on Lord Durham. He told me that on the previous Thursday he had, through Lady Durham and Lady Grey, conveyed to Lord Grey his intention of resigning, unless the Bill was made quite safe in the House of Lords. He assured me that, when he persuaded me to accept office, everything was decided upon. As many Peers as were thought requisite were to be made, either at once, or by degrees; and on this the whole Cabinet seemed determined, but Brougham's illness made him flinch, and his flinching raised doubts in Lord Grey; and both together revived the hesitation in that portion of the Cabinet that had originally objected to the creation of Peers. It seemed that the Duke of Richmond, although as strong for Reform as any member of the Cabinet, was still very averse to the creation of

Peers. Lord Melbourne also was against, also Lord Palmerston; and, strongest of all, John Russell—a discovery which, Lord Durham said, he had made only a day or two ago. The others were for the creation, Lord Holland strongly. Stanley (so long as Lord Grey approved) also for it. Lord Goderich very manfully; also Graham, and Grant, and Durham. These, with the Lord Chancellor and the Prime Minister, were, of course, a majority. However, when the Lord Chancellor seemed to waver, matters took another turn; but when he became right again, their prospects improved.' (Vol. ii. pp. 179–182.)

Lord Durham, whose confidence in his father-in-law was limited, and who was irritated because he did not get as much credit for his own share in the Bill as he thought he deserved, confirmed these particulars, and added that the Cabinet was not kept together without the greatest difficulty. Lord Althorp allayed Hobhouse's apprehensions by assuring him that 'Brougham and I will go out also, unless we have a 'moral certainty of carrying the measure;' and he seemed pleased with this chance of quitting office. But to this Hobhouse replied that 'if it was generally suspected he might 'have carried the measure, and would not do it, he would be 'stoned in the streets; and if the other party came in there 'was no small chance of his coming to the scaffold.' Althorp calmly rejoined, 'I think so, too; I have long thought so.' Upon another occasion Lord Althorp concluded a similar conversation by saying:—

'That he would carry the Bill, but he would not promise to remain in power afterwards. He talked very confidentially of his own repugnance to office, and declared that "it destroyed all his happiness;" adding that "he had removed his pistols from his bedroom, fearing that he might shoot himself." Such are the secrets of the human breast! Who could have imagined that this could ever have entered into the head of the cool, the imperturbable, the virtuous Althorp? It served, however, to increase my alarm as to the great question itself, and I urged, in every way, the necessity of adding to the peerage. He assured me that "this would be done, if it were indispensable. If I doubted him, I had better see Lord Grey, and learn the fact from him. He would give me his word that all I wanted would be done. The Bill would pass." I took my leave of this excellent man with greater admiration of him than ever.' (Vol. ii. p. 187.)

Yet one more of these most remarkable interviews:—

'Althorp said, "I must decide what I will do—resign, because my colleagues will not make Peers; or stand the risk with them. If the latter, and we are beaten, I can never show my face again. If the former, I know the Government is dissolved, and the Bill is lost, and perhaps a revolution ensues. I tell you" (added the excellent man, with much feeling and earnestness) "I have long felt that uncontrollable circumstances were advancing me to a position to which my capacity is

unequal; and I now feel that I have not the mind which is required for a man in my station. I do not allude to my conduct in Parliament. There, I think, I have succeeded in a line altogether new and untried before. I allude to my management out of the House, and more especially in consulting with my colleagues. Then I find I have not character enough for the great emergency out of which we are to extricate ourselves." . . .

'I told him that, if he threatened to resign unless Peers were made before the second reading, the Cabinet would yield. "I do not know that," said he; "they would rather go out with me; and then comes a revolution;" and, he then added gravely, "I do not know whether I ought not to make matters easier by shooting myself." "For God's sake!" said I, "shoot anybody else you like."' (Vol. ii. pp. 198, 199.)

Even at this distance of time, and after the publication of Lord Grey's correspondence with William IV., we doubt whether it is known how critical the state of affairs was at that moment and how intense the differences in the Cabinet had become. Let us vary the narrative by a more pleasing picture:—

'On the following Monday (26th March) I dined at Kensington Palace with the Duchess of Kent. The party was numerous: Lord Durham, Lord and Lady Surrey, the Duke of Somerset and Lady C. St. Maur, Lord Radnor, Sir John Sebright, the Duke and Duchess of Leinster, and Sir John Conroy. The Princess Victoria sat on her mother's right hand. Sir John Conroy, the Controller of H.R.H.'s household, sat at the bottom of the table. Lord Durham handed the Duchess in to dinner.

'The young Princess (her present Majesty) was treated in every respect like a grown-up woman, although apparently quite a child. Her manners were very pleasing and natural, and she seemed much amused by some conversation with Lord Durham, a manifest favourite at Kensington.

'When she left the company she curtsied round very prettily to all the guests, and then ran out of the room. What will become of this young, pretty, unaffected child in a few, few, years? . . . . .

'An interval of thirty-three years, a reign of twenty-eight years—some of them in very difficult, if not dangerous times—and the greatest of all calamities that can befall a woman and a queen, have not deprived her of the smile, the kind and gracious smile, which charmed me in those long bygone days, and with which she received an old servant and subject only two days ago [15th May, 1865].' (Vol. ii. pp. 220, 221.)

In spite of Hobhouse's distrust of the amicable intervention of Lord Wharncliffe and Lord Harrowby, they did succeed in carrying the second reading of the Bill. But this success was of short duration. Lord Melbourne wisely said, 'it was not all over yet;' and on the first division in Committee the Government were beaten. Ministers resigned.

Sir John had his audience to take leave of the King, who told him that 'he knew he had too much property to lose to wish 'for, or assist in, a convulsion;' to which the Baronet replied, that 'His Majesty had not a more loyal subject than himself.'

The Duke of Wellington's attempt to form a Ministry broke down at once, as everyone knows, but the first great obstacle to it was Peel's refusal to join it. The Duke of Wellington had told Alexander Baring, who was to have been Chancellor of the Exchequer, that 'he should think him-'self unfit to crawl on earth if he did not stand by the King, 'even at the expense of his own consistency; and that he had 'resolved to carry the Reform Bill, as an inevitable measure, 'in all its main provisions—indeed, a Bill, probably, more 'extensive than that which Lord Grey would now grant.' The King was resolved to pass the Reform Bill and made that a condition of giving office to the Duke; what he objected to was the making of Peers. Such a scheme deserved to fail and it did fail; but it cleared the way for the adoption of the Bill, and the Peers were *not* created.

Sir John Hobhouse was not a mere *hustings* Reformer, nor did he confine himself to supporting the legislative measures brought forward by the Government. On the contrary, he applied himself with great energy to the more obscure and difficult task of reform in his own office, the War Department. He succeeded in obtaining the assent of the King and the Cabinet to a Pension Warrant which reduced the charges on what was termed the 'dead list.' He abolished sinecures and induced the King to surrender the Governorships of Berwick and Kinsale, to which His Majesty wanted to appoint two of his own sons. He restricted flogging in the army to certain defined misdemeanours, and proposed to take away the power of flogging from regimental courts-martial. And he had prepared a scheme for the reduction of the land forces by about 5,000 men. In all these reforms he had to encounter the steady resistance of Lord Hill and Lord Fitzroy Somerset at the Horseguards and an opposition scarcely less steady from the Prime Minister. Lord Grey used language that convinced Hobhouse that 'he had another Lord Hill to deal with;' and the proposed reduction of the army ended in an augmentation, which was required by the state of Ireland and by the necessity of providing for the tranquillity of the West Indies during the critical period of Slave Emancipation.

These discussions rendered the position of Sir John Hobhouse exceedingly disagreeable to him. He frequently desired to resign, but was dissuaded by Lord Althorp, who

threatened to go out with him. Mr. Stanley, who had recently brought in two great measures for the reform of the Irish Church and for a Coercion Bill in Ireland, was equally dissatisfied with his position as Irish Secretary; and it was eventually arranged that Hobhouse should succeed him in that office. On the 28th of March, 1833, he kissed hands on this new appointment. But he was not destined to hold it long. Within a month, the Radical party brought forward a proposal for the abolition of the House and Window Taxes, a measure which was highly popular with the Westminster electors and to which Hobhouse himself stood committed. He declared to his colleagues that he could not vote with them in opposing the Resolution, and conscious of the awkwardness of his new position, he resolved to resign both his office and his seat. This honest and energetic step was warmly combated by his friends both in and out of office; but he was convinced in his own mind that he was right. He acted on his convictions; he was abused by both parties for doing so; he quitted his office; and the electors of Westminster repaid his manliness and consistency by electing his old opponent Colonel Evans to the seat he had vacated.

Sir John Hobhouse did not return to office under Lord Grey, but in that interval a transaction occurred to which we desire to advert more particularly because it has been very commonly misrepresented, to the prejudice of a very able and excellent man, the late Lord Hatherton (then Mr. Littleton), who succeeded Hobhouse as Irish Secretary; and because it was the immediate cause of the dissolution of the Ministry. The renewal of Lord Grey's Irish Coercion Bill in the following year, 1834, was debated with extreme warmth. The powers vested in the Lord-lieutenant by the original Act were extraordinary. Lord Wellesley said of them, that they were 'far more formidable to himself, than to the Irish people,' for he had to decide on the propriety of exercising them; in point of fact, he had not exercised them at all. In the course of the debate on the 3rd of July, 1834, as is stated by Lord Broughton, O'Connell and Mr. Littleton contradicted each other flatly, and the Irish Secretary was accused of great imprudence, or something more, in having made a communication to O'Connell which he was not justified in making. A similar statement is made by Lord Palmerston in a letter to his brother William, published by Sir Henry Bulwer. It is desirable that the truth should be accurately known on this subject, and as we have before us the whole of the original correspondence that passed on the occasion, we are enabled with certainty to relate it.

A Bill for the renewal of the Coercion Act in all its extent was contemplated, when Mr. Littleton stated to Lord Wellesley, then Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, in a letter dated 19th June, 1834, that in his opinion the Irish Government was not likely to require any other extraordinary powers than those that were directed against agrarian disturbances. This suggestion was made at the instigation of Lord Brougham, the Chancellor, who wrote himself to Lord Wellesley to the same effect on the same day. It was therefore proposed to omit from the Bill the clauses empowering the Lord-lieutenant to prohibit public meetings and the court-martial clauses, which constituted half the Act, from a belief that the introduction of these clauses would endanger the passing of the Tithe Bill, and would provoke O'Connell to resort to agitation and opposition to the Government. Lord Wellesley replied to this letter on the 21st June: 'I entirely agree with you, and have written 'to Lords Grey, and Brougham, and Melbourne accordingly.' He did so write in a very able and important official despatch of the same date. The same policy was approved by Blackburn, the Irish Attorney-General. Lord Melbourne and Lord Althorp said that 'the clauses must, without question, be given 'up, as no Government could ask Parliament for an unconsti-'tutional power in Ireland, the necessity of which the Lord-'lieutenant had been led to disclaim.' But they apprehended that Lord Grey would strongly oppose this concession, and might even retire if it were pressed. Lord Althorp added, however, that he was resolved that the clauses should form no part of the new Bill, and that he would resign sooner than allow them to be renewed. Upon this, Mr. Littleton asked Lord Althorp, whether, as O'Connell was about to enter upon a new course of agitation in Ireland, it would not be prudent to see him and apprise him that the precise form and extent of the measure were not decided on. *Lord Althorp concurred in and sanctioned this step,* cautioning Mr. Littleton not to commit himself by any detail to O'Connell. In the course of the same day O'Connell came to the Irish Office, and Mr. Littleton dissuaded him from any unnecessary excitation of the people of Ireland, until he should have seen the new Coercion Bill, which would be renewed with certain limitations. The exact terms in which Mr. Littleton made this communication to O'Connell were reported by himself to Lord Wellesley in a letter of the 4th July to the following effect:—

'I felt so entirely satisfied from Lord Althorp's assurances that the measure would be simply confined to the agrarian disturbances, that I did not hesitate to tell O'Connell that the Irish Government was of opinion that any other enactment was under the circumstances unne-

cessary. And on O'Connell's expressing some doubt whether others in the Cabinet would not overrule the opinion of the Lord-lieutenant and myself, I added, that "my own feeling about it was so decided, that I did not think it possible for me to vote for the measure in any other form than as directed against agrarian disturbances." I added that the moment the question was definitively settled, he should be informed.'

O'Connell promised to regard this communication as strictly confidential. This was before the Cabinet had deliberated on the question, but after the Cabinet had met, Lord Althorp informed Mr. Littleton to his surprise, that it was resolved to renew the old Bill without any alteration, as Lord Grey would concede nothing. Lord Althorp said nothing more of his own intention to resign.

Such was the state of things when the debate on the Bill came on upon the 3rd July. O'Connell did not hesitate to betray the confidential communication which had been made to him, and charged Mr. Littleton with having intentionally deceived him for the purpose of obtaining an advantage at the Wexford election. He spoke with a violence and grossness which his own adherents loudly condemned. On the following day Lord Brougham defended Mr. Littleton in the House of Lords, and admitted that he had himself been in communication with Lord Wellesley as to the omission of the obnoxious clauses; but Lord Grey made Mr. Littleton's position untenable by permitting it to be believed that the question was completely settled at the time when O'Connell had been told that it was undecided. Mr. Littleton upon this addressed his resignation to Lord Grey: but the public did not know, nor has it ever been known to this day, that in counselling Lord Wellesley to recommend to Lord Grey the omission of the clauses, he was acting under the advice of the Lord Chancellor, concurred in by many of the Cabinet; and that for his communication with O'Connell he had the express authority of Lord Althorp, then leader of the House of Commons, and manager of the Government measure in that House.

Lord Althorp was so dissatisfied with his own position in this affair, that he resolved to retire from the Government. He did so, but this event led to the immediate dissolution of the Administration, as Lord Grey declared that with a division of opinion in the Cabinet on this question, and without Lord Althorp, he was unable to carry on the conduct of public affairs. In explaining the cause of his own resignation, Lord Althorp stated that he had authorised Mr. Littleton's communication 'to O'Connell, with an injunction of due caution.' Mr. Littleton contented himself with declaring that 'he had acted on an 'authority on which he thought he could rely.' Mr. Littleton

may have been guilty of some indiscretion in his conversation with O'Connell. But nothing could justify O'Connell's use of a confidential communication. And, after what had passed, we think that Lord Althorp should have resigned (as he had said he would), rather than assent to the introduction of such clauses, instead of waiting until the affair had degenerated into a scandalous altercation. Lord Grey justified his own refusal to concede anything on the ground of a private letter from Lord Wellesley. But that letter was written some days previous to the official letter of the 21st June, which formally expressed a contrary opinion. Lord Grey's persistence in an unqualified renewal of the Coercion Act, in spite of the Lord-lieutenant's disclaimer of its necessity, was fed by his resentment against O'Connell, who had covered him with the most foul-mouthed abuse, and by jealousy of his colleagues, especially of Lord Brougham, whom he knew to counsel concession, and, as he thought, for a sinister purpose—a suspicion which was in this instance quite unfounded.

To complete this narrative of the causes which led to the dissolution of Lord Grey's Government, it should be added that Lord Althorp declined to take office in the new Cabinet formed by Lord Melbourne, on the ground that he could not separate himself from Mr. Littleton, and told the King so. The ceremony of kissing hands of the New Ministry was delayed in consequence. On being acquainted with this generous resolution of Lord Althorp, Mr. Littleton also consented to resume his office as Irish Secretary, which he continued to fill until the dissolution of the Cabinet in the following November.* The Irish Bill was renewed without the clauses which had given rise to this crisis; but O'Connell was not appeased and renewed his attacks on the policy of the Government.

Although Sir John Hobhouse was not in Parliament at this

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* A short time before his death, the late Lord Hatherton placed in our hands a manuscript volume containing a full narrative of this transaction in his own handwriting, and the original correspondence bound up with it. This volume was read by Mr. Fazakerley, Lord Macaulay, and the Marquis of Lansdowne, who corroborated it. We have thought that the present occasion is a suitable one for adverting to the subject, as the facts are not accurately stated in Lord Broughton's recollections, and were probably unknown to him as he was not in Parliament at that moment. The exact circumstances which led to the dissolution of Lord Grey's Government have not been related before with equal distinctness. We have adhered in this succinct account of them to the words of the Memoir, now before us.

moment, Lord Melbourne immediately offered him a place in the new Cabinet as First Commissioner of the Woods and Forests. The offer was accepted, and he was shortly afterwards returned to the House of Commons for Nottingham. On the 19th July, 1834, he took his seat on the Treasury Bench, with many warm greetings from friends on all sides, but the pleasantest was that of Henry Warburton—a man more distinguished for integrity of purpose than for genial manners. He crossed the House, and said to Hobhouse, 'Don't you recollect that 'the last thing you said to me before you left Parliament was, '"Honest man?" That is what I say to you, now that we meet 'again.' The new Ministry was however of short duration. It had already been beaten in both Houses; and it was dissolved in November by the act of William IV., who took advantage of Lord Althorp's elevation to the House of Peers by the death of his father, to rid himself of a Government he disliked, and to try the dangerous experiment of naming their successors. The principal incident which occurred in this short interval was the burning of the Houses of Parliament on the 16th October, which was of the greater interest to Sir John Hobhouse, as the charge of the public buildings lay with the department of which he was for a short time the head.

In the contest which terminated in the defeat of Sir Robert Peel's short Administration of 1835, Sir John Hobhouse took no conspicuous part. The severest domestic anxiety and affliction of his life was pressing upon his mind, and on the 3rd of April Lady Julia Hobhouse, who had been to him a most affectionate wife and devoted companion, breathed her last in his arms. Within five days of this melancholy event Sir Robert Peel resigned, and the imperative necessity of resuming his part in public affairs compelled Hobhouse to turn from his private sorrows to his political duties. The formation of the second Melbourne Government is thus related:—

'The King did not send for anyone on the day (Wednesday, April 8) that Peel resigned. On Thursday he sent for Lord Grey, but did not commission him to form a Government; he only asked advice as to whom he should send for. Lord Grey recommended Lords Lansdowne and Melbourne. The King did not send for them until the next day (Friday), when they went to the Palace, accompanied by Lord Grey; but the King did not, on that occasion, ask either of them to form a Government. He only talked of a coalition of parties, which they declared impossible, and referred to the recent Resolution of the House of Commons. Both Lords Lansdowne and Melbourne held very decisive language on this point. On Saturday the King saw Lord Melbourne alone, and requested him to undertake the formation of a Government. Lord M. said he could not give a decisive answer until he had consulted some

friends as to the materials for forming a Cabinet. Some difficulties were started by Spring Rice, who, to my surprise, objected to belong to an Administration dependent on the Radicals for support. It appeared that our friend had written some foolish letter to that effect to his Cambridge supporters. His scruples, however, gave way to the urgent exhortations of Lord Lansdowne, who insisted upon the absolute necessity of attempting to form a Ministry. But it was not until Sunday afternoon that Lord Melbourne consented to undertake the task, and sent for Lord John Russell, who was at Woburn, and had been married only the day before. On Monday there was some discussion about the basis of the proposed Cabinet. The differences referred to the members of the Royal Household and the creation of Peers. His Majesty gave way; everything appeared to be going on smoothly, and on Tuesday there was no reason to suspect that any other difficulties would be made. On Wednesday, however, came a long letter, of six pages, about O'Connell and Hume, and, above all, about the appropriation of Church revenues, to which H. M. protested he could not consent. Lord M. wrote a short and very decisive answer, and immediately went to St. James's. He told H. M. that he would not submit to have anyone excluded, but that there was no intention of employing either Hume or O'Connell. He told the King that he must do one of three things:—1st. Act on the Resolution of the House of Commons, with a new Cabinet. 2nd. Oppose the Resolution with the old Cabinet, or a similar Cabinet, and with the present Parliament. 3rd. Dissolve the Parliament. The King said that it would be *madness* to dissolve Parliament now, and he seemed satisfied with Lord Melbourne's explanation. But, shortly after H. M. left the Palace, came another letter from him, urging the propriety of quieting his scruples as to the violation of the Coronation Oath, by consenting to the appropriation of Church property to secular purposes, and proposing that the fifteen Judges should be consulted thereupon. In consequence of this proposal it was agreed that the House of Commons should be further adjourned to Saturday. Lord Melbourne strongly objected to consulting the Judges, and the King gave up that proposal, but recommended that he should ask the opinion of Lord Lyndhurst. Lord M. said that he would not advise such a step, but, if H. M. chose to take it, he could. Accordingly, the King wrote to Lord Lyndhurst, and Melbourne saw the letter.' (Vol. iii. pp. 114–116.)

To such a question, as might well be supposed, Lord Lyndhurst positively refused to give any answer. Some discussion ensued as to the distribution of offices. Lord Palmerston insisted on having the Foreign Office, which Lord Melbourne had destined for Lord John Russell; and Hobhouse refused to return to the War Office, failing which he was induced to accept the Presidency of the Board of Control, and thus he again entered the Cabinet. It must be admitted that he had no previous qualifications for the office of Indian Minister, but he brought to bear on it his great natural sense of justice and

knowledge of the world; he was resolved not to be made a tool of the 'Chairs,' as they were called; and he directed his department with energy and independence. He continued to fill that office under successive Whig governments for about twelve years; and finally relinquished it in 1852. When Lord Melbourne's arrangements were completed, Hobhouse told the Premier that he thought his Cabinet was not so Liberal as his former administrations. Lord Melbourne replied that some people told him it was too Jacobinical. An attempt was made, but in vain, to induce the new Premier to send Lord Durham to Ireland. He was appointed to the Embassy of St. Petersburg.

Whatever was its original character and prospects, this Administration was certainly one of the most remarkable in the modern parliamentary history of this country. It lasted for six years-and-a-half—it survived two dissolutions of Parliament—it closed the reign of William IV. and inaugurated the reign of Victoria—it gradually allayed the agitation which lingered after the great Reform tempest of 1832—it carried a large number of useful and important measures against a powerful Opposition, headed by such men as Sir Robert Peel, the Duke of Wellington, and Lord Lyndhurst—it subdued the revolt of Canada and introduced a new and beneficent era of Colonial Government—it established and maintained the ascendency of the Foreign Policy of England—secured Constitutional Government in Spain, and triumphantly encountered one of the crises of the Eastern question—and in its closing hours it raised that standard of freedom of commerce, which was ere long to win over to its cause the most eminent of its former opponents. Yet this long and faithful administration of the affairs of the nation began under circumstances the most discouraging. The working majority of the Government in the House of Commons was estimated at only *twenty-seven* votes, and amongst these were reckoned not a few members of extreme opinions or disappointed expectations, whose support could not be relied on, and who used their accidental importance to press heavily on their leaders. In the Lords the majority against Lord Melbourne amounted nearly to *one hundred*, restrained only by the prudence and patriotism of the Duke of Wellington, but inflamed on the other hand by the bitter eloquence and factious ingenuity of Lord Lyndhurst and Lord Brougham, who were now united by a common hatred of those in power. Lord Wharncliffe said one day to the vindictive ex-Chancellor:—'Why, how you *go* 'on with your old friends!' 'Yes,' said Brougham, 'and so I 'will go on till they go off.' The aversion and animosity of the King to his new Ministers were open and undisguised.

The extravagant occurrences which had taken place since the 15th November, 1834, were the result of His Majesty's own infatuation, and he keenly resented the ignominious position in which the failure of his attempt to bring back the Tories had left him. Lord Melbourne had not the reputation, at that time, of a great statesman. His *poco curante* manner and his utter indifference to display, led men to think less highly of him than he deserved. But the truth is that no minister ever showed more consummate tact, temper, and unselfishness than he displayed throughout this difficult period. He had difficulties with the Court (under King William), with his colleagues, and with Parliament. He surmounted them with admirable dexterity; and he was rewarded for his loyal perseverance in the later years of his Administration by the fullest confidence and regard which a youthful and ingenuous Sovereign, who appreciated his worth as it deserved, could bestow. The history of the Melbourne Administration will ever have a peculiar interest for the people of this country and for the world, because it fell to the lot of that Government to surround the throne when Queen Victoria ascended it. That incident threw a romantic interest over the monarchy, which has long survived the party struggles of the hour. It was the dawn of an auspicious day, and the place in history of those who bore a part in it, is greater, perhaps, than they themselves or their immediate contemporaries imagined. Sir John Hobhouse had the good fortune to be one of these Ministers; and the record he has left of that period will be of no inconsiderable use hereafter to future historians.

It so happened that the very first step of authority which the new Cabinet were called upon to take, lay in the Indian department. Sir Robert Peel had, with needless haste, selected one of his own adherents, Lord Heytesbury, to succeed Lord William Bentinck in the Governor-generalship of India, then about to become vacant. At the first meeting of the Cabinet Hobhouse brought before his colleagues the question of cancelling this nomination, which they decided to do, and the first communication of the new Indian Minister to the King was to advise His Majesty to revoke an appointment which was already signed upon the recommendation of the preceding Government. The King reluctantly consented. The 'Chairs' of the East India Company protested against what they called an 'act of power.' Curiously enough, Mr. Gladstone's present Cabinet was called upon at one of its first meetings to entertain the same question. Lord Mayo had been appointed to the Governor-Generalship by Mr. Disraeli and had

actually started for Calcutta before the office was vacant. The appointment might have been revoked. But it was wisely and properly determined to confirm it, and the result of Lord Mayo's administration has amply justified that decision.

While Ministers were floundering in the House of Commons with great measures, such as the Irish Tithe Bill and Corporation Reform, which seemed to crush their feeble majority, the King broke out on every occasion with great vehemence against them; he was in fact labouring with an alarming degree of mental excitement.

'June 27. *D.N.* 49.—In Downing Street, Russell told me of a singular conversation that he had had with the King about the Militia. H. M. said that Lord Chatham introduced the Militia Bill against the wishes of George II., but that George III. liked the Militia; and, added H. M., so did he, and he should disapprove of any plan that rendered the staff of it less prepared for active service. He would prefer calling out the Militia, and embodying them. Russell said that would cost too much. The people and the Parliament did not care about foreign politics, and thought any measures for defending England unnecessary. "Very true, my Lord," said the King; "and that is "what I call penny wise and pound foolish." H. M. then went on to speak of Russia, and said that he had heard there was an army of 100,000 Russians ready for embarkation in the Baltic; and he added, "I do not know how you feel, my Lord; but I own they make me shake in my shoes." The King then remarked that, if France interfered with an army in Spain, there would be an united force of Austrians, Prussians, and Russians on the Rhine in a month, and in another month, they would march to Paris. Russell told the King that he had no fear of French intervention, but that he thought the French Government unstable. "Yes, my Lord," said the King, "and that is because they have not an honest man at the head of it, and the Ministers intrigue. There is this difference between England and France. Here we may differ on certain points; you and I may differ; but we all of us mean well, and have but one object. I have my views of things, and I tell them to my Ministers. If they do not adopt them, I cannot help it. I have done my duty."' (Vol. iii. pp. 142, 143.)

Indeed, his language sometimes became excessively violent.

'I heard from all quarters that H. M. was in a state of great excitement. This was not all we knew of the Royal disinclination to us; for, on Saturday, July 11, in Downing Street, Lord Melbourne addressed us as follows:—

'"Gentlemen, you may as well know how you stand;" and, pulling a paper from his pocket, he read a memorandum of a conversation between the King and Lord Gosford, after the review, the day before. The King said to Lord Gosford, "Mind what you are about in Canada. By G—d! I will never consent to alienate the Crown lands, nor to make the Council elective. Mind me, my Lord, the Cabinet is not my

Cabinet; they had better take care, or, by G—d! I will have them impeached. You are a gentleman, I believe. I have no fear of you; but take care what you do."

'We all stared at each other. Melbourne said, "It is better not to quarrel with him. He is evidently in a state of great excitement." And yet the King gave Dedel, the Dutch Ambassador, the same day, on taking leave, very sensible advice, and told him "to let the King of Holland know that he was ignorant of his true position, and that Belgium was lost irrecoverably." H. M. had also given his assent in writing to the second reading of our Irish Church Reform Bill, which showed that these outbursts were more physical than signs of any settled design; although there were some of us who thought it was intended to drive us by incivilities to resign our places, and thus make us the apparent authors of our own retirement. Lord Frederick Fitzclarence told me that his father had much to bear, being beset by the Duke of Cumberland and Duchess of Gloucester by day, and by the Queen at night. As to ourselves, it was clear to me that, if we continued in the Government, it would be entirely owing to the good sense and good manners of our chief, who knew how to deal with his master, as well as with his colleagues, and never, that I saw, made a mistake in regard to either; and I must add that, when a stand was to be made on anything considered to be a vital principle of his Government, he was as firm as a rock.'

'We foresaw that the instructions, which we had agreed upon as the basis of Lord Gosford's administration in Canada, would meet with much disfavour in the Royal closet; and Lord Glenelg told me that when he read these instructions to the King, H. M. broke out violently against the use of certain words, saying, "No, my Lord, I will not have that word; strike out '*conciliatory*'—strike out 'liberal';" and then he added, "you cannot wonder at my making these difficulties with a Ministry that has been forced upon me." However, as Glenelg went on reading, H. M. got more calm. He approved of what was said about the Legislative Council and the territorial revenues. In short, he approved of the instructions generally on that day, and also on the following Monday; but, when Glenelg went into the closet this day (Wednesday, 15th July), he was very sulky, and, indeed, rude; and objected to some things to which he had previously consented. Lord Melbourne was told by Glenelg how he had been treated, and, when he (Lord M.) went into the closet, the King said he hoped he had not been uncivil to Lord Glenelg, on which Lord Melbourne made only a stiff bow. The King took the reproof most becomingly; for when Glenelg went in a second time, H. M. was exceedingly kind to him, and said, "He approved of every word of the instructions;" and he then remarked "that he was not like William III., who often signed what he did not approve. He would not do that. He was not disposed to infringe on the liberty of any of his subjects; but he must preserve his own prerogative."

'H. M. retained his good humour at the Council, which he held afterwards, to hear the Recorder's Report. Chief Justice Denman was detained at Guildhall, and kept His Majesty waiting a long time.

When he came the King took his apologies very kindly. He asked the Chief Justice when he should leave London for the holidays, and where he lived; and invited him to Windsor, and said he should be glad to see him, adding, "I hope you won't hang me, my Lord." Such was this kind good man, generally most just and generous, but, when irritated, scarcely himself. He was more sincere than suited his Royal office, and could not conceal his likings and dislikings from those who were most affected by them.' (Vol. iii. pp. 146–149.)

The King felt to a greater degree than his Ministers an extreme alarm at the danger of Russian aggression. His early experience in the naval service gave him a peculiar interest in the fleet. And it is of interest at the present moment to observe that he laid especial stress on the maintenance of an efficient Militia. The following energetic expression of his opinions was delivered at a Council held for the merely formal purpose of the approval of the Speech to be delivered from the Throne:—

'At the Council next day occurred a most remarkable scene. There was a levée, and then came the Council. When His Majesty was to say "Approved" to the reduction of the militia staff, he broke out:—"My Lords, nothing should induce me to assent to this, but for two reasons: one is, that I do not wish to expose those Colonels who have deserted their duty, and done so much to injure this constitutional force; the other is, that I am resolved the system shall be put upon a better footing the next session of Parliament. My Lords, I am an old man—older than any of your Lordships—and, therefore, know more than any of you. In 1756 George II. had, as I have now, what was called a Whig Ministry; that Ministry originated a Militia Bill, to frame a constitutional defence of the kingdom. George II. had not the advantages which his successors possessed. He opposed the Bill; and he was seconded by certain persons, in different counties, some from one motive, some from another, perhaps subserviency; but his Ministers wisely persevered, and carried their measure; since which time this great force has been kept up as it ought to be, and shall be, in spite of agitators in Ireland, and agitators in England; for my Lords, I dread to think what might be the consequences, if Russia were to attack us unprepared. I say I never will consent to the destruction of this force, and, early in the next session of Parliament, *whoever may be, or whoever are, Ministers*, I will have the militia restored to a proper state. I say this, not only before my confidential advisers, but before others [C. Greville and two or three others of the Household], because I wish to have my sentiments known."

'Such was the substance, and, in great part, the very words, of his Majesty's harangue. We looked at one another. Lord Melbourne was very black, and very haughty. I thought he would have broken out.' (Vol. iii. pp. 164, 165.)

His Majesty did not let the subject drop, and it gave rise to a decision of the Cabinet which has not before been made known.

'Our next Cabinet, a dinner at P. Thompson's, was chiefly taken up

with considering a very strong letter from the King on Russian aggression. H. M. proposed to call on Parliament for a vote of 3,000 additional seamen, and to state frankly that the continued aggression of Russia justified this demand. The letter expressed a hope that Lord Durham would not be deluded by the fine speeches of the Emperor Nicholas. The King condemned in the strongest language the Emperor's speech to the Polish Deputation at Warsaw, which, H. M. observed, made the Vienna treaties of 1815 nothing better than waste paper. The letter concluded with hoping that something might be said in the Royal Speech, at the opening of Parliament, on the subject of Russian aggression.

'We discussed the contents of this letter at the next Cabinet, and, at last, agreed to propose to France and Austria a sort of defensive alliance against the encroachments of Russia. We had, however, very little hope that Austria would fall in with any arrangement that might embroil her with the Emperor Nicholas. Howick dissented from making any effort in this direction, and said it would lead to a general war.' (Vol. iii. p. 177.)

The Great Seal was put in Commission on the return of Lord Melbourne to office, for one of the chief difficulties of his former Administration had been the intense dislike of the King to Lord Brougham, which was shared to some extent by his former colleagues. But this arrangement was temporary, and the question soon arose whether Campbell, the Attorney-General, Pepys, the Master of the Rolls, or Bickersteth should be Chancellor. Hobhouse energetically supported his old friend Bickersteth. But Lord Melbourne said he was too fond of theoretical speculation and was untried in public life. It ended by the choice of Pepys, and Bickersteth had a peerage and the Rolls. As a debater Lord Langdale brought no additional strength to the Government, and so far Lord Melbourne was right; but Lord Melbourne said that he did not regard Brougham as a very formidable opponent. The King observed that if Ministers had made Campbell Lord Chancellor, 'public opinion would have been against them, and that no 'man could stand against public opinion;' he thought highly of Bickersteth on account of an answer he had made to one of Brougham's flighty speeches at the London University. In the course of the proceedings before the Privy Council with reference to the charter of the London University, Brougham asked Bickersteth, who was counsel for the University of Cambridge against the charter, what would happen if the new University proceeded to confer degrees without any charter at all? 'They would incur,' said Bickersteth, 'the scorn and con-'tempt of mankind.' It was probably to this retort that the King made allusion. In the end Campbell succeeded to the Great Seal, and was a better Chancellor than many of his rivals.

The difficulties of the Government arose quite as much from the disaffection of their Radical allies as from the tactics of their avowed opponents. Their Church Bills for England and Ireland were assailed with great violence by Charles Buller and Tom Duncombe, and even Hume, and so precarious was the condition of the Government that their resignation appeared to be a mere question of days.

'Even quiet and courageous Lord Melbourne began to give way, and, at a Cabinet on Tuesday, August 9th, when we discussed whether Parliament should meet in November, and the discussion turned on the position of the Administration, our chief told us that he had long had doubts whether it was right and becoming to go on with the Government in our present condition. There was an immense majority against us in the Lords, and the English constituencies, so far as we knew, were against us—the Court decidedly hostile—and nothing but an insignificant majority in the Commons in our favour, and, even there, it was only on doubtful and unpopular questions that we outnumbered our opponents. Lord Melbourne said a man must have the patience of an ass to stand against such odds; but he added that he saw no reason for meeting in November, unless it was probable that the Lords would give way on the Irish Corporation Bill, and, for his part, he thought they were less likely to concede, if we forced a meeting in November, than if we met at the usual time. Lord Lansdowne said to me, privately, that, if the Lords carried a vote of want of confidence, he, for one, would resign. He thought they would not propose that vote, because they were afraid of putting themselves in the wrong. I dissented from this view: but Lord L. repeated his determination. Lord Holland also expressed his doubts as to the propriety of going on much longer against the House of Lords, especially if we lost any more elections in large communities.' (Vol. iii. pp. 269, 270.)

And so ended the Session of 1836.

The business of the following year opened with no better promise. The following extract is from Hobhouse's diary of the 11th February:—

'I heard that what I had said of the happy day that was to release us from our thankless servitude had given rise to rumours of our immediate relinquishment of office. The comment on this from our opponents was somewhat flattering; for they were pleased to say that I was honest and truthspeaking, and really did wish to leave office. This was true, so far as the desire to leave office was concerned; not so much, however, from any dislike of office, as because I did not see how we could retain it now, without loss of character, and, consequently, of influence. If we were to go out on losing our Irish Corporation Bill, I thought all would be well. We should avoid the embarrassment, not only of the Tithe Bill, but the Canada Bill, and the proposals of our Radical friends, which were sure to damage us, though very unjustly, with our constituents. I was aware that this

was only a party consideration; but I thought that, even so far as the advancement of good principles was concerned, our speedy retreat was highly expedient. I did not see how we could possibly get over the Irish Tithe question. Vernon Smith hinted that he should be compelled to resign, if we abandoned the Appropriation clause.' (Vol. iii. pp. 323, 324.)

Shortly afterwards he had a curious conversation with Lord Stanley, with whom, in spite of strong party differences, he had remained personally on friendly terms.

'He asked me "when we were going out?" I said, "About the 8th of April." He replied, "No; you won't go out so soon as that." I rejoined, "You wish to make us resign on the Church question, which is not so popular as the Corporation question." "Oh," he said, "you own that the Tithe Bill is not so popular?" "To be sure I do. But," I added, "you shall not have your way. We are the masters here, at least; and now let me ask you, How will you govern Ireland?—are you prepared for bloodshed?" Lord Stanley said, "There would be no such extremities; but that, let what would happen, the Church must be protected." I told him "that he and his party might come in; but they would fail, and instead of saving the Church, would ruin themselves."' (Vol. iii. pp. 329, 330.)

The necessity of proceeding with the Irish Tithe Bill, and the impossibility of carrying the Appropriation clause, on which Sir Robert Peel had been turned out and the Melbourne Cabinet formed, threatened to bring on the long-expected crisis. Hobhouse attended a Cabinet with his resignation in his pocket, and he was strongly backed by Lord Duncannon, Lord Glenelg, and Spring Rice; but there came a favourable division in the Commons and the ship righted.

An event, however, was now approaching which materially altered the prospects of the Government and the whole aspect of affairs. On the 26th May, two days after the celebration of the Princess Victoria's eighteenth birthday, it was first made known to Ministers that the King was seriously ill. He was present, however, at a Council on the 27th May, but his weakness and irritability increased so rapidly that it became difficult to address him on public affairs. On the 16th June a Council was summoned by Queen Adelaide to prepare a form of prayer for His Majesty's recovery, but all hope was over; and early on the morning of the 20th June William IV. expired. The following description of the accession of Her Majesty to the throne is too striking to be omitted:—

'Poulett Thompson called on me early the next day (Tuesday, 20th June), and told me that the King had died at twelve minutes past two that morning. He (Thompson) wished to know whether I had a summons to attend the young Queen. I had not; but shortly after he

went away, at a quarter past eleven, a messenger left a summons for me to attend a Council at Kensington Palace at eleven. Shortly afterwards a Cabinet-box came, containing the physicians' bulletin of the King's death, and a summons to Kensington Palace. I mounted my horse, and rode to Kensington. Arriving at the Palace, I was shown into the antechamber of the Music-room. It was full of Privy Councillors, standing round the long table, set in order, as it seemed, for a Council. I had a few words with Lords Stanley and Ellenborough, also with Graham, and others of that party. Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington were on the right, near the head of the table. Lords Melbourne and Lansdowne, in full dress, with Russell, Duncannon, Thompson, Lord Grey, and others of our party, on the left, near the top of the table. The Duke of Argyll (Lord Steward), and one or two officers of the Household, were behind the arm-chair at the top. There were nearly ninety Privy Councillors present—so I was told. After a little time, Lord Lansdowne, advancing to the table, addressed the Lords and others of the Council, and informed them of the death of William IV.; and reminded them that it was their duty to inform Her Majesty Queen Victoria of that event, and of her accession to the throne. He added that he, accompanied by those who might choose to assist him, would wait on Her Majesty. Accordingly, Lord Lansdowne and Lord Melbourne, then the Duke of Cumberland (now King of Hanover), then the Duke of Sussex, together with the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the Lord Chancellor, withdrew through the folding doors behind the chair, and saw the Queen. She was alone; but Lord Lansdowne told me that, as they entered the apartment, they saw a lady retiring into the back apartment. Lord Lansdowne returned, and informed the Council he had seen the Queen, and informed Her Majesty of the death of King William, and of her accession. Not long afterwards the door was thrown open; the Dukes of Cumberland and Sussex advanced to receive Her Majesty, and the young creature walked in, and took her seat in the arm-chair. She was very plainly dressed in mourning, a black scarf round her neck, without any cap or ornament on her head; but her hair was braided tastily on the top of her head. She inclined herself gracefully on taking her seat. The Royal Dukes, the Archbishops, the Lord Chancellor, and the Duke of Wellington were on the right of Her Majesty; Lords Lansdowne and Melbourne were on her left. Soon after she was seated, Lord Melbourne stepped forward, and presented her with a paper, from which she read her Declaration. She went through this difficult task with the utmost grace and propriety; neither too timid nor too assured. Her voice was rather subdued, but not faltering, pronouncing all the words clearly, and seeming to feel the sense of what she spoke. Every one appeared touched with her manner, particularly the Duke of Wellington and Lord Melbourne. I saw some tears in the eyes of the latter. The only person who was rather more curious than affected was Lord Lyndhurst, who looked over Her Majesty's right shoulder as she was reading, as if to see that she read all that was set down for her.

'After reading the Declaration, Her Majesty took the usual oath,

which was administered to her by Mr. Charles Greville, Clerk of the Council, who, by the way, let the Prayer-book drop. The Queen then subscribed the oath, and a duplicate of it for Scotland. She was designated, in the beginning of the oath, "Alexandrina Victoria," but she signed herself "VICTORIA R." Her handwriting was good. Several of the Council, Lord Lyndhurst, the Duke of Cumberland, and the Duke of Wellington, came to the table to look at the signature, as if to discover what her accomplishments in that department were. Some formal Orders in Council were made, and proclamations signed by the Queen, who addressed Lords Lansdowne and Melbourne, with smiles, several times, and with much cordiality. The next part of the ceremony was swearing in the new Privy Council. A cushion was placed on the right of the Queen's chair, and the Dukes of Cumberland and Sussex first took the oath. They kissed the hand of the Queen; she saluted them affectionately on the cheek. She had kissed them before, in the inner apartment, as Lord Lansdowne told me. The Archbishops and the Lord Chancellor were then sworn; and afterwards Lords Lansdowne and Melbourne, the Duke of Wellington, and some twenty together. There was a good deal of bustle and noise whilst this was going on. P. Thompson, Lord Howick, and myself, with some ten or twelve others, were then sworn together. The swearing in the Privy Councillors lasted half an hour at least. Some of us then sat down at the Council-table; and the Queen then said, "I name and appoint Henry Marquis of Lansdowne, Lord President of my most honourable Privy Council;" after which Lord Lansdowne read several Orders in Council. One of them was for delivering over the body of the late King to the Lord Earl Marshal, for embalmment; another, for directing Sir Hussey Vivian, Master of the Ordnance, to fire the Park guns, and the Duke of Wellington to fire the Tower guns, on the proclamation of Her Majesty's accession. During this time the doors of the room were opened frequently, and many persons admitted to see the young Queen, who continued sitting quietly at the head of the table; giving her approval in the usual form to several Orders in Council.

'I went then into the antechamber, and signed the Proclamation declaring Victoria Queen. A crowd was assembled round the table. The Lord Mayor of London, and several Aldermen and others, were present; amongst them my friend Inglis. They signed the Proclamation, as well as those who were Privy Councillors, to give an appearance of election to the sovereignty; at least, that was the reason assigned for this part of the ceremony.* I went from Kensington to the House of Commons, and took the oaths required.

'I then went, at two o'clock, to the Cabinet Ministers of William IV.,

* This is a curious mistake. The document signed by Her Majesty on her accession is the Declaration for the maintenance of the Established Kirk of Scotland, and this instrument was also signed by all the Privy Councillors present. It is kept in the books of the Privy Council. No proclamation is ever signed by Ministers. The notion of 'an appearance of election to the sovereignty' is an absurd misconception.

assembled in Downing Street; all were present except Lord Holland. I then learned that Lord Melbourne had been summoned to attend the Queen at nine o'clock in the morning, and that he had written the Declaration which Her Majesty had read, on taking her seat at the head of the Council-table. Only one word had been altered in that Declaration; it was the epithet immediately preceding "reliance," which was altered into "FIRM reliance," by Palmerston. Russell told me he thought the alteration had not been an improvement; and Lord John added, "but Melbourne always gives up his opinion in these matters, and, when he asks advice, takes it."

'Lord Melbourne now communicated to us the Queen's pleasure that she desired no change should take place in the Cabinet. Lord Melbourne mentioned that the Queen had remarked to him that Mr. Spring Rice was not at our first meeting. He was not; for he had not received any summons until one o'clock. We did not transact any business, except making some arrangements for proclaiming the Queen the next day. Russell appeared to me much affected by the death of King William, and I thought there was more gloom on the faces of all than might have been expected, not only amongst ourselves, but generally.

'The proclamation of the Queen's accession took place at St. James's Palace. Her Majesty was presented to the people at the window facing Marlborough House. Lords Melbourne, and Lansdowne, and Duncannon, with Spring Rice, in court dresses, were at her side, with certain great Officers of State behind her. The Duchess of Kent was near her, on her right. The crowd was very great, but composed of decently-dressed people, and gave Her Majesty a warm reception. Daniel O'Connell was unwise enough to play a very conspicuous part, and act as a sort of fugleman to the multitude, and regulate their acclamations.

'I went to St. James's Palace at twelve o'clock and found the Queen holding a Council in the Throne-room. She was seated in a chair of state at the head of the long table below the throne; she was dressed much as she had been the day before, except that she wore a black straw hat and feathers. The Archbishops were seated at the table, and two or three others not belonging to the Cabinet. Spring Rice and others, who had not been sworn in the day before, were now sworn, and kissed hands. Several Orders in Council were then read, and the Queen gave the usual approval, with her soft voice, and her pleasing smile. Her Majesty then rose, and retired into the Royal closet. Lord Melbourne, and one or two others, were then called into the closet, and received by Her Majesty alone. Lord Lansdowne told me that the Queen had remarked to him, she knew she ought to receive her Ministers unaccompanied by any lady.

'I shall go back a day or two, and I shall venture to copy verbatim an extract from my Diary for the day of the accession:—

'"It is impossible to speak too highly of the Queen's demeanour and conduct during the whole ceremony. They deserve all that has been said of them by all parties, and must have been the offspring, not of art, nor of education, but of a noble nature, to use the words of the

well-turned eulogy pronounced upon them by Sir Robert Peel."' (Vol. iii. pp. 384–390.)

We trust that we may, without indiscretion, add Sir John Hobhouse's account of his first interview, as Minister for India, with the Sovereign of that great Empire, which took place almost three weeks later.

'After the Council, Lord Melbourne told me that the Queen had inquired after me, remarking that she had not yet seen me. I thought it my duty, therefore, to send H. M. my last private letters from Lord Auckland and Lord Elphinstone. Immediately afterwards I had a note from Her Majesty, appointing me to come to her next day, at a little past eleven, at Buckingham Palace. The Queen removed from Kensington to Buckingham Palace on Thursday, July 13th.

'I obeyed Her Majesty's commands, and went to Buckingham Palace at the time appointed. The apartments were in great disorder; housemaids were on their knees scrubbing the floors, and servants laying down carpets. After waiting a little time with a page, the door opened, and the Queen walked in, smiling and curtsying. She placed herself on a sofa, on one side of a small table, and desired me to take a chair opposite to her. She told me that she had read Lord Elphinstone's letter, but had not had time to read Lord Auckland's. She added that Lord Elphinstone's was an interesting letter, and that he was very young for so important a command. I smiled, and observed that "youth was no disqualification for empire," at which H. M. laughed, and looked pleased. She remarked upon the conduct of Sir Peregrine Maitland, in refusing to allow the regimental bands to attend the Hindoo ceremonies. She agreed with me in thinking it imprudent, and that the zeal of some persons to propagate Christianity often defeated its own object. I observed that Sir Peregrine Maitland was what was called a "serious" man. "Yes," replied H. M., "and his wife too, who is a sister of the Duke of Richmond, is serious also." She told me she approved of Lord Elphinstone's caution in that respect, and desired me to tell him so; and she graciously acceded to my request to convey her thanks, on her accession to the throne, to Lord Auckland for his general conduct.

'I asked H. M. if she had read Burnes's "Travels." She replied she had not, but she had seen and spoken to him, and would read his book. After a little more conversation, I requested H. M.'s permission to communicate with her on Indian affairs, and to send her any news with which I thought she would be interested or ought to be acquainted. To this she assented very graciously, and I rose, and withdrew. I cannot refrain from saying that I received a most pleasing impression from her manner and her remarks, as being superior to her age, and even to her station; at least such Royalties as I have seen. I heard afterwards from Colonel Cavendish, that Her Majesty had told Madame Lezhen, her late governess, that she had had a very interesting and instructive conversation with me. I cannot say I gave her much instruction. My principal information related to the three functionaries at the head of the Indian Presidencies; with each of

whom I was well acquainted, and entitled to speak of him.' (Vol. iii. pp. 402–404.)

The following scene at the new Court is characteristic and amusing:—

'The dinner at the Castle this day passed off agreeably, and, when in the drawing-room, the Queen sat down to chess with the Queen of the Belgians. H. M. had never played before; Lord Melbourne told her how to move, and Lord Palmerston also assisted her. I looked on for some time, without taking part in the game, and I might as well have abstained altogether; for when Melbourne and Palmerston gave up advising Her Majesty, in order that I might succeed to them, I did not succeed better than my colleagues. I was very near winning the game, when I lost it by an oversight, and by being very often asked by Her Majesty, "What must I do?" There was also some little confusion created by the two queens on the board and the two Queens at the table. Her Majesty was not so discouraged by her defeat as to prevent her playing again the evening after this. Who played for the Queen I do not know; but H. M. ran up to me laughing, and saying she had won. She asked me how she came to lose yesterday. I replied, "Because your Majesty had such bad advisers;" on which she laughed heartily, and so did the Queen of the Belgians, who, by the way, spoke English well.' (Vol. iii. pp. 424, 425.)

The nation shared the cheerful and auspicious influence of the new reign. The demise of the Crown gave rise of course to an early dissolution of Parliament, and the Administration soon found itself strengthened not only by the entire confidence of the Sovereign, but also by a House of Commons elected under circumstances widely differing from those which had called it into being the preceding Parliament. The dissolution and election of 1835 were a premature trial of strength on the part of the Tories led by Sir Robert Peel to recover the power they had lost, and the result was a House in which the Opposition could at least hold Ministers in continual check. The election of 1837 was governed by different feelings, and the Cabinet which seemed so near destruction in the first months of its existence, was destined to retain the supreme direction of affairs for a further period of four years.

As we approach nearer to our own times and have to deal with the advisers and measures of Her present Majesty, our task becomes more delicate, and our limits warn us that we have perhaps already taxed the patience of our readers. We therefore pass over the discussions and debates caused by the Canadian Rebellion and by Lord Durham's mission to that province. Never was greater acrimony shown in Parliament than on that occasion—never was a Government placed in a more difficult position than Lord Melbourne was by the in-

temperate and overbearing policy of Lord Durham. The Emperor Nicholas, who knew Lord Durham well having seen him as Ambassador at St. Petersburg, said, 'If one of my 'officers had behaved as he had done, he would have been 'tried for his life on his return.' And Lord Wellesley said to Hobhouse, alluding to the time when he had been reprimanded by the Court of Directors, 'My answer was the conquest of 'the Mahrattas. I did not become sulky and run home.'

It was in June, 1838, that the Cabinet first received notice from Sir Alexander Burnes, our agent at Caubul, that the Emperor Nicholas had recently despatched a Russian agent with a letter to Dost Mohammed. This was the commencement of the Russian intrigues in Central Asia which eventually led to the Afghan War, and some of the most important transactions in which Sir John Hobhouse was officially engaged. The British Government resolved to check the intervention of Persia, instigated by Russia, by sending an expedition into the Persian Gulf, where the Island of Karrak was soon afterwards occupied and held by our troops, and Lord Auckland ordered movements of troops on the North-Western frontier. Sir John Hobhouse strongly supported his policy against the remonstrances of some of his colleagues, and he consulted the most eminent of Indian statesmen on the matter.

'Before leaving London I wished much to know Lord Wellesley's opinion on Indian affairs. I called on him, and we had a long talk together. At first I thought he was inclined to believe that Auckland had made a mistake in regard to his movements on the North-West frontier. He listened patiently to my statements, and at last told me that I had made out a complete case for our interference in Affghan affairs. I told him of our treaty with Runjeet Singh and Shah Soojah. He remarked that, whether the siege of Herat was raised or not, we were bound by treaty to replace Shah Soojah on the throne of Caubul. He himself, when Governor-General, had always adhered to his treaties, and when Lord Cornwallis arrived, and broke one or two of them, he was in his dotage.

'I told him that the Duke of Wellington expressed great reluctance to our going to war beyond the Indus. Lord Wellesley said no man was more averse to war than his brother Arthur, and he added the same of himself. He strongly advised an augmentation of our army in India. I told him it was done.' (Vol. iv. p. 232.)

No doubt at that time a clandestine warfare (if that term can be used) existed between England and Russia. We remember to have heard Sir John Hobhouse say in those days that England was about to measure her strength with Russia and that the field of operations would be in Central Asia. The person to whom this remark was addressed replied, 'If that

'be the case, should we not rather try our strength on Cronstadt?' But no doubt serious alarm existed, and not without reason.

'When I came to the Cabinet on Saturday, March 2nd, Lord Palmerston said, "Here, see what they are preparing to do with you and your dominions;" and Lord Lansdowne handed to me a letter, dated the same morning, from the Duke of Wellington to Lord Melbourne. The letter began by saying that "he had so often communicated with Lord M. on matters connected with the Queen's service, he should not offer any apology for writing to Lord M. now. The news had come to him in a singular way; but all sorts of people were in the habit of writing to him on all sorts of subjects. The son of a Hampshire gentleman, who was aide-de-camp to the Emperor of Russia, had a brother who had arrived in England, and had told his father that his brother, the aide-de-camp, had seen on the desk of the Emperor a proposal, bearing on it the words, 'Approved by the Emperor.' The proposal had been drawn up by the War Minister; had been referred by him to the Foreign Minister, and, by him, laid before the Emperor." The proposal was enclosed in the Duke's letter, and was to this effect: —"Twenty-seven sail of the line, fifteen frigates, and several transports, with thirty thousand troops on board, were to sail to the East Indies, and seize upon the capitals of the three Presidencies." The Duke added, "that this intelligence was not to be altogether despised. He did not believe that the invasion would be attempted; but that something might be undertaken if the fleet sailed for the East. It might take the Cape of Good Hope, more probably it would go into the Mediterranean, and thence into the Dardanelles, in virtue of the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi." The Duke thought it might be advisable to stop the Russian fleet in the Channel. His note was short, but quite in his own earnest style, and worth pages of ordinary correspondence.' (Vol. iv. pp. 269, 270.)

Pozzo di Borgo, who was then Russian Envoy in London, continued to give the most pacific assurances, and in fact the Cabinet of St. Petersburg soon afterwards disavowed its agents, one of whom destroyed himself. Before he expired he left on his table a note addressed to one of the Czar's principal advisers, in these words: 'Come and contemplate your 'work!' There were others, however, who said that he was still living in some part of that gigantic empire. The scheme for the restoration of Shah Soojah to the throne of Caubul was no doubt a mistake. We had much better have treated with Dost Mohamed, as we did in the end. But the Russian intrigues in Central Asia were effectively checked, and at the conclusion of these difficulties our North-Western frontier was better protected than it had ever been before.

The state of affairs in the Levant was not less critical, and it is remarkable that in the summer of 1839, one year before the

active intervention in Syria was resolved upon, Lord Palmerston brought the subject before his colleagues.

'At the Cabinet on June 15th, Lord Palmerston proposed that the French and English fleets should sail to the coast of Syria, and that joint instructions should be given to them to do their utmost to prevent or arrest hostilities between the Turks and the Egyptians; that, if the Turks would not listen to us, messengers should be sent to the Ambassadors at Constantinople, to endeavour to prevail on the Sultan to come to terms; that, if Mahomet Ali would not listen to us, Alexandria and the Pasha's fleet might be blockaded. Lord Palmerston further proposed that the four great Powers should insist on the evacuation of Syria by the Pasha of Egypt; and that, as a reward for that concession, the Pashalik of Egypt should be declared hereditary in the family of Mahomet Ali. Lord Palmerston urged that this arrangement would be satisfactory to the Sultan; and, if all the great Powers united to procure it, Mahomet Ali would be forced to comply. Austria would consent; France might be brought to consent, in order to stop the advance of Russia; and Russia herself could hardly refuse to countenance a scheme so much in accordance with her professions of friendship for the Sultan. Nevertheless, Russia would not abandon her right to independent action, secured to her by the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi; and, if any Christian Power was to be called in to fight the battles of the Sultan, she (Russia) would take care to be that Power. It had been proposed to send Austrian troops to Syria, but Russia would not listen to it. We had a great deal of talk on this important subject, and I did my utmost to second Lord Palmerston's views; indeed, I proposed to seize the Egyptian fleet, and send it to Malta, to be kept in deposit, in case Mahomet Ali resisted the combined Powers. This suggestion was opposed as too nearly resembling the Indian practice; but I persevered in defending it, as the safest and easiest way of accomplishing our object, and I added that the continued encroachments of Mahomet Ali on the shores of the Persian Gulf rendered a collision between him and ourselves almost inevitable, unless, indeed, we had made up our minds to allow him to become master of Bussorah, and perhaps of Baghdad. It was finally agreed that Palmerston should make the above proposal to France, Austria, and Russia; and that orders should be sent to our Admiral in the Mediterranean to be in readiness to sail, in conjunction with the French fleet, to the coast of Syria.' (Vol. iii. pp. 375, 376.)

Although the measures eventually adopted were taken in 1840 at the suggestion of Baron Brunnow, who had been sent to London for the purpose, and were vehemently resented by France on the ground of their Russian character, there is no doubt that Lord Palmerston's policy was dictated mainly by a desire to counteract Russian influence. The following passage is very remarkable:—

'Lord Palmerston confessed that recent events seemed to have been all contrived by Russia, so completely did they promote all her views

of aggrandisement, and even made the possession of Constantinople at no distant period inevitable. At the same time Palmerston added that if France stood to her engagements with us, he had hopes of putting off that catastrophe for some time. In regard to Austria, Palmerston added, Prince Metternich had repeatedly said, "If you will manage France, I will manage Russia." This was well to say; but, in the mean time, Russia intrigued against us in every direction, and, if foiled in one quarter, succeeded in another. We had had a letter from Mr. R., an agent of ours in America, stating that the Russian consul was employed in getting together a force to invade Canada!! I asked Lord Palmerston whether he believed this. He said, "he did, and that no immorality was too bad for the Russian Cabinet."' (Vol. iv. pp. 417, 418.)

Yet within twelve months he was supposed to be acting in conjunction with that Cabinet and in opposition to France.

As early as 1838, it appears from Lord Palmerston's correspondence with Sir Henry Bulwer, which is now published in the second volume of the life of that statesman (p. 281), that he had conceived the idea that the only mode of getting rid of the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, which placed Turkey in strict dependence on Russia, was 'to merge it in some general com-'pact of the same nature.' This is what was accomplished by the Convention and operations of 1840, and this has continued to be, down to the present time, the fundamental principle of British policy in the East. Lord Palmerston's first intention was to act in strict conjunction with France, if France would act with him. On the 19th July, 1839, he wrote to Lord Granville:—'Soult is a jewel. Nothing can be more 'satisfactory than his course with regard to us, and the union 'of France and England upon these Turkish matters will em-'bolden Metternich and save Europe.' Unfortunately the subsequent hesitation of the French Government gave a totally different character to the affair, and Lord Palmerston carried his point, not with the aid of France, but in opposition to her.

It was in September 1839 that the proposals of Russia, transmitted through Baron Brunnow, to take vigorous measures against Mahomet Ali, and to leave the defence of the Bosphorus to the Russian fleet, were first brought before the British Cabinet. Lord Palmerston strongly supported these proposals, and intimated to his colleagues that he wished to withdraw from the French alliance, and was prepared to act without France and in conjunction with Russia. The change, as may be seen from the date of the last extract, was a sudden one. Hobhouse energetically supported the views of Lord Palmerston throughout these transactions; and there was this to be said for them, that if we held back out of deference to

France, the Emperor of Russia was prepared to act without the concurrence of either Power. Hobhouse himself maintained that the real way to prevent Ibrahim Pasha from marching to Constantinople was to attack Alexandria. But 'this advice was reckoned too bold by every body *except* '*Palmerston.*'

The difficulty was however staved off for some months, and it was not until June 1840 that Lord Palmerston informed his colleagues that 'the Turco-Egyptian question had arrived at a 'point that required immediate decision.' There was a considerable difference of opinion in the Ministry on the subject of acting without France. Lord Holland protested most strenuously against it, especially after a memorandum had been read detailing the measures to be taken, which memorandum was from Baron Brunnow's pen; Lord Clarendon agreed with Lord Holland. But on the 15th of July, 1840, the Convention was signed. It is needless to dwell here on its rapid and brilliant success. The boasted military power of Mahomet Ali and his son collapsed in a few weeks. St. Jean d'Acre was taken after a short bombardment and the explosion of a magazine. And before November, the cause which had brought France to the brink of a war with Europe had ceased to exist. But on the other hand, the French alliance with this country, as far at least as Lord Palmerston was concerned in it, had received a fatal blow; the temporary alliance of England with the Emperor Nicholas was a strange inconsistency, and the precarious throne of King Louis Philippe received a shock from which it never entirely recovered. These were the reasons which induced Lord Holland, Lord Clarendon, Mr. Ellice, and many others to think that no amount of success in the East in conjunction with Russia was worth what it cost to the Western alliance.

To render this inconsistency still more striking Russia was at this very time intriguing in Central Asia, instigating the Shah of Persia to attack Herat, pursuing her own expeditions to Khiva, and adopting a policy which had led us to cross the frontier of Afghanistan. On the 6th of February, 1840, Baron Brunnow told Sir John Hobhouse that 'the 'Cossack and the Sepoy might meet on the banks of the Oxus.' To which the British Minister replied that 'nothing was more 'likely, and that if Lord Auckland had any reason to appre-'hend that the Khans of Khoolum and Koondooz and the 'King of Bokhara would be hostile, he would inevitably send 'a force across the Hindoo Coosh." The Baron was startled at this, and said it was a much more important circumstance

than the Turco-Egyptian question. This very sharp style of diplomatic conversation was going on between the two Governments with reference to Asia at the very time when the Turco-Egyptian Convention of the 15th of July was concluded. The successful advance into Afghanistan took place while Hobhouse was at the Indian Board. The subsequent reverses were borne and retrieved by his successors.

In the spring of 1841 it became apparent that the Cabinet would not long retain office :—

'The next day I dined at Lord John Russell's; it was a Cabinet dinner, and our principal talk was of our tottering condition. After Cabinet business, Lord Melbourne, Lord Duncannon, Lord Palmerston, and myself, stayed with Russell, to talk over our election prospects and the probability of Sir Robert Peel consenting to some party motion, in order to turn us out. Russell said that he had no doubt Peel was disinclined to this, but would be driven to it before long. Melbourne agreed with him, and told us the common rumour was that the Duke of Buckingham had been trying to induce Peel to take that step, but that Peel was unwilling, and recommended his friends to wait until we had decidedly lost our small majority. Some people affirmed that we had lost it already; but our Stanley told me that we were still nine or ten ahead of our opponents.' (Vol. v. p. 242.)

Undismayed, however, by their own Parliamentary weakness, by the menacing aspect of foreign affairs, by the prospect of hostilities in China consequent on the Elliot Convention, and by actual warfare beyond the Indus, the Government of Lord Melbourne took the strong resolution to present to the House of Commons a Budget based on the principles of Free Trade, and to attack the critical question of the Corn Laws by proposing a fixed duty in place of the sliding scale. These measures did not save the Cabinet, but they shaped the future policy of the country; and although rejected at the moment, they triumphed at no distant period, even over the pledges of their opponents.

The main question for Ministers at that time was whether, having presented these important measures to Parliament with a certainty that they could not carry them in the existing House of Commons, they ought or ought not to dissolve it. Macaulay was at first strongly opposed to dissolution, but he was weary of office, and even of his seat. Lord Morpeth was against it. Lord Lansdowne rather against it; Lord Melbourne and Lord John Russell undecided; Labouchere, Lord Duncannon, Lord Palmerston and Hobhouse in favour of it. So was the Chancellor. Lord Melbourne muttered that 'he 'did not like to advise the Crown to take a course in opposi-'tion to Lords and Commons, unless he was sure of a fair

'majority in the next Parliament.' To this it was replied that 'important measures having been proposed, it was just and 'right to take the opinion of the constituencies upon them.' In May the final decision was taken.

'At last, Lord Melbourne, saying "we were as fit to decide on the question as we ever should be," took a pen in hand, and asked our opinions *seriatim*:—First, Baring, who said "dissolve;" then Hobhouse, "dissolve." Lord Normanby said he should not oppose the general sense of his colleagues, but had given his opinion "merely to express his dissent and dislike of dissolution." The Lord Chancellor spoke shortly, but very strongly, in favour of dissolution, and said that, "if he had been at the Cabinet which agreed to the Budget, he would never have been a party to the proposed measures, unless he had been assured that, in case Parliament refused to adopt them, an appeal would be made to the constituencies." Lord John Russell spoke shortly, but very decidedly, in favour of dissolution; saying that "it had been called a leap in the dark; now I, for one, am prepared to take that leap." Lord Morpeth said that he was a very impartial adviser, for he had been much against dissolution; but the accounts he had received, both from Yorkshire and Ireland, had convinced him that we should be justified in making the appeal to the people. Labouchere said that, "on the whole, he was for dissolution." Lord Minto gave a hesitating consent for dissolution. Palmerston made a short but decided speech in favour of it. Clarendon said that "we should betray our party, desert our principles, and disappoint the country, if we did not dissolve." Macaulay confessed that he was a convert, and should vote for dissolution. Lord Duncannon said "dissolve." Lord Lansdowne said "we were clearly not doing anything unconstitutional in advising a dissolution." He confessed that, at first, "he saw clearly that we should not gain by it; but that now he began to doubt as to the result, that was something; he should therefore, although with much dislike of it, vote for dissolution." Our master, the Prime Minister, now delivered his sentiments. He spoke slowly, and with great earnestness. The substance of what he said was that "he had, from the first, expressed his strong disinclination to dissolve. He disliked an appeal to the people when their passions were raised on any subject; but, more especially on such a subject as food. He added, that no terms could express his horror, his detestation, his absolute loathing, of the attempt to enlist religious feelings against the Corn-laws. He thought these laws ought to be altered; but deliberately, and not under excitement. He added that he was quite convinced that the appeal would not turn out favourably for us. Nevertheless, finding that the party wished for a dissolution, and that the majority of his colleagues wished for it, he should not oppose his opinions to theirs, and would advise the Queen accordingly." He said this with much, and serious, expression of feeling, and almost in tears.' (Vol. v. pp. 293, 294.)

Before, however, the resolution on the sugar duties could be

put to the House, Sir Robert Peel gave notice of a direct motion of want of confidence in the Ministers, which was carried on the 5th of June by one vote—312 to 311. This virtually ended the contest, and, for the time, the official life of Sir John Hobhouse; for although a dissolution followed, the Administration was under sentence of death, and in the new Parliament they found themselves in a minority of ninety, and 'this long agony ended at last.'

We must here take our leave of these interesting volumes; for at the time of his death Lord Broughton had not carried on his reminiscences beyond 1842, and this is the appropriate termination of them. He lived, indeed, to enjoy an active, social, and honoured life for nearly twenty-seven years after the termination of the Melbourne Administration. He returned to his former office at the India Board under Lord John Russell, and he continued to fill that post from July 1846 to February 1852—a further term of office of nearly six years. In 1851 he was raised to the Peerage under the title of Lord Broughton de Gyfford, and his life was prolonged in a good old age, to the 3rd of June 1869, when he died. Time had somewhat mellowed the political opinions of the Westminster Reformer of 1818; and it was observed by his colleagues on their return to office in 1846, that he had become one of the most conservative members of the Cabinet. He was, for example, the last to make up his mind to the repeal of the Navigation Laws. But time and age never effaced the strong lines of his character—his chivalrous sense of honour, his unflinching courage in action, his keen relish for wit, and his vigour of language. Amongst a generation of statesmen, he held his place with spirit and consistency; and though he laid no claim to talents of the first order either in oratory or administrative ability, he was certainly inferior to none of his colleagues in patriotism, in firmness, and in a genuine love of freedom.

ART. II.—1. *A Description of the Autotype Facsimiles of the Frescoes by Michael Angelo Buonarroti, in the Sistine Chapel, Rome.* By C. BRUCE ALLEN. London: 1870.

2. *Wonders of European Art.* By LOUIS VIARDOT. Illustrated with Sixteen Reproductions by the Woodbury Permanent Process. London: 1870.

3. *On Photozincography and the Photographic Processes employed at the Ordnance Survey Office, Southampton.* By Captain A. DE C. SCOTT, R.E., under the direction of Colonel Sir HENRY JAMES, R.E., F.R.S. London: 1862.

4. *Art Pictorial and Industrial.* Illustrated by the Heliotype Process. London: 1870.

5. *Micro-Photography.* By T. HIGGINS, Esq. Liverpool.

ANY real scientific discovery, however barren in practical bearing it may appear at the moment, is certain, in the long run, to lead to many other inventions, and to set in motion other appliances, which heretofore only seemed to be awaiting the new influence. The machinery, so to speak, rests idle for the want of some cog or spring to complete its action. Among the more recent examples of a latent want, the supply of which has given a start to many a new art, and has revolutionised others, may be considered Photography. The instantaneous draughtsman, ever ready, working with absolute truth both by night and day (for by the addition of highly sensitive paper the aid of the sun can now be dispensed with), catches and registers the scientific data of the astronomer and the meteorologist, seizes the wonders, and renders patent to the eye the hidden world opened up to us by the photo-microscopist; and where there is excess of light which blinds the human eye, Sol paints himself with his own beam, with lineaments so accurate from day to day, that the scientific watcher is only now beginning to discover the changes that are taking place in the great luminary.

When Fox Talbot and Daguerre simultaneously discovered the power of the pencil of light to paint an image on a tablet as quickly as it flashes upon the retina of the eye, great were the predictions of the part the new discovery would play in the field of science and art; but the wildest anticipations have already been surpassed in less than forty years since the original discovery, and every day is adding to the number of the wonders it is opening before us. It is our purpose in this paper to sketch with a light hand the many valuable arts and

the curious appliances which this beautiful discovery has suggested to the scientific worker, the artist, and the manufacturer. So rapid are the changes, and so great from day to day are the improvements, that we can only treat it as a progressive art, capable of almost unlimited extension.

The most important adaptation of photography is, as might be expected, to the pictorial and printing arts. But it was very speedily discovered by Mr. Fox Talbot that beautiful as were the productions of the camera, the original photograph contained within itself the elements of its own destruction. The instability of the metallic salts of which it is composed, is only too sure, sooner or later, to lead to its gradually fading away; and many of us who possess portraits of those we fondly cherish, have experienced with regret this gradual progress of an evitable decay. In an article by the editor of the 'British 'Journal of Photography,' in the 'Popular Science Review,' the reason of this unfortunate instability in the new art is thus alluded to:—

'The blacks of photographic prints on ordinary unsized paper consist of silver. To aid in the proper fixing of a photograph, or destroying its future sensitiveness to light, hyposulphate of soda in solution is employed. The action of this salt on the silver in the pores of the paper is of an extremely complex nature, and long washing is requisite to secure its removal. If not thoroughly removed, an action continues to be exerted which ultimately results in the destruction of the picture, the blacks of which are converted into a sulphide of silver. But the sulphurous gases with which the atmosphere is impregnated, joined with the complex effects produced by the albumen (with which photographic paper is usually prepared), acting on the silver in a manner not yet clearly understood, exert a destructive influence on photography. The introduction of gold-toning has mitigated this evil to a considerable extent; but an inspection of some recent pictorial productions of photographers of reputation suffices to show that it still exists, notwithstanding the known care taken by them to obviate it.'

It may easily be conceived that Mr. Fox Talbot was fully alive to this shortcoming in his great invention, and as long ago as 1852, was anxious to find some means by which permanence could be given to sun-pictures. In casting about to find some means by which engraved plates could be taken directly from the photographic negative, his attention was directed to a discovery made by Mr. Mongo Ponton a short time before, apparently by accident—that bicromate of potash became darker in colour when exposed to the light; the photogenic quality of this salt at once struck his acute mind as the means of solving the problem. After many experiments he found that bicromatised gelatine or gum upon exposure to light

became insoluble in water, and that a plate could be prepared with this material, from which all those parts debarred from the light might be dissolved away. This discovery was the germ of numerous allied processes which have revolutionised the engraver's art, and which cannot fail to have a most important effect upon the illustrations of our literature, and indeed upon pictorial art generally, inasmuch as we need no longer depend upon line engraving, woodcutting, or lithography, nature herself reproducing her own drawings at a cost infinitely less than we have hitherto paid for inferior productions of the human hand.

Among the numerous patents that have been taken out of late years for utilising by this means the sunbeam as an engraver, we name as practically established the different processes known as Autotype, Woodburytype, and Heliotype. We wish to refer to these three processes first as the only ones capable of giving, with commercial success, copies of photographs, pictures, and drawings whose delicacy of *half-tone* in a graduated tint is their chief beauty, and this cannot be produced with equal success by line engraving, lithography, or mezzotinto.

The process of relief-printing or Woodburytype, which we shall describe, as it is only known to the initiated and the trade, is a very curious art, totally unlike any method of engraving or copying previously known. As we have said before, the process is based upon the photographic qualities of the bicromate of potash, which, when mixed with a certain proportion of gelatine, dissolves away when placed in hot water in exact proportion to the amount of light that has been permitted to penetrate to it, through a glass photographic negative. Let us suppose some of this prepared dark brown gelatine poured upon a plate of glass so as to form a film; this film being dried in a dark room, is now placed under a glass negative and exposed to light. After an exposure of an hour, the prepared film upon which the picture is invisibly copied, is placed in hot water face upwards, and then it will be seen that all the gelatine upon which the light has not acted dissolves away, and the picture comes out in relief, the elevations or raised parts being in proportion to the penetrating power of the light through the negative. This raised picture in gelatine is then dried by a gentle heat. These gelatine film pictures keep for any length of time, and may be laid by in the portfolio with impunity. Of course these films are not suitable to be printed from, as they would render impressions in masses of black and white, without gra-

dations of colour or half-tones. The picture is now in cameo, whereas it is required to be in intaglio. In order to reverse the plate in this desired manner, when the process was first established, Mr. Woodbury thought to accomplish it by an electrotype deposit of copper. This, although a perfectly successful method, was found to be too tedious, and the method now employed is the most singular part of the process. Every boy knows that he can fire a tallow-candle through an inch deal-board; the scientific man also knows that by the process of 'nature printing,' as it is termed, the softest details of a leaf, even the down on the thistle, can by hydraulic pressure be impressed upon a metal plate so that it can be printed from. Our knowledge of this extraordinary quality of a soft material to impress a harder one, may take away from the astonishment that otherwise would be felt by the statement that the gelatine mould hardened by crome alum, when placed in an hydraulic press, in contact with a plate composed of type metal and lead, impresses a most perfect reverse of itself upon the plate. The amount of hydraulic pressure depends of course on the size of the plate, extending from 50 to 200 tons on the square inch. It might be imagined that the gelatine would be flattened by such enormous force, but this is not so; on the contrary, it will allow five or six impressions on metal to be taken without losing any of its sharpness, and as each operation does not take more than a minute, no time is lost in the operation. From these metal 'jelly moulds' the object represented is printed in the following manner:—A portion of gelatine tinted usually of a dark colour, or with any permanent pigment, is placed in a liquid state in the centre of the intaglio mould of the picture, which is then placed in a press made like a shallow box with a hinged lid; a thick plate of glass at the bottom, and a similar one on the top, are perfectly adjusted so as to bring their two planes to a true level. A sheet of paper is then laid upon the mould, the lid is folded down, and the pool of gelatine ink is squeezed into the mould, the superfluity escaping over the edges of the paper. Nearly a minute is allowed to let the gelatine ink set; when this is done, the lid is raised and the picture is found fixed to the paper in relief, in fact like a jelly just turned out of a mould. But this projection only remains for a short time, the picture as it dries shrinking flat to the paper. The lights and shades are given by the amount of colouring matter in the gelatine; where there have been high projections, of course there has been most colour entangled, representing deep shadows; where the film has been slight or in little colour, half-tones are

represented; and where the pressure has squeezed away all the coloured gelatine, there are white lights. A wash of crome alum is added to fix the image and prevent its washing off in warm water, which it would otherwise do. The delicacy of pictures rendered from the photograph is most marvellous; it would be impossible to surpass the delicacy and beauty of the half-tones, or to approach nearer to the clear softness of the photograph of which it is a perfect facsimile. Of course any colour may be given to the gelatine vehicle; the fugitive colours, however, such as the aniline dyes are inadmissible, as they are themselves liable to fade, and thus the very object of the process would be defeated, as they would be as perishable as the photograph, which the relief process is intended to preserve.

Already some excellent specimens of its work have issued from the press, among which we may mention 'Viardot's 'Wonders of European Art,' which contain sixteen impressions by this process, with eleven woodcuts, and the contrast between the two is sufficiently striking to even the uninitiated in art. 'Crossing the Stream' by Claude, gives the golden haze of the Italian distance with a delicacy which is perfectly unapproachable by any system of engraving, whilst the shadows possess a depth which leaves nothing to be desired. Again, the copy of Vandyck's noble portrait in the Louvre of Charles I. habited in Cavalier costume, is an exquisite example of its power to render the tenderest details and the most powerful shadows with wonderful effect. The ink used, or rather we should say the pigment, is of a very warm dark chocolate tint and of a flowing character, which gives a rich glow to all the shadows, contrasting powerfully with the harsh blacks of the woodcuts in the same volume. The small expense at which these delicate copies can be made, will, we fancy, give the process a great advantage in the illustration of books. The only drawback, as far as we can see to its being applied to cheap literature, is the necessity to mount the prints upon card, or other stiff paper, their borders being destroyed by the nature of the process, which, as we have before stated, spills all the superfluous ink over the margin, consequently trimming and mounting are necessary. Unless this difficulty is overcome, we fear the process will be confined to the more expensive class of works. At the present moment the size of the prints produced is limited by the size of the hydraulic press, which is comparatively small, but we understand this size is about to be increased.

The action of light is necessary to produce the chemical effect

upon the bicromatised gelatine, but efforts are being made to accomplish this by artificial means. The company working this process have been employing a powerful electric apparatus, worked by a gas engine, which gives a speed of 400 revolutions a minute to a revolving armature, which rotates inside a number of permanent magnets, and yields a light of great intensity. It is far, however, from being a substitute for the solar ray, inasmuch as, whilst a good impression from an ordinary negative is produced by the former in ten minutes, the electric light requires three hours to yield the same result. But this is an advance upon the lime-light, which necessitated an exposure of even double this time. In the dark winter weather, when the sun is sometimes hidden for weeks, there can be no doubt the electric light will find constant employment. In nightwork, again, it will be ready, thus affording employment upon works which otherwise would be delayed for want of daylight. Already several works have been illustrated by the Woodburytype process, and are familiar in our drawing-rooms; the pictures are easily mistaken for photographs, and are far more delicate and effective than the best steel engravings, at a cost almost nominal; a good-sized picture being reproduced at less than a farthing a copy. After a long struggle with many difficulties, this method of reproducing the most delicate drawings, photographs, &c., may be considered a commercial success, and we cannot doubt that it will have a material effect upon the engraver's art, which with some limitations, to be mentioned hereafter, it must in course of time greatly supersede.

The Autotype process, the longest established and the best known of the different arts which have within these few years come before the public as a consequence of the want of permanency in silver prints, is the only one which can be worked by the amateur photographer, inasmuch as the whole apparatus consists of hot and cold water baths, a sheet of bicromatised and transfer paper, which may be procured from the patentees. The method of manipulation is simple enough in action, but rather too complicated to describe well, which will be the less necessary as the patentees invite the public to see the practical working of their process every Wednesday at their establishment in Rathbone Place. It will be sufficient to state that bicromate is the chemical agent in this, as in all the allied processes, by which the most literal transcripts are obtained, not only of the most delicate silver prints, but of the artist's own work, his touch, the spirit of his brush being rendered in monocrome in the most unerring manner. We need

not say that however eminent the engraver may be, this literal translation is beyond his art. Indeed, the very eminence of an engraver is built upon a certain method of rendering effects which is peculiar to himself, and although his labours may be excellent as works of art, yet it interposes a mannerism between the artist and the public. The advantage of the Autotype, in common with the Woodburytype and Heliotype, is that it places the original picture at once before us, with the very method of the artist's touch, thus adding an immense charm and sense of truthfulness to the copy. Amid the splendid gallery of autotypes to be seen in the establishment of the Company at Rathbone Place, the great works of Michael Angelo in the Sistine Chapel are the most powerful examples. We will venture to say that before these magnificent transcripts were produced, the works of this mighty master were entirely unknown to the public, and indeed, to artists themselves. The darkness of the chapel, the progress of age, and, as some say, the fumes of the incense, have so subdued the colour that even the outlines of some of the upper figures, and especially those in the spandrils of the windows, are not discernible from the floor, as most visitors to the chapel must, to their regret, have discovered. This very disadvantage has proved most favourable to the autotype copies which have been successfully taken of them in monocrome—a kind of bistre, very like the tint to which the originals are reduced by the causes we have mentioned. The artist has only to compare these precious works of art with the best line engravings of the same subject to convince him how superior they are to the latter. The grand sweep of the brush of this giant in art is placed before us, the figures seem to live as they do on the walls of the building where there is light enough for the spectator to see them. The photographic negatives from which they are reproduced were taken by the aid of the lime-light, without the aid of which it would have been impossible to copy them. Another beautiful reproduction by this process is Turner's 'Liber Studiorum.' These sketches were painted by Turner in sepia, hence its reproduction was accomplished with facility, and with the exception of a little flatness in some of the drawings, it may be said to be a perfect fac-simile of this great artist's work. This great text-book for draughtsmen, hitherto a closed book to the public, may now be purchased at a reasonable cost. Another very charming work, the illustrations to Her Majesty's 'Tour in the Highlands,' by Adam, are rendered with a freshness and vigour the engraver could not approach.

It is needless to say that any drawing in chalk, Indian ink, or any monocrome in fact, can be matched to the exact shade. Thus the artist does not lose by the translation of his work into another tone of colour. Red chalk drawings are reproduced with admirable effect. The attempt to copy in ordinary oil-colour, however, presents certain difficulties, which have not yet been overcome, and possibly never will until the art of producing colours by the camera on a photographic plate is accomplished. As it is, in the initial stage, the silver print copy, certain colours, as we all know, do not respond well. Thus blue and the aniline tones come out white, whilst yellow and red print black. Thus the lights and shades of a picture painted in these colours would photograph with the balance of light entirely altered. But there are many low-toned pictures which take very well. As a rule French pictures photograph admirably. A subdued tone is the fashion of the French school, and we may note that the canvas upon which those artists work, instead of being a yellowish-white like ours, is of a pale stone-colour. This ground, we are informed, after a time shows through and gives a prevailing grey tone, which is very favourable for taking photographic copies. In the showroom of the Autotype Company there are two copies of well-known pictures—'The Arrest of Hampden when about to em-'bark for America,' by Lucy, and 'The Princess Elizabeth 'hearing Mass,' by Marcus Stone. We do not remember the balance of light in these pictures, but in the autotype copies it is admirable; but this effect has not been produced by the simple process of copying. The method is either for the artist to make an Indian-ink drawing of his picture for reproduction by this process, or if the details are too elaborate, the picture is photographed and the proof is sent to the painter, who corrects any faults as to arrangement of light caused by the photographic transfer, either with his chalk or brush, and from this corrected copy the prints are reproduced. The negatives when thrown out of balance from the reason before mentioned are retouched, and a large number of artists are employed in this kind of work. Landscapes from nature require to be corrected in the negative, and the vast number of photos from popular pictures are reproduced by what may be termed this appreciative and intelligent method of translation, which can only be effected by a certain artistic skill.

The facility the autotype process offers to artists to enable them to give the public transcripts of their works cannot be looked upon as the least advantage of the discovery. The ordinary process of line engraving is denied to all but the

highest class pictures; no one but a great capitalist will undertake such works. The expense is enormous, and the time consumed in their accomplishment renders the chance of their being finished in the lifetime of the artist very problematical. Raphael Morghen occupied six years in engraving the 'Trans-'figuration;' Doo was twelve years at work in engraving the 'Raising of Lazarus,' and it was not finished when it passed out of the veteran engraver's hands. It is true we have no longer such great works as these demanding the labours of the engraver; but the genius we still have in the artistic world cannot fail to benefit by these newly discovered rapid means of reproducing their works. In a week after a picture has left the painter's easel, a proof impression is presented to him for correction.

But in a very large number of cases these corrections are not needed. We all know how many charming photographs, both of figures and landscapes, meet our eye in the shop windows. We feel quite sure that the majority of these have received no correction in the course of being printed, as they could not otherwise be sold so cheap. When we say that literal copies of all these, in almost any tone desired, can be given by the Autotype Company, and by the other processes we have mentioned, it will be seen how vast is the work they will be called upon to accomplish. The galleries of the Continent have already been reproduced by M. Braun, of Dornach, who holds the autotype patents for France and Belgium; and the rarest pictures of Vienna, the Louvre, and the galleries of Florence and Venice, can be procured at the establishment of the company at a price which is merely nominal as compared with line engravings, to which in some cases they are superior. The Autotype process, as far as we can see, is the best adapted of any of the allied methods for the production of the larger works of art. From this field the Woodburytype method is excluded by the comparatively small size of the hydraulic press used, and the Heliotype method by the size of the Albion press by which its impressions are rolled off, neither of which could take the impressions as large as four feet by three, which the Autotype has just accomplished. But it must be remembered that the Autotype process is a comparatively dear method of production. Every print is accomplished by hand work, and it is not capable of reproducing with great rapidity, by mechanical means, like the other methods. For this reason it will be confined to the higher class of works, for which the comparative cost will be a minor consideration.

We have yet another process to refer to, which appears to

be equally successful with the Woodburytype; and which, indeed, in the one particular of cheapness, surpasses it. We allude to Heliotype, a system somewhat similar to the Albertype, but far more speedy, the patent for which has been taken out by Messrs. Edward and Kidd, whose works at Willesden we had the pleasure of inspecting. Mr. Ernest Edwards, whose name has long been well known in the photographic world as the inventor of this method, has the advantage of bringing it before the public in a very high class pictorial and industrial serial, called 'Art,' in which illustrations of the new process are given monthly. The beauty of some of these has attracted the artistic world, for whilst they retain all the delicacy of the photograph, they yet suggest a difference which puzzles the spectator.

From an article in the October number of that journal we quote the following particulars as to the principles and practice of the process:—

'The principle upon which Heliotype is based is analogous to that of lithography, but is much more comprehensive, and admits of results, of which lithography is quite incapable. The possibility of producing a printing surface in some degree analogous to a lithographic stone, by means of photography, is based upon the well-known action of light in rendering gelatine and similar bodies, under certain circumstances, insoluble. When bicromate of potash, or a similar salt, of cromic acid, is added to gelatine, no change takes place if the mixture is kept in the dark; the gelatine retains its capacity to absorb cold water, or to be dissolved in hot. But if a layer of this chromatised gelatine be dried and subjected to the action of light, it gradually loses its capacity to absorb water, becomes finally hard, repellant of water, and insoluble. . . . . The Heliotype, as we have said, is in its method of working analogous in many respects to a lithograph. It is produced on the same principle, and in a closely similar manner, depending for its possibility on the production of a surface which will repel the adhesion of a fatty ink in every part in which it has absorbed water, and the faculty of rendering that surface absorbent of water in every part but that containing the image to be printed. But there is this noteworthy difference between lithography and Heliotype: the lithographic stone absorbs water in every part of its surface whereon an image in lithographic ink has not been previously produced; but it has no graduated capacity of absorption. The slightest touch of a fatty body, even a finger-mark, will cause the stone to repel water and take ink; where any greasy touch has been, wherever the faintest line of the image exists, it repels water completely and takes ink; where the stone is clean, and no part of the image is, it absorbs water completely and rejects ink. The picture must therefore consist of touches of black and white, and any gradation therein must, as we have explained, depend on lines or points, and not on varying depths of colour in a continuous tint. The printing surface in the Heliotype process has an important superiority over the lithographic

stone; it possesses what may be termed a discriminative power of absorption. This discriminative power in the surface is produced by the action of light upon passing through a photographic negative, the lights and shadows in which regulate the amount of light transmitted. The printing surface, after such exposure, has acquired the power to absorb water in the exact proportion in which it has been protected from the action of light; it also takes ink in the exact ratio that it has, in consequence of the action of light, acquired the power to repel water. Hence the mechanically printed image, in a fatty ink, is as true a transcript of the negative as the silver image printed by light from the same negative. Thus all the truth, and all the facility of delineation which belongs to photography, derived from nature, all the literal faithfulness and precision in rendering, not merely forms, but the spirit, expression, and manner of the original, in producing works of art, which characterise photography, are preserved by Heliotype, with the superadded charm of permanency, and the advantage of a rapid and unlimited production.'

The practical details of the process are as follows:—

'A plate of glass about half an inch thick, more or less, is coated with a warm solution of gelatine, to which a suitable proportion of bicromate of potash has been added, together with a little crome alum to give it hardness. A measured proportion of this preparation is poured on the plate, so that when dry it will form a film about the thickness of a visiting card. This operation, and the drying the plate, are effected by what is technically called the dark room—a room from which all atonic light is excluded. When the film is dry, it is exposed to light under a photographic negative, the time of exposure being estimated by means of the actinometer. The next step is to place the plate in cold water, for the purpose of dissolving out all the unchanged bicromate of potash. After soaking for a short time, the image produced by the action of light on the film is seen in relief, the portion protected from light by the opaque parts of the negative, representing the whites in the picture, readily absorb water, and swell; the portion to which light has had full access, through the most transparent part of the negative, representing the blacks, have been hardened by the light and rendered insoluble and nonabsorbent, whilst all the portions partially acted upon by light, through the graduated degrees of transpareney in the negative, representing the graduations from light to dark in the image, have been rendered insoluble and nonabsorbent just in the degree to which they have been subjected to the action of light. The plate, after being thoroughly washed in cold water, to remove all the bicromate of potash, without dissolving any portion of the gelatine, is ready for printing.'

The impression is printed off in an ordinary Albion press. When a print is required, the gelatine printing surface is sponged with water, and after the superfluous moisture is removed with the 'squeegee,' an indian-rubber roller charged with lithographic ink is rolled over the surface. The ink ad-

heres to the deep shadows, which being hard and non-absorbent refuse the water, whilst on the parts representing the gradations of tone, the ink adheres in such degree as they have rejected water, producing a perfect transcript of the original image. The advantage the Heliotype process possesses over the Woodburytype method, is that as it yields in the press clear white margins, the prints can be bound at once with type; whereas the Woodburytype pictures have smeared margins, and must be mounted, which takes time and trouble; moreover, the thick mounts make the book cockle.

Heliotypy is fitted for all kinds of work, and does not require special negatives, as the picture is not reversed in printing. The pictures can be printed in any colour, and indeed, the patentee makes a point even in ordinary prints of giving two rollings to the plate, one for the dark shadows in ordinary black ink, and another in a gelatinized ink, for the tender tones; and the effect is very good. The impressions in 'Art' by this process are very beautiful. The portraits of Vandyck and Rembrandt in recent numbers are admirable examples of its power of rendering with perfect literalness the vigour and depth of the original paintings, while the rendering of Mount St. Michael, Normandy, is a faultless specimen of rendering this grand seaview. This specimen of work we saw in the library of the printkeeper in the British Museum, and we have reason to believe that the keeper himself looks upon this specimen as a very worthy result of the new art. Heliography promises to give to literature what has been so long desired, printed transcripts of photographs at a cheap rate. The method of working and the cost of production is so small, that it bids fair to invade all the cheaper forms of literature, and to reproduce for us drawings from nature, in place of inferior wood engravings and lithographs.

Let us now pay a well-deserved compliment to one department of a Government office, for not only not lagging behind, but of actually contributing a most valuable process to the arts. Sir Henry James, the Director of Ordnance and Topographical Surveys, has done the nation good service by the discovery and application of the art of photography to one of the most useful works the Government is carrying out. The reader may not probably be aware of the gigantic labour of making a picture of the United Kingdom—of mapping, with rigid accuracy, the whole surface of these islands, so that any man may put his pen's point upon his own plot of ground. This second Doomsday Book, in picture instead of in print, was commenced on the scale of one inch to

a mile in the last century, the first sheet being issued on the first day of January 1800, and the last sheet was not completed until January 1870. In the sixty-nine years that elapsed between these two issues, it may be imagined that the changes were enormous, especially in the neighbourhood of large towns, where the land has either been built over or largely divided. Consequently the early sheets are in many cases quite useless. Had not Sir Henry James come to our aid, the expensive process of re-engraving the steel plates would again have to be undergone. Luckily the rapid powers of photography came just in time to save the nation not only the delay, but the enormous expense of employing the graving tool. Photography is of course, as in all the other processes already described, the transferring draughtsman, and every map or picture can be reduced or enlarged at the will of the operator. In a few words it may be stated that the drawings or plans are transferred to a zinc plate covered with gelatine and bicromate of potash. All the gelatine that has been exposed to light is washed away, and the image is ready to be printed from. By this method a gigantic survey of London is just upon the eve of completion, on the scale of five feet to a mile. When we consider the size of the Metropolis, it will scarcely be necessary to state that the plan as a whole will take a considerable amount of locomotion to inspect it. Not only Middlesex and Surrey, but the whole of Ireland, the towns of Scotland, and all the cultivated ground, is completed on the same scale, and the whole country is now being gradually mapped out in like proportion. The whole of this work is carried on by the Ordnance Staff, the out-door work by the officers of the Royal Engineers and the men of the Sappers and Miners. Geological maps on a large scale have also been produced, and plans of all our great strongholds and citadels throughout the world; indeed, almost any information desired by the War Office as regards military appliances can now be furnished by this able and working department of the public service.

It was at first doubted that the reductions made by means of photography were strictly accurate, and in 1858 Sir Denham Norreys stated in Parliament that the plans so reduced were not to be depended upon. Whereupon a committee was appointed, of which Sir Roderick Murchison was chairman, 'to 'report upon their accuracy as compared with plans reduced 'by the old process, and upon the saving effected by the pho-'tographic process.' The result was that 'the committee stated 'that the greatest deviation in any part of the plan from

'perfect accuracy does not amount to one four-hundredth part 'of an inch in the angle of the rectangle, and even this minute 'error is not cumulative,' and that the saving already effected has been 1,615*l.* per annum, and is now more than 2,000*l.* a year.

Photozincography is by far the cheapest method of copying when simple black and white has to be rendered, and its applicability to the production of old deeds and printed matter has been proved by works already accomplished. The two volumes of Doomsday Book, at one time sealed volumes to the public, are now copied with perfect accuracy, and anyone may now for a small sum purchase a topographical description of his land at the time of the Conquest. Many volumes of the National Manuscripts of England and Scotland, Magna Charta, the whole of the Black Letter Prayer Book of 1638, with marginal MSS. additions and corrections, are also produced in absolute facsimile. The wonderful help photography has rendered to the public in these reproductions is as yet scarcely known, but our unfortunate neighbours across the Channel have already severely felt its influence; for in all probability the facility with which the Prussians overran France, and the fate of many of their successful battles, were due to their marvellous topographical knowledge, which mainly depended upon the maps possessed by them of the country. Some years ago Count Moltke, having heard of Sir Henry James's process, sent over officers from Berlin to learn it, and the maps with which the Prussian soldiers have been so liberally supplied in the campaign were produced by photozincography. Thus the new agent may have been one of the minor causes of the conquest of France. Nearly every country in Europe has sent agents to England to be instructed in the working of this process. It is but rarely, we fancy, that foreign Powers are constrained to take a lesson from our War Office administration, but this is a notable exception. The same process was employed with complete success by Mr. Ayling in the magnificent reproduction of the portraits of the Emperor Charles V. executed for Sir William Stirling Maxwell.*

All the processes founded upon drawings from photographic negatives, although admirable for special objects, are yet wanting in the one quality necessary to fit them for the popular press. Illustrations that can be set up with type, and worked with it at the steam press, are the *desideratum*. An attempt to meet this want is made, and we hear is now sometimes

* See the account of this work, Ed. Rev. vol. cxxxii. p. 70.

employed, by taking the photographic drawing directly upon the wood; thus the more discriminative work is left to the wood engraver, who has the additional labour thrown upon him of translating the drawing with its continuous tints and shades, by means of lines, which are not marked as heretofore, but are left to his judgment and skill.

The application of photography to the microscope has at once opened up to us a whole world of wonders. By means of the lime-light, the momentary glimpses we obtain of the hidden wonders of nature are now fixed by the agency of photography, and the land of Brobdignag is brought before us. As we turn over the pages of micro-photographs, by Mr. Higgins, it seems as if we were for the first time made acquainted with the countless living things around us. Nearly all that the unaided human eye knows of them is, that they have motion —with the larger eye of the microscope, however, it is made clear to us that the despised atoms we brush away with disgust possess delicacies of structure and an elaborate anatomy more complex and wonderful than those patent to the eye in the larger animals. Gulliver in his wonderland never saw the antennæ of a cockchafer as big as a lady's fan, the eye of a blow-fly as big as a cheese-plate, or the lancet and tongue of a corn-fly six inches long. It is quite clear that our intimate knowledge of entomology and of the Diatomaceæ is only just beginning, by means of these registered conquests of the pencil of light, painting with microscopic vision. We may say the same thing, indeed, of the whole invisible world of nature, as heretofore microscopic anatomy and structure could only be imperfectly rendered by the fatigued eye of the artist disabled by long gazing through a powerful lens. The skill of man has now mechanically enlarged the focus of the human eye by thousands of diameters, and with equal facility he has minified its powers and fixed its images in durable pigments upon paper. Indeed, this power of enlarging and minifying photographic images at will is likely to prove of great value to the arts and sciences. During the terrible drama that has lately been played at Paris, we have had an example in the minified messages which have enabled a carrier pigeon to convey, by the aid of microscopic photography, upwards of 35,000 messages and despatches in the space of three inches rolled in a quill fixed to the middle feather of the tail, into the beleaguered city. We have now before us the first sheet of the 'Times' so minified, containing, if we may so speak, the drops of agony of France shed in the page, in the shape of frantic inquiries and messages to unhappy friends and relatives in the clutches

of the enemy. From the pages of that journal of the 30th of January, headed, 'How the "Times" was sent to Paris,' we extract a paragraph full of interest and suggestive of a system which may serve more than even the pressing purposes of the present hour:—

'Attempts to establish a rapid connexion between the beleaguered inhabitants of Paris and their relatives and friends beyond the German lines, have given rise to many controversies which are not unlikely to make a new era in the history both of aeronauts and photography. Among them may be mentioned the ingenious device by which the matter of two whole pages of the "Times" has been transmitted from London to Paris. This has been accomplished by photography. Those pages of the paper which contained communications to relatives in Paris were photographed with great care by the London Stereoscopic and Photographic Company, on pieces of thin and almost transparent paper about an inch-and-a-half in length by an inch in width. On these impressions there could be seen by the naked eye only two legible words, "The Times," and six narrow brown bands, representing the six columns of the printed matter forming a page of the newspaper. Under the microscope, however, the brown spaces become legible, and every line of the newspaper is found to be distinctly copied and with the greatest clearness. These photographs were sent to Bordeaux, thence by carrier-pigeon to Paris. When received there, they were magnified by the aid of the magic lantern to a large size, and thrown upon a screen. A staff of clerks immediately transcribed the messages, and sent them off to the places indicated by the advertisers. The success of the experiment gives rise to the hope that the new art of compression will not stop here. If a page of the "Times" can be compressed into a space a little larger than that occupied by a postage stamp, the matter of an octavo volume might be made to cover not more than two of its own pages, and a library could be reduced to the dimensions of the smallest prayer-book. What a relief it would be to the learned persons who frequent the library of the British Museum, if instead of having to make fatiguing journeys from letter A to letter B of the ponderous catalogue of books, they had its many hundred volumes reduced to a space a yard square over which a microscope could hurriedly be passed. Such suggestions are now occupying the thoughts of photographers.'

Without giving any opinion as to the 'relief it would be' to the readers of the British Museum to hurriedly peer out the information they require with a powerful magnifying glass, there can be no doubt that the art of photo-microscopic compression has a great field before it, and will be of great value to the sciences as well as to literature.

Scarcely a week had elapsed after the armistice was granted before the shop-windows were full of the photographic sketches of the effects of the war. The Photographic and Stereoscopic Company immediately took advantage of the interval of peace

to send its artists to the neighbourhoods of the great battles, and into the midst of the besieged and destroyed towns, in order to bring home to the public the horrible proofs of the ravages of war. What a grim comment it is upon our boasted Christianity that it should be possible to give a picture of the 'only house left in Bazeilles,' and how strongly the terrible downfall of Napoleon and his dynasty is brought home to us by the photograph of the country cottage, with the two chairs in which the Emperor and Bismarck sat to sign the capitulation of Sedan and the downfall of the Empire. The numerous stereoscopic pictures this company have produced of the seat of war illustrate it in a manner the last generation had no idea of. Professor Pepper, by the aid of the magic lantern, at the Polytechnic, manages to give them lifelike size and colour, and we gaze upon the battered ruins blasted by fire thrown upon a large screen with a vivid reality that almost makes one shudder.

Astronomers have for some time past been in the habit of using photographic apparatus to delineate the heavenly bodies, and Mr. Warren de la Rue's pictures of the moon and sun are well known. The eclipses of the sun in 1867 and 1870 were taken advantage of to record the red prominences and the wonderful streamers which travel from its periphery in rays for hundreds of thousands of miles into space. The pictures of the sun so photographed show that the spots upon the luminary are hourly changing their position and shape and the places of their outbreak. So constant are the changes in the heavenly bodies that the human hand is not quick enough to follow them; hence the instantaneous records of the photograph ensures an accuracy hitherto unattainable. An ever-watchful sentinel, it works night and day in our national observatories, recording by constant action the movement of the mercury in both the barometer and the thermometer, and by the aid of magnets marking the flowing curves of terrestrial magnetism, which are indelibly indicated by lines on paper drums, moving by clockwork, and so arranged by regular marks that the time of any record can be fixed to the moment.

With equal impartiality photography seems to be giving its powerful aid to medicine and its allied sciences. Dr. Sanderson, in a paper on the influence of the heart examined by the movements of respiration on the circulation of the blood, gives a plan of registering the rapidity and volume of the human pulse, by means of the pulse-motion, which is made to record itself by a series of zigzag lines upon sensitised paper.

This may be considered rather a curious than a useful application of photography, but it is scarcely necessary to say that its aid is of the greatest value to the physiologist, the physician, and surgeon. The numerous changes made in the aspect of wounds can find a faithful record by no other means, and the splendid collection in the possession of the Royal Medico-Chirurgical Society is a testimony to the value placed by the profession upon this method of illustrating their science.

The power of the sun's pencil in giving minute and subtle indications of expression in the human face has made it a valuable teaching power in psychological medicine. The power of words to explain certain types of insanity is feeble as compared with the whole aspect of the patient and the expression of his face—these the photograph can give with unerring certainty. Dr. Conolly illustrated a valuable series of papers on the varieties of insanity by photographs of the different types, taken by Dr. Diamond from his asylum, and as an aid to diagnosis they are truly valuable.

It has been suggested that, before it is too late, the art should be made subservient to recording the types of the various races of men that are slowly disappearing as civilisation advances. This would be a worthy occupation for the Ethnological Society. Dr. Livingstone, we know, received instructions in the art, and we may hope that he will bring us home portraits of the strange tribes he has been made acquainted with during his long sojourn in the interior of Africa.

Dr. Forbes Watson has made us acquainted with some of the leading types of India, but how little do we know of the infinite varieties that exist in that vast country, and in Asia generally. The physical aspect of man is a subject photography alone is capable of correctly illustrating.

With respect to the influence of the evil passions upon the physiognomy, we have some record in the portraits of criminal prisoners. The governors of the criminal prisons furnish copies of these to the head station in Scotland Yard, and a villanous gallery of faces as a rule it presents. There is a photographic apparatus at the chief police station at Scotland Yard, and it was used some years since for the purpose of taking criminals, especially during the Fenian excitement, but it has not been used since; indeed, there is no legal warranty for taking a prisoner's likeness, and in more than one case where this portraiture has been attempted, it has been successfully resisted. Photographs are often a most valuable aid in discovering 'persons wanted,' but they are nearly always furnished by other persons to the police.

A very singular case of a thief who was 'hoist with his 'own petard' occurred some little time since, at the West End. A ticket-of-leave man, whose time had expired, called upon a photographer in the High Street, Kensington, and managed, whilst in the waiting-room, to pick open a desk and steal five pounds in gold and silver. He remained for some time, and on the photographer going to him to ascertain his business, he said he had an order for some card portraits, and he wished to be shown specimens, which was done. The photographer, unaware of his loss, as a reward for his trouble, expressed a wish to take his portrait so that he might present him with several copies. The prisoner was not at all anxious to submit to the process, and it was thought that the likeness was worthless; as luck would have it, it turned out a particularly good one. The loss of money was discovered, the photo was handed over to the police, and by its aid the thief was discovered and apprehended by an officer a few weeks after in Bunhill Row.

The law has obtained, through its instrumentality, a witness to fact which it is difficult to gainsay. There is no cross-questioning such evidence. In cases of boiler explosion and accidents to machinery, and even the damage done to vessels by collisions at sea, the silent evidence of the sun-picture is sufficient to settle many a disputed point, and not long since a lawsuit, in which Earl Spencer was one of the litigants, was decided by a photograph of a public road and a garden wall, which settled a point of disputed boundary.

But the most extraordinary piece of legal evidence we have yet heard of occurred some time since in Australia. A gentleman named Black went with a surveyor to examine into the particulars of a certain mine claim, when he was suddenly seized by some roughs supposed to be in the pay of the other side, stripped, smeared with tar, and for want of feathers was ornamented with straw, wool, and other rubbish. When he managed to escape from his perseeutors, instead of retiring to get rid of his horrid encumbrance, he determined to take a note of it at once, and forthwith proceeded to a photographer, where his likeness was taken in this extraordinary costume, and with this evidence upon him he proceeded to his lawyer, and laid his damages at 2,000 dollars, which he ought to have obtained, if he did not.

The War Office has taken advantage of the new agent to obtain pictures of all the modern battle-fields, and especially of the strategic positions and of the fortifications. We are rich in records of this nature, both of the Crimean war and of the

Abyssinian expedition. The power of highly sensitive paper in giving pictures of explosion is of great use to the Corps of Engineers. The height and the breadth of torpedo explosions are thus made patent to the eye, the powers of projectiles as shown by the impact of shot in armour-plates are also graphically rendered by the light-picture. It is the practice now to photograph all patterns of stores supplied to this department.

If, in conclusion, we refer to the aid photography will be to art itself, we shall not have mentioned one of its least claims upon public favour. Those who have visited the annual exhibition of the Photographic Society in Conduit Street cannot fail to have marked the instruction the artist may obtain from these moments of nature arrested and fixed by the silver print. The grand seaviews by Colonel Stuart Wortley, in which not only the clear naked wave is painted by the pencil of light as it is rolling over, but the very drifting mist-like spray upon its crest as it dashes upon a rock. Who can estimate the value of such momentary records of details of nature to the artist,—movements that would otherwise fade from his memory? How dignified even the commonest photograph is made by the delicacy of light and shade it presents. Every head has the power of a Vandyck or a Titian. Its teaching power in this respect is undeniable. Year by year the familiarity of the public with the works of this splendid draughtsman will make the acceptance of slovenly drawing impossible. In the art of design the facilities of the sun-picture cannot fail to be appreciated and taken advantage of. Mrs. Cameron, in some of her poetical groups, and her fine examples of form, has taught us its power of fixing grace upon the canvas, and the varying forms of human expression. The same flash of light which registers the drifting foam can seize the emotion of the human soul as depicted upon the countenance. Far be it from us to say that the gifted artist should work from such reflections as these instead of going direct to nature, but their supplementary aid cannot be undervalued. They will not take the place of the poetical eye and skilled pencil, but they will afford excellent records of needful details and of fugitive expressions, to be stowed away for future use. The public knows nothing of the folios of sketches the artist keeps by him. These are the bricks, so to speak, out of which the finished picture is built up. Much of this work the photograph will do for him, leaving his mind free for the higher art of conception and design. And it would seem that there is good prospect of colour being added to these pictures of light, the sun's ray repeating the colour from nature. The editor of the 'British Journal of Photo-

'graphy' asserts 'that there is not the least shadow of doubt' of the fact, he 'having seen, handled, and produced them.' The colours, he says, are 'not brilliant, but they are decided 'enough to be recognisable by any person not colour blind.' The recipes for producing these heliocromes are given in the journal. If these confessedly imperfect colours can be rendered brighter by further study and more appropriate chemical agents, photography will indeed be a splendid art, not only for the service it renders to mankind in the different manners we have shown, but in itself, as rendering absolute transcripts of Nature in her own magnificent dress.

ART. III.—*Quæstio de diversâ Iliadis et Odysseæ Ætate.* A BERNARDO THIERSCH. [Appendix to his Essay on the Age and Country of Homer.] Halberstadt: 1832.*

PROCLUS, in his 'Life of Homer,' as edited from the manuscript in the Escurial, says, speaking of the subject of his biography:—'He wrote two poems, the Iliad and 'the Odyssey; Xeno and Hellanicus deprive him of them; 'the ancients, on the contrary, impute to him as much as the 'Cycle;'—that is, all the poetry treating of the whole round of subjects and incidents, real and fabulous, in Grecian history from the origin of the world to the sack of Troy. The statement is hyperbolical in both cases. The ancients—Proclus meaning Homer's oldest critics, Theagenes of Rhegium, Stesimbrotus of Thasos, Metrodorus of Lampsacus, and others mentioned by Aristotle, Plato, Xenophon, and Diogenes Laertius—did not attribute to Homer all the poetry of the Epic Cycle, and the Chorizontes would not have taken from him the authorship of the Iliad. When Homer became apotheosized, the Greeks, in their unbounded admiration, ascribed to their god of poetry every good poem the authorship of which was unknown or doubtful, as the Phœnicians credited Sanchoniatho with every history of which they knew not the writer. Homer

* We have prefixed the title of this Essay to the following article because it conveys a description of the subject we are about to treat, and it is cited by Mr. Grote as the best discussion of it. But it will be seen that we hold it to be far from complete, and that we altogether differ from the conclusion of Professor Thiersch, which is that the Iliad and Odyssey are works of the same age but not of the same author. The word Chorizontes merely means Separatists, from χωρίζω to separate, to divide, because they separated the authorship of the two poems.

with his countrymen had then strength enough and shoulders broad enough to bear any burden; he was the Hercules and Atlas of poetry. Still it is going beyond conceivable exaggeration to accumulate on his back the heap of epics that made up the Mythic and Trojan Cycles. The list is formidable enough with some of his Gnomæ, the Epithalamia, several Epigrams, still in our hands; thirty-three Hymns, yet extant, and the Batrachomyomachia; three similar mock heroic pieces, Arachnomachia, Geranomachia, and Psaromachia; the Margites, a humorous poem; another entitled Αἶξ Ἐπτάπεκτος, and the Cercopes, founded on the transformation of a set of jugglers into monkeys; the Iliad and the Odyssey, destined to be imperishable; and eleven other epics, whose adamant was not proof against the ceaselessly wearing flow of the stream of time: the Amazonia, Cyclus, Cypria, Epigoni, Eiresione, Phocæis, Nostoi, Epiciclides, Thebais, the Little Iliad, and the Capture of Œchalia. How the vast bulk of these multifarious poems gradually fell away from Homer's ownership it would be curious, though now impossible, to know. The history of the dropping away of one or two may be glanced at.

In the time of Herodotus Homer still passed as the author of the Cypria and Epigoni. The Father of History, applying a test of criticism to the Cypria, made a passing allusion to the account of the voyage of Paris to Troy from Sparta after the rape of Helen, differing in that poem from the account in the Iliad and the Odyssey; in the Iliad, Paris, taking a wide circuit, touches at Sidon, whence he carries off many of the King of Phœnicia's treasures, and makes a long voyage; in the Cypria, he sailed home direct and reached Troy in three days. From that passage alone Herodotus concluded the poem was not Homer's, and with the very greatest probability, as it was afterwards assigned to a Cyprian, Stasinus. The authorship of the Epigoni Herodotus questioned by a doubt intensely expressed—'If Homer, forsooth, by any possibility, composed that 'poem.' By the time of Zeno the Philosopher, who wrote a remarkable book about Homer (according to Dio Chrysostom), the works of the great poet were then shorn of those two poems, but included the Margites, which, on the principle of every feather to the right bird, was ultimately given to, no doubt its proper author, Pigres of Halicarnassus, howbeit that Aristotle, Plato, and Aristophanes lived and died under the impression that it was a genuine production of Homer's. When the Alexandrian grammarians commenced their labours, the only two epics for which Homer stood accountable were the Iliad and the Odyssey; these, as Mr. Grote rightly observes in his comprehensive

and recondite 'History of Greece,' 'throughout the whole 'course of Grecian antiquity were believed to have been the 'production of one poet,'—that poet being, of course, Homer. The critics termed Chorizontes, who flourished in the middle of the second century before the Christian era, were the first to point out that they could not be the work of the same author. Whether these Chorizontes were few or many is not recorded, but from the passage in Proclus it would really seem that Xeno and Hellanicus, hitherto believed to be merely their Coryphæi, were the only two.

Of Xeno nothing is known, except that he chose Alexandria as the place of his residence, and filled a brilliant position in its celebrated school of critics. More is known of his collaborator. Hellanicus was the teacher of an Homeric commentator, famous in his day, Ptolemæus Epithetes, himself having been a pupil of Agathocles, and Agathocles of Xenodotus. He was thus, perhaps, a contemporary of that grammarian of unprecedented reputation, whose name in Horace's 'Art of 'Poetry' is the antonomasia of a critic,—Aristarchus. Hellanicus flourished in or about the hundred and fifty-sixth Olympiad. His characteristic distinction was superfluous acuteness, as one or two of his corrections to Homer sufficiently show (Il. v. 269; xv. 651; xix. 90). Xeno's superflux of subtlety was almost on a par with the exuberant sharpness of his brother Chorizon.

These two shrewd men were the chief, if not the only Alexandrian grammarians who, by illustrations and otherwise, argued that the Iliad and the Odyssey belonged to different ages and were the works of different authors. The inconsistencies they pointed out appear, from the specimens preserved, to have been principally in composition, language, domestic economy, food, history, and mythology. They called attention to epanalepsis being rather frequent in the Iliad, but so rare in the Odyssey that it occurs but once; thus showing that the author of the latter poem evidently considered the use of the rhetorical figure, Repetition, a blemish, which Homer thought a beauty. Such variety of taste will always mark two writers. Then of itself this goes a great way in proving the different sources of the two poems. Προπάροιθε in the Odyssey, the Chorizontes said, is used as a designation of time, and in the Iliad of place. The unity-believing Greek scholiasts, to prove the contrary, quoted verses from the Iliad which do not indisputably bear out their point. Nor did it escape the Chorizontes that only in the Odyssey εὐτέλη λεξιδία are used, by which Heyne understands 'mean words;' though, from the

remarks of the Greek scholiasts, it would seem that the phrase means 'articles used in the management of a family.' Be that as it may, the Chorizontes, in their examples of what they call *ἐντέλη λεξιδία*, hit upon a class of articles in domestic economy mentioned only in the Odyssey—*χοῖνιξ*, a measure for corn, and *λυχνός*, an oil-lamp, while those who would have refuted them instanced the use in the Iliad of *ὄλμος*, thus referring to a corresponding article of domestic economy, if the word meant, as they deemed, a 'mortar' or 'cylinder,' though it does not, for neither the mortar nor the cylinder seems to have been known in Homer's time, *ὄλμος* being simply 'a 'round stone,' which, in the absence of the invention of the proper instruments, was used for pounding groats, beans, corn, or other substances.

Erroneous as the Greek critics of the Christian era, the German critic, Grauert, imagined he had successfully refuted another statement of the Chorizontes, that only the heroes in the Odyssey eat fish, by triumphantly referring to the passage where Homer speaks of men glutting themselves on 'oysters.' Had such an attempt at refutation proceeded from a member of the middle class in Bonn, we should not have been at all surprised, because in Bonn as in London the middle class speak of shell 'fish' shops where lobsters, crabs, and 'oysters' are disposed of at a reasonable percentage for ready cash; but we are really astonished when it comes from a learned doctor, who ought to have known that molluscs are not fish, any more than are whales, dolphins, or seals, and who ought to have given credit to the Chorizontes for having mastered the contents of the fourth book of Aristotle's History of Animals, and, above all, for having fully remembered the passage in the Iliad, when they themselves explained that the 'oysters' of which Patroclus there speaks were a species of testaceous animals in the sea with continuous shells, as snails and tortoises among testacea on land. The Chorizontes, on the subject of food, might have stated that in the Odyssey people eat not only fish, but game or poultry (xii. 330), and sausages (xviii. 117), which is not the case in the Iliad.

A different statement with regard to an historical matter did not evade the quicksightedness of the Chorizontes,—Neleus in the Odyssey having three sons and in the Iliad twelve. Here again, in reference to the family of Neleus, they might have added that Nestor in the Odyssey has six sons (counting Antilochus as one) and several daughters, and in the Iliad only two sons and no daughter. From Homer's expression, to 'avenge the 'violence offered to Helen and her sighs,' they concluded that the

poet regarded Helen as carried away by force with a sorrowing soul to Troy, whereas the author of the Odyssey, following the tradition, which had sprung up after Homer's time, insinuating that Helen was carried off with her inclination, looks on the frail Spartan lady quitting husband, home, and child of her own free will, to elope, with a heart as bounding as the Ægean, across that sea to the shores of Asia, with the handsome young profligate son of King Priam. The author of the Odyssey, the Chorizontes further said, confers the epithet 'City-sacking' only on Ulysses; and that is, certainly, contrary to the usage of Homer, who applies it with equal indifference to Achilles and Ulysses, to the god and goddess of war, Mars and Bellona, and to the two heroes Otrynteus and Oileus. What the Chorizontes said of Venus having one husband in one poem and another in the other, the number of towns in Crete, and the different messengers of the gods in the two poems, will be dwelt on hereafter.

These very few specimens of the, no doubt, numerous objections which the ancient Chorizontes raised in attempting to prove their point, have been preserved in the Scholia given to the world in 1788 by Villoison, when he published the valuable codex on which he lighted in St. Mark's Library, Venice, with (not to be disrespectful to the memory of so distinguished and learned a man), the feeling, if not the exclamation, of Dominie Sampson, 'Prodigious!' so great was his admitted wonder in discovering the manuscript, on account of its antiquity, which dates back to the tenth century, and especially the rarity and copiousness of its notes, which were unknown even to Eustathius. The inconsistencies in the Iliad and the Odyssey, herein pointed out by the Chorizontes, are evidently only those which the Greek scholiasts thought they could answer, and which they did answer with satisfaction to themselves, as may be seen by referring to their notes. Modern upholders of the common authorship have sneered at the inconsistencies as slight. Well, they are not very important; still they are so unnatural, they could not have been committed by a sane man.

Independently of these points of difference enumerated by the ancient Chorizontes, modern writers have added others. Payne Knight, reviving the doctrine in his Prolegomena, dwelt on discrepancies between events in the two poems which he deemed incapable of explanation; and Nitzsch defended the theory on the ground that the theology is holier and purer in the Odyssey than in the Iliad. Payne Knight, in his eagerness to carry his point, was led into so many errors from enthusiasm

that, after the publication of his essay, the ancient creed remained unassailable; and Nitzsch, so far from convincing others, could not carry persuasion to his own mind by believing in the conclusiveness of his own arguments, for, some time after the appearance of his dissertation, he returned into the ranks of the upholders of the common authorship. Müller, who considers it 'difficult and hazardous to raise any definite conclusion as to the person and age' of Homer, grants in his 'History of the Literature of Ancient Greece,' that in the Iliad and the Odyssey 'many differences are apparent in the character and manners both of men and gods, as well as in the management of the language.' Welcker admits the differences of age and of authorship between the two poems. Thiersch makes partly the same admission. Ihne can see no reason why the Odyssey should not be dissociated from the Iliad, except the desire of scholars to maintain an interest in the later poem by ascribing it to Homer.

But the separation of the Odyssey from the Iliad is too simple a theory to be a favourite with German professors. The Teutonic mind, filled with suppositions and conjectures, revels in the creation of paradoxes, most captivating it when most presumptuous, but radically defective in principle and incapable of proof one way or the other, as that the Iliad was the work of many poets, whose scattered fragments were collected into a compact form in a subsequent age by a poet of more than ordinary ability. This, which is Wolf's system, it may be broadly stated, is universally rejected by the scholars of England, Holland, France, and Italy, though some learned doctor in Germany every now and then springs up with an enormity of erudition, absolutely terrifying, to maintain the Wolfian doctrine, or advance a pet extravagance of his own, as Schubart, that Homer was a Trojan; attractive certainly from the novelty of the notion and the ingenuity exhibited, but repulsive, to any but a native of Fatherland, from the mistiness of the style and argument. Schubart, however, notwithstanding that he claims Homer as 'a gentle, cultivated Trojan,' and not 'a ferocious, barbarous Greek,' is no separatist, acknowledging himself a believer in the Father of Poetry having written the thoroughly Greek Odyssey, as well as the semi-Greek, semi-Trojan Iliad.

Scepticism finds its congenial home in Germany; but the art of examining a question which is believed to hang in uncertainty was best known and cultivated in Greece. From that land Scepticism received its name, of which it is unworthy unless attended by a 'careful looking about' and 'guarding against'.

error. When we observe in the Hypotyposes of Sextus Empiricus, where the soul of Pyrrho still breathes, that Greek scepticism can traverse the sciences, contravene even mathematics, we should be cautious before we reject its opposition when it deals with poetry. There it stands upon the firmest principles. Greek scepticism, besides, never indulged in fantastical ideas; to study it is, therefore, no waste of time, and it brings no fatigue to the mind because it never wanders in a wrong direction nor deviates into an unnecessary variety of topics. Modern sceptics may promulgate unheeded their whimsical fancies respecting Homer; one ingenious hypothesis alone should engage our attention—that of the ancient Chorizontes. True, the belief in the common authorship of the two poems has been uniform for ages; it was so in ancient times among the Greeks; it is so, for the most part, with us. But how many a brilliant genius in Greece may have passed into the silence of the grave suspecting the general belief regarding the poems ascribed to Homer, when Pausanias left on record how exceedingly timid he was on the subject—how, after carefully examining the age of Homer, he feared too much the calumnies of his contemporaries to declare what conclusion he had arrived at. We require no more to be convinced that Pausanias, after his laborious scrutiny, was inclined to a new tenet contrary to the received opinion, but preferred silence and supposed adherence to old notions than ridicule for what might be considered paradoxical eccentricity. If so with him, why not with others? And how many Pausaniases may there not be among the bright lights still shining in the galaxy preserved to us of Greek genius?

For awhile, then, we will take up the Chorizontic principle; and, in surveying again the ancient theory, attempt to throw some new light on the famous scepticism, the conducting and details of which, except the few unimportant particulars given, are unfortunately lost. It may be that the time will never come now when Homer's admirers, classical and poetical, will exclaim, with regard to this principle,—'*in hoc acquiescimus* '*omnes*;' yet, notwithstanding the credence that may be withheld from the theory of the Chorizontes, the fundamental pillar of their system can never be shaken, because the text of the poems, so far from being annihilative, is greatly in support of their hypothesis.

As no mention is made of the 'poetry of Homer' before the date of Lycurgus, so it is not until nearly three hundred years had elapsed after the date assigned to Lycurgus that we again hear anything more of 'Homer.' Then something is told

us of 'Homer' being rescued from the injuries of time and restored to himself. This was in Athens in the days of Solon. We then hear for the first time of 'Homer's' works being divided into two poems. From this we conjecture that in the days of Lycurgus there was in existence in Lacedæmon a poem of 'Homer's' which was no other than the Iliad, and that in the days of Solon there were in existence in Athens two poems, which were the Odyssey and the Iliad. If it be granted that this conjecture is plausible, we will go a step further in forming another opinion without proof, and say that the Odyssey was not in existence until a very considerable time after the Iliad, from no authentic mention being made of it until nearly three hundred years after authentic mention was made of the Iliad. If this concession be granted, it is in consonance with what we shall now endeavour to prove, and what the internal evidence of the two poems themselves demonstrates, that something like a hundred and fifty, two hundred or more, years elapsed between their composition.

Having thus, in the absence of perfect knowledge, arrived at a specious conjecture that generations, perhaps centuries, had elapsed between the writing of the Iliad and the Odyssey, we prepare ourselves, in the first place, for a change of language, because in a progressive country such as Greece, it is impossible that there should not have been some change in the language after so long a period, when language will sometimes undergo a great change even in the life of an individual, as in that of Queen Elizabeth. If such a change could take place in three quarters of a century, in, admittedly, an exceptional period, and in a country, it is true, particularly progressive, a similar change must have taken place in two hundred years or so, in any country marked by progress whatever.

Now, as to language, we find words in the Odyssey that we do not find in the Iliad; words, too, as acknowledged by the latest editor of the former poem, not casually used, nor out-of-the-way words, but evidently familiar in everyday style, implying distinctness of vernacular and of vulgar matter. Independently of such words, there are others pointing to a more advanced civilisation than obtained at the time of the siege of Troy, such as *περιμηχανόεσθαι*, 'to lay stratagem on 'all sides,'—an evident allusion to the entire investment of a place,—and *ἀλετρίς*, 'a grinder of corn in a mill,' applied to a woman, when it is certain that in the Iliad the only domestic duties of the women were spinning with the spindle, sewing clothes, and fetching water from the spring, and not grinding corn as we see female servants doing in the Odyssey, in the

palace of Alcinous and in the house of Ulysses. A further improvement in language is evident from the author of the Odyssey using the abbreviation *ἐξῆς*, where Homer uses *ἑξείης*. Payne Knight in his Prolegomena gives several instances of words of four syllables in the Iliad contracted into trisyllables in the Odyssey, trisyllables into dissyllables, and dissyllables into monosyllables. It is a common argument, however, against the unity that contractions are more frequent in the Odyssey; and it is altogether unnecessary to call the classical reader's attention to the fact that this by itself is all but conclusive of the Odyssey not having been written until long after the Iliad. It exhibits an improvement in the language which could not have been in force until the lapse of generations after Homer's existence, it being only gradually as ages progressed that the Greek language, imbibing, as it were, a new tincture, acquired greater and greater delicacy from contraction, till it subsequently attained perfection in the Attic dialect, which, in its fondness for abbreviation, contracted nouns, circumflexed verbs, united syllables in the same word, and joined different words by synæresis, crasis, and elision.

Occasionally a word is found in the Odyssey which has not the archaic signification it had at the time when the older poem was written. This is also very remarkable. Homer uses certain words in a sense which the author of the Odyssey will not follow. The latter poet employs the words in their established acceptation, as the Greek language was written in its purity; we thereby arrive at the natural conclusion that Homer occasionally used words which did not express the precise meaning which by the time of the author of the Odyssey had come to be affixed to them by good usage. Certain verbs, nouns, and adjectives might be mentioned which with Homer have two meanings, while the author of the Odyssey understands them only in one, and that their common acceptation.

The two poets differing in these particulars, differ again as to the use of the digamma. In the Iliad there are certain words, exactly thirty-five in number, in which the application of the digamma is fluctuating and arbitrary. Still there are some words which are always digammated in the Iliad, with which the author of the Odyssey is at variance; and *ἦθος*, which never has the digamma in the Iliad, has it in the Odyssey (xiv. 411).

There is a slight difference in syntactical construction. This may be instanced in the case of the preposition *εἴσω*, which is always constructed in the Iliad with the accusative, or the genitive by the ellipse of the accusative. The author of the

Odyssey, in common with the more modern epic poets, Apollonius Rhodius, Oppian, Nonnus, and Quintus Smyrnæus, joins this preposition without any ellipse with the genitive (viii. 290), and there are instances in his poem where εἴσω occurs absolutely, which never happens in the Iliad. Again, the author of the Odyssey has a peculiarity of sometimes placing ὥστε at the commencement of a sentence unconnectedly, when it becomes the equivalent of the interjection by way of surprise, 'How!' or 'What!' This he does at least four times (i. 227, iv. 45, vi. 122, vii. 84), and, had the Alexandrian grammarian, Nicanor, who is supposed to have pointed the Homeric poems, given us the proper punctuation, a fifth time (iii. 247). In such a position, and with such a meaning, that adverb is nowhere to be found in the Iliad. So, on the other hand, Homer uses ἐκ in the sense of 'on account of' (Il. ix. 562) and 'on' (xix. 375), neither of which is the language of the author of the Odyssey, though Herodotus (ii. 129) follows Homer in the former signification of the preposition, and Thucydides (vi. 32) in the latter.

When we thus find that there are differences in language, in a more modern application of words, the use of the digamma and syntactical construction, we await still graver distinctions.

As in England, in the days of Elizabeth, there was not only a change in the language, but in the style of houses when the mansion began to take the place of the castle, and in the decorations of the mansion when tapestry was superseded by exquisite oak and chestnut carvings, so we look for the alterations that had taken place in the structure of houses and in their furniture in the long interval that elapsed between the writing of the Iliad and the Odyssey; and we find, as we expect, that there were many and marked changes.

From sundry passages in the Iliad we are enabled to form, if not an exact, a tolerable idea of the structure and accommodation of houses in Homer's time. A δόμος, king's whole residence—what we now-a-days call 'palace'—seems to have consisted of a set of dwellings simply built and made of masonry. The whole was surrounded by a wall, ἕρκος, which must have been circular in form, from the poet applying the word to the wall of a garden or vineyard, ἕρκος ἀλοάων; and to the teeth in a man's head, ἕρκος ὀδόντων. In this outer or circular wall was a gate with folding doors large enough to admit the passage of a chariot and horses. Inside the wall was an enclosure, αὐλή, open and exposed to the air, from the poet giving that name to a 'sheep-pen;' and, as the ancients offered sacrifices in the open air, from his making it the place of a sacrifice—αὐλῆς

ἐν χόρτῳ—where, with all deference to the scholiast, χόρτος does not mean 'a wall,' but 'a grass-plot.' In the centre of this grass-grown enclosure, and opposite the portal, stood the principal building occupied by the king, and entered beneath a portico built on pillars, so as to admit the rays of the sun in winter and the cool breezes of summer. If the king had a family of married sons and daughters, they occupied with their respective partners distinct dwellings in the enclosure. The sons and daughters-in-law lived to the eastward or front of the king's home, and the daughters and sons-in-law in the rear or west of it. These dwellings, used mainly as dormitories, and called θάλαμοι, were separate, close to one another, and each under its own roof, whence the poet styles them in the sixth book τέγεοι θάλαμοι. As in Priam's case there were fifty sons and twelve daughters, these sixty-two separate dwellings must have formed almost a circle round the royal residence, and presented a spectacle pretty similar to that which may be seen in the interior of Africa near the banks of the River Niger, with respect to the habitations of the wives of a native king, from each wife having a hut to herself in the immediate neighbourhood of the common husband's dwelling. The whole of this, which is very primitive, is not to be found in the Odyssey. There the palaces of kings, though far from being splendid, show an improvement in architecture. They were, certainly, still rude and simple, and fitted for the use of uncultured rustics only, their want of elegance and architectural skill plainly indicating that the Greeks had not yet borrowed anything of importance in the art of building from the Egyptians, the Phœnicians, or any other foreign nation. These palaces had neither floor nor pavement, and were strewed with sand, clay, or gravel; but they were furnished, as nowhere in the Iliad, with small windows or openings very high up to admit the daylight and let out the smoke, and were supported by double rows of wooden pillars around which were seats. From the word for 'door' being used in the Odyssey sometimes in the singular and sometimes in the plural, we infer that when that poem was written doors were made 'single' as well as 'double' or 'folding;' but from Homer always saying θυρAI, never θυρH, and, though using the plural, meaning a single portal, (as did not escape the notice of three ancient critics, Aristarchus, Aristonicus, and Herodian,) we conclude that in his day 'a door' had 'two' parts, which opened to yield entrance; in other words, 'folding doors' only were then used. Nor do we find in the Iliad, as in the Odyssey, that under the same roof with the principal apartment was another room to which there

was access by communication through a door; that here the king's guests passed the night, and that beyond it was an open portico; nor that behind the principal apartment were private rooms and dormitories for the king and queen, their ministers and attendants; that here the precious treasures were preserved and kept; that here too were the warm baths; that above them were other private rooms and dormitories, in which virgins, widows, and wives (in their husbands' absence) slept with their servants; and that outside the circular wall were buildings in which the night was passed by the inferior servants or slaves, called δρηστῆρες, of whom, by the way, no mention is made in the Iliad. In that poem the women had assigned to them the upper part of the house, immediately below the roof or terrace. In the Odyssey, if we are to judge from the movements of Arêtê, Helen, and Penelopê, in the respective palaces of Alcinous, Menelaus, and Ulysses, the women's apartments were on the same floor with the men's, and behind it, as we find Greek houses described in their times by Demosthenes, Lysias, Xenophon, and—if we are to suppose that he transferred the practice of his own time to the heroic ages—Sophocles in his Œdipus Tyrannus.

Here, then, is such a considerable difference in the structure of the house in the Odyssey from what it is in the Iliad, that it unquestionably points to a much later period of civilisation. So does the furniture of houses; passages in the fourth, seventh, and tenth books of the Odyssey indicating more, and no little, perfection in the art of ornamenting doors and the handles of doors, inlaying walls and floors with brass, and seats with gold, silver, and ivory, while the purple coverings and snow-white linen hangings of chairs are far more costly decorations than in the Iliad.

Although the manners at entertainments in the Odyssey are not so primitive as when Homer lived, they are not so ceremonious as when in after-ages a chief manager was appointed, and an attendant to observe that every man drank his proportion, hence styled by Horace 'arbiter bibendi.' There is, however, the attendant termed δαιτρός, who divides and distributes his portion to every guest: in Homer's times it is the master of the feast who carves and gives out the meat. While a cook in the Odyssey provides the various dishes, and supplies the guests according as they choose what pleases them best, Homer's heroes keep no cooks, but sometimes dress their own provisions and kill the animal themselves. The servants and comrades of these heroes, called θεράποντες—to whom the buccaneers' 'messmates' in the seventeenth century corresponded

in almost every respect—employed not only in civil and military affairs, but also in menial offices, perform such duties as blowing the fire, when the chieftain himself takes the principal part in preparing the entertainment.

In both the Iliad and the Odyssey the characters seek neither dainties nor rarities, but live on a simple diet, contenting themselves (in the Iliad entirely, in the Odyssey almost so), with the flesh of sheep, goats, swine, and oxen. Even the Phæacians in the Odyssey, who affect a more delicate way of living, feed neither on fish nor fowl, nor delicacies of any sort, but, as Homer's heroes, on meat, roast or boiled. Though the food of the actors in both poems is extremely simple, there appears to be a variety in diet in the Odyssey which could have been effected only by the slow progress of time. The Chorizontes, we have shown, pointed out that the heroes in the Odyssey sometimes eat fish, and we subjoined game or poultry. Again, the supper, which is the chief meal in the Iliad, has but one distinct part—a course of meat. There is reason to believe that in the author of the Odyssey's time there was a second course, which consisted of fruit of all kinds. If so, we do know that it was not until long after the siege of Troy that the Greeks introduced that second table, or course, which they technically phrased δευτέρη; just as it was not until a very long time after the author of the Odyssey could have lived that they became lavish and profuse in sweetmeats. There is never throughout the Iliad the slightest reference to fruit, excepting grapes, gathered at the Vintage described in the Shield of Achilles; but in the Odyssey the poet dwells with gusto in his description of the apples, grapes, pears, pomegranates, and other fruit in the garden of Alcinous; and equally so of the many fruit-bearing trees, figs, and olives in the orchard of Tantalus. The inference may be fairly drawn that, if there was all this excessive and careful cultivation of fruit by rich men in their orchards and gardens, the use of fruit must have obtained among the Greeks in the time of the author of the Odyssey, as in the more civilised ages, when, as Servius tells us in one of his notes to Virgil, there were two tables—one of meat, and the other of fruit.

In Homer every guest has a distinct table to himself, occasioned by the custom then in use of bringing in and taking away the table and the meat upon it together (xxiv. 476). When the author of the Odyssey lived, it had come to be accounted unsociable and uncivilised to eat by oneself (xv. 465). The table, too, instead of being round, as in the Iliad, was extended in length, that figure being agreeable to the manner o

the guests sitting in ranks. In the Iliad nothing is done to the table before the food is placed upon it (xi. 627). In the Odyssey the tables, though not yet covered with linen, are carefully cleansed with wet sponges (xx. 151).

The notion of drinking in the Odyssey suits with the ideas of a more modern politeness than prevailed in Homer's day. In accordance with less civilised manners, wine in the Iliad is drunk pure out of the same large cup, which the heroes pass to one another from right to left (ix. 203, 224). In the Odyssey wine is mixed with a portion of water in a capacious vessel, from which it is poured out into smaller cups and handed round to the guests by handsome youths with trimmed hair and in neat garments (xv. 328–30). In the Iliad men of the highest quality fill out wine.

The entertainment being over, in the Odyssey diversions follow which remind us more of the time of Socrates than of Homer; for, as in Xenophon's description of Socrates's entertainment, 'when the tables were taken away, a certain 'man of Syracuse brought in a skilful minstrel,' so in the Odyssey two celebrated singers, Phemius and Demodocus, are introduced at the close of the entertainment. In the ancient times when the Iliad was written there was no such diversion at men's entertainments as music. Neither was there dancing, as in the Odyssey, nor juggling, and whatever else beside could be thought of for the exciting of mirth and cheerfulness.

When, too, we see in the Odyssey the suitors of Penelope and the Phæacians keeping each other's company till the break of dawn, we are again reminded far more of the days of Socrates and his philosophical friends and jovial topers, who would stay together conversing and carousing till the morning approached, than of the stern heroical times of Achilles and his warlike companions, whose habit was, after the fatigue of the day's battle, to depart to rest before sunset.

From the description of music in the Iliad, the songs used in the time of Homer were of three kinds: first and principally, hymns wherein the actions of the gods and heroes were celebrated, as the Lays of the Heroes, sung to his lyre by Achilles (ix. 189), and the narrative of Meleager, related or chaunted by Phœnix (ix. 525–95); secondly, in celebration of nuptial rites, as the bridal song in the eighteenth book (493); and, lastly, of a pastoral character, as the Vintage Song, which the youthful rustic sings and plays upon the pipe to the dancing vintagers (xviii. 569–72). The object of music then was evidently to improve men's manners and appease the violence of their passions. But from the description of the instrumental

and vocal harmony at entertainments in the Odyssey, the object of music at that date was not to better manners and soothe the soul, but for the sake of mean and vulgar pleasure; the song of Demodocus being the soft and wanton tale of the loves of Mars and Venus. It is needless to observe that the first species of music is the product of primitive ages, when, harmony being accounted a part of divine worship, songs were hymns in praise either of gods or heroes, or of such solemn and religious ceremonies as marriage, or of such a feast as that of rejoicing at the produce of the vine for the year; and that the second species marks the transition period in Greek history, when music was, as the poet of the Odyssey himself has it, 'the 'associate of feasting,' 'in harmony with feasting,' 'the orna-'ment of feasting.' Sacred and solemn and pastoral music would be then less agreeable to men's ears than amorous themes of an amusing and lascivious character; and these again would in still more refined times become displaced by the light and cheerful pæans which men sang daily at their meals, as was the case in the days of Aristotle.

Another little fact which further strengthens the view taken is the following diversity in the celebration of religious rites. The Greeks and Trojans at the time of the siege of Troy believed that if they dispensed with any ceremony, however trifling, in a sacrifice or a hecatomb, a prayer or a libation, the gods would be exceedingly angry. Hence they were in the habit of referring the immediate cause of any heavy misfortune to a remissness of theirs in this respect. As a proof of this, witness the words of Achilles with respect to the plague in the camp in the first book (65), and the speech of Æneas with respect to the slaughter of the Trojans in the fifth (177–8). If more conclusive confirmation were needed, we have it in the words which Theocritus in his twenty-fifth idyll has put into the mouth of Hercules, who lived just before the Trojan war. Now, when the Odyssey was written, it was the custom for people to approach the gods in clean and freshly-washed garments (Od. iv. 750). But when the Iliad was written, the religious custom on such an occasion was merely to wash the hands (Il. vi. 266–7), or at most the cup (Il. xvi. 228 *seq.*). The fact is, that just as no such custom as that mentioned by the author of the Odyssey was in vogue when the Iliad was written, simply from no mention being made in that poem of persons wearing clean and freshly-washed garments when praying or offering sacrifices, or making libations or celebrating hecatombs, so no such custom as that mentioned by Homer was in vogue when the Odyssey was written, and again simply from no allusion

being made throughout that poem to the omission of any one of the numerous little forms in religious observances being considered highly impious. The whole of this points to a transition period in the use of sacrifices. In Homer's time they comprised the duty of men to the gods, and, performed or neglected, were alone effectual to the success or failure of enterprises; but, as ages progressed, they became gradually modified, till in the end they were altogether abolished; for we can hardly believe that unless, in the later period of Greek civilisation, the ancients had done away with the sacred rites and other mysteries in the national religion referred to by Homer and the author of the Odyssey, Lucian would, in his 'Discourse on 'Sacrifices,' have so mercilessly ridiculed them, when too his scathing sarcasm must have been peculiarly and generally offensive to the feelings of his countrymen.

Both in the times of Homer and the author of the Odyssey it was the custom to treat foreigners with respect and supply them with victuals and other necessaries. In Homer's time no inquiries were made of perfect strangers coming from distant lands who they were and whence they came until after nine days had passed and nine oxen had been sacrificed, as is evident from the conduct of the king of Lycia to Bellerophon, who is not asked for the introductory letter from Prœtus until the tenth day comes that he has been in the house of Jobates (Il. vi. 175–7). This custom underwent considerable modification before the age of the author of the Odyssey—a modification that could hardly have been effected until after the lapse of several generations, as is again clear from the treatment of Ulysses by Eumæus, of Minerva, under her assumed form of Mentor, by Telemachus, and of Telemachus himself on his arrival at Nestor's in Pylus, and at Menelaus's in Sparta. All, though strangers, believed to be from foreign lands, have their names inquired into and questions put to them immediately after they have been feasted.

Along with this altered custom of treating foreigners, the general belief had grown up by the time of the author of the Odyssey that people who came from distant parts and were sojourners among strangers were under the peculiar care and protection of certain gods, especially Jupiter, who has hence in the Odyssey (ix. 270), what he has not in the Iliad, the name of 'hospitable.' Nowhere in the Iliad is Jupiter styled Ξένιος, for nowhere in the Iliad is he the patron and avenger of foreigners. In the heroic ages the rites of hospitality were observed with so much strictness that to neglect them was looked upon as even more disgraceful than to disregard the duties of consanguinity.

Men secured, as we learn from the episode of Glaucus and Diomed, a hospitable reception by merely producing the *σύμβολα ξενικά*, or *tesseræ hospitalitatis*. These presents exchanged at parting, even by ancestors, descendants kept among the domestic treasures as memorials of the fact, and to be pledges for a renewal at any time of friendship between them and those whose progenitors had been friends of their forefathers. Ancestral was thus as binding as personal friendship. But though there was all this species of freemasonry in the days of Homer, Jupiter had not the care of hospitality as in the days of the author of the Odyssey. When we see, then, the Jupiter of the Iliad merely the King and Father of gods and men, ruler of the air, from whom proceed storms and showers, and the Jupiter of the Odyssey, the possessor of the additional attribute of presiding over the rites of hospitality, we have enough wherewith to arrive at the conclusion that the latter poem was much posterior in composition to the former; for we know that Jupiter Pluvius came to be looked upon as Jupiter Hestius in the progress of changes which took place in the heathen mythology after a lapse of centuries.

Furthermore, the Jupiter of the Odyssey accompanies foreigners in their travels (ix. 271). But the Jupiter of the Iliad never descends from the ethereal regions, except on a solitary occasion (i. 423–4); and that is illustrative of a custom which, not obtaining in the days of the author of the Odyssey, is another proof of that poem having been written long after the Iliad. Jupiter leaves heaven in the Iliad in order that, accompanied by all the other gods, he may go to the annual twelve days' festival of banquets spread in the temples before the shrines at Diospolis. There is no testimony in the Odyssey that this opinion still prevailed in the days of its author, that the gods were wont to be present at festivals instituted in honour of themselves.

During the ages of both the poets people believed that the gods occasionally visited individuals deserving their favour and protection. There was also the idea, akin to the Scripture doctrine of guardian angels, that each person was the peculiar care of some protecting deity. But a passage in the seventeenth book of the Odyssey shows that the gods in the time of the author of that poem were considered, as they were not in Homer's, to be in the habit of visiting the cities of men in the form and garb of foreigners, so that unknown they might enter the homes of the inhabitants, and, investigating the privacy of their lives, ascertain if their conduct was blamable or praiseworthy (xvii. 485–7).

Whoever, in the Iliad, undertakes a journey invokes the assistance and protection of the deity who is the patron of his country (x. 277 *seq.*); on his safe return (x. 292), or arrival at the place of destination (xi. 725–8), he sacrifices a single animal to the same divinity. This is the case with an army as with an individual (xi. *l. c.*). But in the time of the author of the Odyssey, people at the end of a journey sat in groups to sacrifice, and each assembly, consisting of five hundred persons, offered an animal; so that if the travellers made up twenty such assemblies, twenty animals would have been immolated to one god (iii. 5–8). Again, in the days of the author of the Odyssey, a rite of salutation had come to be resorted to when a man arrived in a country—kissing the earth—a practice in after ages extended to departure as well as arrival, as we see in Ovid's Metamorphoses when the Trojans leave their native shores. In the days of the author of the Odyssey the practice was confined to arrival, if we may judge from Ulysses kissing the ground only on his coming to Phæacia (v. 463) and on his return to Ithaca (xiii. 354).

Differences in geographical statement in the two poems furnish additional proof that the theory in question is based on the solid foundation of truth. The Greeks, originally a sea-roving people—in fact, according to Thucydides and other native historians, a piratical race—found it convenient, in common with corsairs at all ages of the world, to dwell on islands in preference to the continent. The isles of Greece, being thus first inhabited, had many towns and a large population at a time when the mainland was thinly peopled, before emigration had spread southward from the northerly regions of Thessaly. Under such circumstances we should expect to find that an island mentioned in an ancient Greek poem would have more towns ascribed to it than we should find in a poem of a more modern date. This is just the case in the Iliad and the Odyssey, with respect to Crete, to which, as the Chorizontes observed, Homer ascribes a hundred cities (ii. 649), while the author of the Odyssey gives it but ninety (xix. 172–4). Of course, the upholders of the common authorship have made violent attempts to reconcile the difference of statement, but their arguments have been by no means satisfactory. The opponents in antiquity of the Chorizontes said that reference is made in the Odyssey to the state of Crete after the sedition raised by Leucus against Idomeneus, when ten cities were utterly destroyed. Although this might have been the case, it does not account for the discrepancy. The ten cities had been utterly destroyed either before the birth of Homer, or while he was in his pupilage, seeing

that he flourished in the second generation after the siege of Troy, long subsequent to the deaths of Idomeneus and Leucus. Then why should he give one account of Crete in one poem, and another in the other? The fact is, and anyone can see with an irresistible conclusive force of logic, that it points to one of two things—either that the two different statements must have been obtained from two different sources of information, or—what we maintain—be descriptive of Crete at two different periods, and consequently, in either case, point most clearly to the existence of two different poets.

Nor is this the only proof based on geography. Another is to be found in what the two poets say of Pylus, of which, whenever Homer speaks, it is, as Strabo informs us, a peculiarity on his part; for he is not then speaking of the city that was so called, but of the country over which Nestor ruled, which never had that name. The ancient geographer accounts for this from the poet's desire to distinguish one Elis from another, that under the sway of Nestor and that belonging to the Epeii. Hence Homer makes the Alpheus run through Pylus (v. 545). But the Alpheus did not run *through* or *by* the city thus styled, only through the country which Nestor owned. The author of the Odyssey, on the other hand, speaks of Pylus which belonged to Nestor, not as a country, but as a city (iii. 4); that is to say, the author of the Odyssey speaks of Pylus as he knew of it in his day, a city, and not a distinctive section of the country Elis.

The ancient Chorizontes very properly laid great stress on the discrepancy in the religious mechanism of the two poems, that Jupiter's messenger is Iris in the Iliad and Mercury in the Odyssey; and, indeed, no such fact can be found in the whole history of poetry. It is by itself quite conclusive that the authors of the Iliad and the Odyssey were not contemporaries. A great many ingenious arguments have been advanced by the upholders of the common authorship for the solution of the extraordinary difficulty. The explanation of the Scholiast and Eustathius of the epithet applied to Mercury in the second and twentieth books of the Iliad, *διάκτορος*, as meaning 'bearer of the 'messages of the gods,' goes the whole length of investing Mercury with the function of Jupiter's messenger in the older poem; but that explanation of the epithet is not more satisfactory than its reference by others to Mercury's character of 'conductor 'of souls,' both being evidently based on its being taken for granted that the two poems had a common authorship. Nitzsch, Mure, and Gladstone go at some length and with considerable ingenuity into the matter, but they fail entirely in accounting

for the difficulty.* Mr. Hayman too, whose excellent and much-wanted edition of the Odyssey is now going through the press, endeavours to solve it by instancing Milton, who in the first half of 'Paradise Lost' inclines to the Ptolemaic system, and in the latter half to the Copernican theory in his celestial machinery, which, says Mr. Hayman, ought, on Chorizontic principles, to imply duality of authorship. It would most certainly if Milton were, as the author of the Odyssey, relating a fact, but, speaking in his own person, he simply shows a desire to diversify the richness of his illustrations. Similar refutation may be made of what Mr. Hayman elsewhere says of Shakspeare and Ben Jonson, that the latter speaks of tobacco and the former never, which should at once lead us, he observes, to infer that they were not contemporaries, when a moment's consideration will show that Shakspeare could not have made any of his characters speak of tobacco without being grossly anachronistic, the incidents in all his plays having occurred at remote periods, or, at any rate, much anterior to the introduction of tobacco into Europe, whereas Ben Jonson laid the plot of many a play in his own time when tobacco was familiar to all. The events, on the other hand, in the Iliad and the Odyssey are synchronistic. They occur at and about the time of the siege of Troy. At that date in Greek mythology Mercury or Iris was the messenger of Jupiter. We find in the Iliad that it was Iris. But if Homer was the author of the Odyssey as well as of the Iliad, he would not have written as if it was Iris in one poem, and in the other have changed his machinery and written as if it was Mercury, notwithstanding all that had been said to the contrary. From what we know was done by the Greek epic poets of disregarding the customs of the age of which they wrote, and considering only those of their own, we gather from this beyond the cavil of a doubt that in the days of Homer the messenger of Jupiter was Iris, and in the days of the author of the Odyssey, Mercury.

So the two poets speak of the Muses as they found them in their own time. Homer speaks sometimes of one Muse as he speaks sometimes of one Ilithyia, and sometimes indefinitely

* Mure's argument, curiously enough, is based on a misunderstanding of the language of the Odyssey. When Jupiter addresses Mercury on his first introduction in the poem (v. 29) as messenger, *αὖτε τά τ' ἄλλα περ*, Mure takes these words to signify 'again, as formerly,' when they are evidently a formula for 'above' or 'beyond all things else'—a meaning which at once destroys the whole of Colonel Mure's argument and the main points of Mr. Gladstone's.

of 'Muses,' as sometimes indefinitely of 'Ilithyiæ,' thus showing that there was no determined number of Muses in his day as in the later times of Greek mythology. But the author of the Odyssey speaks of the whole nine Muses (xxiv. 60). He must, therefore, have heard of Urania, the Muse of Astronomy, which, though the oldest of the sciences, lay still buried in the womb of time when the Iliad was written; there being at that date no knowledge of the heavenly bodies that could be reduced to a system, nothing being known beyond the names of a few constellations and the cycles of the moon. If it is certain that the author of the Odyssey, from his numeration of the Muses, must have lived after the institution of the Trina Dionysia, which gave birth to both comedy and tragedy, it is equally certain that Homer lived before the festivals of Bacchus, and never heard of Thalia, the Muse of Comedy, and Melpomene, the Muse of Tragedy. It is also very doubtful if Homer could ever have heard of Clio, the Muse of History, since the only history written in his day was comprised in such poems as that composed by himself; and if to Clio was assigned also Epic Poetry, it was in after ages when Polyhymnia and Erato presided over lyrical and amatory poems, so that 'the 'goddess,' whom Homer sometimes specially invokes, was, necessarily, the first and oldest of the Muses, Calliope. Again, two poets show themselves in their conceptions of the duties of the Muses, who in the Odyssey sing lamentations at men's funerals (xxiv. 60), and in the Iliad festive hymns at the feasts of the gods (i. 604).

Shakspeare, in his 'Troilus and Cressida,'—where gods and goddesses should, but do not, act with men and women,—makes Troilus exclaim:—

> 'Hark! you are called: some say the *Genius* so
> Cries "Come!" to him that instantly must die;'

from which it is obvious that our great poet did not know what the creed was at the time of the siege of Troy, but believed it to have been the age of the δαίμων, Numen or Genius. No one can think this of the author of the Odyssey; the universal belief in his poem being, as in the Iliad, that each individual has his special god or goddess to be his monitor and leader, who, when needful, is always with him in person, sometimes in disguise, sometimes unseen, but still present, whence Minerva is addressed in both poems as being 'ever present in every 'undertaking.' It is, nevertheless, extremely difficult not to believe that the author of the Odyssey lived in the later days, when the δαίμων had supplanted the deity. The Greeks then

believed that when a man was born his δαίμων came to the place of his birth, to be his tutelar companion, observer, and exhorter from the cradle to the grave. That the δαίμων thus became a man's guardian companion immediately at his birth, and ruled the whole course of his life, we know from a passage in the 'Picture' of Cebes; we are also told the same by Ammianus Marcellinus, while Menander addresses his 'Numen' as 'the mystical guide of his life.' Now, when Minerva, in the third book of the Odyssey (26–8), tells Telemachus that he could 'neither be born nor pass through life without the good 'will of the gods,' and that 'though some of his thoughts will 'spring from his own mind, yet his δαίμων will suggest others 'to him;' we have a compound sentiment in strict keeping with the belief of the Greeks in the time of the δαίμων, that unseen souls acted as tutelary deities to men in their long chain of life from birth till death, and, secondly, that many of the suggestions and ideas, and always the very best, which entered a man's mind originated through the influence of his Numen or Genius. It may be said that, in the passage in the Odyssey, δαίμων is only the synonym of θεός, used as Homer himself uses the word, and that Minerva is alluding to herself; but though that be granted, as it readily is, still, if the poet had not lived in the age of the Numen or Genius, it is barely possible that he could have so framed the sentiment.

It is also extremely difficult to believe that the occasional attendance of Minerva on Telemachus and Ulysses in the character of Mentor is not to be understood as the concrete representation of the abstract quality of Wisdom. If so, there is no deification of abstract qualities in the Iliad. Homer never refines upon the general opinions of his age. Throughout his poem he looks upon the gods as possessing actual existence; though rarely visible, they present, when seen, the aspect of ordinary human beings, from whom they are to be distinguished only by a peculiar brightness in the eye, and a peculiar gait expressive of a smooth and light motion; hence Minerva removes the film off Diomed's eyes, that he may distinguish a god from a man. There is a constant presence of celestial among sublunary beings—a perpetual mingling of gods and men on earth; the former, though immortal, can be wounded; though free from human sorrows and infirmities, they are subjected to human misfortunes. They inhabit the tops of hills and the summits of mountains as men and women the plains and valleys of the earth, or marine deities they dwell in deep caves at the bottom of the sea, while human beings traverse the surface of the ocean.

Let it not be supposed that Homer believed in mythological deities because he employs their agency in his poem. It were as unsound to suppose that Spenser believed in the fairies of Western Europe because he treats of them in his 'Fairy 'Queen,' or Shakspeare because he introduces them into his exquisite drama, 'A Midsummer Night's Dream;' or that Moore believed in the race of the Peris in Persia because he deals with them in his 'Lalla Rookh.' Homer could not overlook a universal belief. At that age everyone held in his creed that ministering spirits, whose abode was in heaven, superintended and guided the destinies and affairs of nations and individuals, and had provinces, kingdoms, and families allotted to their protecting care. The belief was as common among the Asiatics of Ionia as among the Greeks; it extended to the Persians and Arabians; it entered into the religious system of the Jews and Chaldeans; it spread all over the world. With unerring consistency in the Iliad, nations and tribes, as well as individuals, have their respective attendant deities. Minerva or Juno superintends the acts and presides over the general destinies of the Greeks; Jupiter or Apollo is the *præstes* or chief in every affair of the Trojans; Minerva, again, is the household goddess of the people of Pylus. Guardian and protector of Greek heroes, she gives courage and strength to Diomed; restrains the arm of Achilles when he is about to inflict summary vengeance on Agamemnon, and instructs Ulysses to dissuade his countrymen from embarking on board their ships, and leaving the war unfinished depart to their native land. In like manner, some superior god or goddess guides and preserves individuals among the Trojans. Venus rescues Æneas and carries him off the field of battle when his hipbone is broken with a stone by Diomed; Latona and Diana tend and cure him when he is placed safe in the tower of Pergamus, and Jupiter—though never descending from heaven on account of his great superiority to the other gods—sends his messenger Iris to order Priam to go to the camp of the Greeks, and get back the body of his dead son Hector. Thus gods and goddesses throughout the Iliad directly take an active part in human affairs. In spite of all this, it is easy to see that Homer did not credit the superstition nor sympathise in the earnestness of the popular notion respecting the heathen gods and goddesses of Greece. And how could he possibly have believed in their absurd and ludicrous interferences among the vulgar?—their common-place connexion with ordinary affairs and household interests?—their very close and familiar relation to the everyday life of

humanity?—their large admixture of human characteristics?—the close resemblance of their appetites and passions, vices and enormities, to man's desires and emotions, corruption and depravity?—the intimate alliance of their ultimate destiny to the fortunes of men?—their half-human natures, in fact?—their fortunes freighted on the same tide? No stronger proof of his unbelief can be advanced than his merriness and mirth when portraying the marvellous mixture of the mighty and the mean, the magnanimous and the malignant, in those beings so like our own race,—those lengthened shadows of ourselves. Jupiter possesses such intrinsic capability of mischief that he deceives Agamemnon, and lures him and the Greeks on to ruin. In a quarrel with Juno he threatens to beat her, with the assurance that not all the gods can be her deliverers, should he lay violent hands on her. He holds out the same threat of corporal castigation to the inferior gods and goddesses, if they dare to assist either Greeks or Trojans; nay, if they do, he will seize them by their heels and hurl them to the abysses of Tartarus. He challenges all the other gods and goddesses to lay hold of a chain, should he hang one down from the top of Olympus, and defies them pulling all together to haul him on to the plains of earth. Venus carries a hero off a field of battle by hiding him in her apron; and bawls outrageously when struck in the palm by a dart flung at her by a young warrior. Vulcan, the limping artisan god, of wondrous fatness and thin legs, rising from his anvil, removes his bellows from the fire, locks up his hammer and tools carefully in a silver box, washes his hands and face and his bull neck and hairy chest with a sponge, then putting on his tunic, seizes a thick stick and proceeds on his way hobbling to see the goddess Thetis, who pays him an evening visit to order a new suit of armour for her son Achilles. These and similar lively pictures attest the undisguised disdain of the poet for the sanctity of the heathen gods and goddesses.

It is equally clear to see that the author of the Odyssey is no more a believer than Homer in the pagan divinities; but his disbelief assumes quite another form. Looking up to Jupiter with special and awful veneration, he would shrink with horror from ascribing to him, as Homer does, the undignified acts enumerated, or placing him in positions so disparaging as Homer relates, of his being bound in chains, committing adulteries, and contending against rebellious giants. The fact is, Jupiter in the Odyssey is treated as God. He is omnipotent; he is omniscient. 'God is able to do all things,' says the poet, speaking of Jupiter (iv. 237); and on another

occasion, 'He has a full knowledge of everything' (xx. 75), which testimonies of the power and wisdom of Jove are unquestionable proofs of greater progression in theology than obtained in Homer's time.

While elevating Jupiter, the author of the Odyssey magnifies the other gods. Divine beings are nowhere represented in the Iliad endowed with the power to change the personal appearance of a man; it is otherwise in the Odyssey, where Minerva makes Ulysses handsomer, taller, and stouter, and covers his head with curly hair, the colour of the hyacinth-flower (xxiii. 156–8). In order to effect for him another disguise on another occasion, she, in an entirely different manner, totally changes his personal appearance. In a moment, by the touch of the magic wand of the goddess, the full cheeks, muscular limbs, auburn hair, and bright eyes of Ulysses in his maturity of manly beauty become metamorphosed into the wrinkled face, the tottering members, the bald head, and the lacklustre eyes of the extremely old man (xiii. 429–33).

No supernatural phenomenon occurs in the Iliad by a god's presence. In the Odyssey a universally diffused illumination is the adjunct of a divinity, whose invisible presence is thereby typified. Hence, a deity, though unseen, is known to be present when a room beams all over in pillar, plank, and rafter, from the floor to the ceiling, with a lustre above the course of nature (xix. 36–40). The poet who apprehended that such was the property of a god, could not have belonged to an age when the notion of materialism formed the basis of religion, as in Homer's time, when people were under the impression that the gods were, as themselves, daily visitants on earth, having all the appearance of human beings and with difficulty to be distinguished from the ordinary run of mortal creatures. It is the conception of a poet who belonged to an age when philosophy was making progress, and men, beginning to lay aside mythological fables, were becoming disgusted with their grossness and absurdities; for it is then that poets make such appeals to the imaginations of people, when they refine and sublimate all ethereal matter. The picture has nothing in common with any of Homer's, which are always of a simple primæval age when popular superstitions gave rise to a multiplicity of divinities, all believed to be realities.

Venus in the Odyssey is not so primitive as in the Iliad, nor so idealised as in the full maturity of Greek civilisation. In neither poem is mention made of the myth respecting the birth of the goddess from the foam of the sea. Homer, on the

contrary, distinctly speaks of Venus as the daughter of Dionê. In both poems, as in later times, her name is Aphroditê. In both poems she is a soft goddess, with smiling looks of pleasure, great personal charms, and favourable to the passion between the sexes; but while in the Iliad she has the cestus which possesses the virtues and magical properties of exciting love, she is not, as in the Odyssey, attended by the Graces, who lave and anoint her when she returns to Cyprus (viii. 364). Homer, by styling her 'The Cyprian,' may have considered that she had, as the author of the Odyssey hints, her abode among the effeminate people of the island of Cyprus. But Venus has not in the Iliad, as in the Odyssey, an altar dedicated to her at Paphos (viii. 363); nor has she amours with Mars (viii. 267 *seq.*); nor is she, as the Chorizontes remarked, the wife of Vulcan, for, in the older poem, it is the 'lovely 'bright-filleted Charis.' From this we gather that Homer was ignorant of the myth, with which the author of the Odyssey was familiar, respecting the union of grace and beauty with skill and toil; or rather that Homer lived before the time when his countrymen typified that union by the marriage of Venus and Vulcan.

Aurora, or Eôs, in the Iliad is Morning or Light, and illuminates the whole world by her simple appearance. Indication of a much later mythology is found in the Odyssey, where Aurora is a goddess drawn in a chariot by two swift-footed horses, Lampus and Phaëthon (xxiii. 246). If, because two horses draw the chariot of Aurora in the Odyssey, four horses in the 'Metamorphoses,' and the winged steed Pegasus in 'Cassandra,' we require no more to know that the author of the Odyssey, Ovid, and Lycophron were not contemporaries, why should we require more to be convinced that Homer and the author of the Odyssey flourished at two very different periods—and the latter much after the former—when Homer never introduces Aurora in a chariot drawn by a pair of horses, but always simply making her appearance either arrayed in a robe of saffron hue, when the day is dawning, or with rosy fingers conspicuous when the morning is somewhat advanced?

The system of fabulous doctrines respecting the other deities of Greece differs as widely in the two poems. Delos in the Iliad is not sacred to Apollo, as in the Odyssey (vi. 162); nor is he honoured with the Neomenia, or festival at the beginning of every lunar month, thereby showing how he had come to be identified with the sun in the days of the author of the Odyssey. Mercury is not a conductor of souls to the

realm where disembodied spirits dwell, beyond the Ocean-streams, and the White Cliff, the Gates of the Sun and the Land of Dreams, to the Plains of Asphodel (Od. xxiv. 1–18); all such mythology being unknown to Homer, the soul in the Iliad going unaccompanied to Hades (xxii. 362):—nor, as already stated, is Mercury a messenger of the gods. Minerva, again, is not the same goddess in the Odyssey that she is in the Iliad. In the former poem she is skilled in all kinds of arts, she is the goddess of wisdom, and the incarnation of that quality, to enforce which the poet represents her assuming the form of Mentor, the sage, prudent, philosophic teacher; in the latter poem she has the care of war with Mars.

The greatest discrepance occurs between the two poets on the subject of apotheosis; for neither Hercules nor the brothers of Helen are placed among the number of the gods by Homer, while the author of the Odyssey gives them 'equal honours 'with the immortal deities' (xi. 303; *Ibid.* 601).

Varying on these and sundry other matters of mythology and religious belief, the two poets differ again as to Olympus, which with Homer is sometimes the mountain in Macedonia, and sometimes Heaven, but as Heaven still the mountain; as thus:—Whenever Homer speaks of that part of Olympus which is below the clouds and visible with its snowy top, he regards this as the mountain; but when he speaks of the highest peaks of Olympus, the part above the clouds, he imagines there the abode of the gods. So that when he says Jupiter arrives in Olympus, meaning that Jupiter arrives in Heaven or the celestial abode, it is to be understood that Jupiter arrives on the highest crags of Olympus, which reach beyond the clouds. This distinction, never departed from by Homer, the author of the Odyssey neglects, on one occasion (xi. 312–5), we must believe, of set purpose, or in his day he would have greatly puzzled his audience; because anyone acquainted with the mythology of the ancients knows that when the Greeks came to attach to Olympus its figurative meaning of 'Heaven,' they never, when meaning it to have that signification, carried along in their minds its other original application to a mountain. But we ought not to be surprised at this difference of opinion between the two poets, when the author of the Odyssey speaks of a system of the world which was certainly unknown to Homer, seeing that the belief sprang up at a much later period, of columns upheld by Atlas sustaining the earth and sky (i. 52–4).

When Homer lived, the day was divided into three parts, the morning, the noon, and the evening (Il. xxi. 111), and the

night, as among the Jews, into three watches (Il. x. 253). Sometime in the four centuries which elapsed, as Herodotus himself informs us, between his age and Homer's, the Greeks, as he again tells us, obtained from the Babylonians the subdivision of the day into hours. This must have been prior to or about the date of the author of the Odyssey's existence, for that he knew of the division of the day into hours is plain from a passage in the third book of his poem (334). Moreover the author of the Odyssey was, to all appearances, acquainted with the Attic Calendar, or the month of thirty days, divided into three equal portions of ten days each. A passage in the fourteenth book shows this (161–4); and, as the passage stands, it is conclusive, taking all other things into consideration, that the author of the Odyssey knew of the threefold division of the month as we have it in the Attic Calendar. Homer, of course, gives no indication of any such knowledge. He lived generations, if not centuries, before the Attic Calendar was dreamt of.

We are inclined to believe that a later age is indicated when the author of the Odyssey speaks of the crimes committed by the members of the family of Agamemnon against their parents, of which Homer takes no notice; for it is almost impossible to bring oneself to fancy that if they were actual facts and known to Homer he would have slipped the many opportunities that presented themselves to him in the course of his very long poem of making some allusion to them. As Homer then is silent on the subject, it would almost seem that the numerous domestic horrors which were recorded of this house and furnished so much matter for the tragic poets were the inventions of a later age. Ægisthus murdering Agamemnon and Orestes killing him—referred to thrice by the author of the Odyssey, but never once by Homer —may, after all, have been as pure fictions as were, in all probability, the adventures of Œdipus, who, though guilty of parricide and incest in the plays of Sophocles and Euripides, dies with honour at Thebes, and has funeral games celebrated at his tomb in the Iliad (xxiii. 679–80); or the story of Achilles concealing himself in a female dress among the women in the gynoceum of the palace of Lycomedes, King of Scyros, in order to avoid his engagements at the siege of Troy; or the blindness of Phœnix, who, though having the full use of his eyes in Homer, is deprived of those members in Lycophron.

Several improvements in the arts observable in the Odyssey are unquestionable evidences that that poem was written generations after the Iliad. Homer refers to workmanship of

remarkable excellence, tripods made of different descriptions and applied to different purposes, used as vessels as well as seats and pedestals for statues. But to maintain that the use of machinery, similar to clockwork, was known in his day because tripods made by Vulcan are self-moving and go of their own accord to the councils of the gods and return home again, is to deprive the poet of all powers of imagination. It is akin to supposing that because Spenser speaks of a palace made of glass to which the nations of the earth resort, the author of the 'Fairy Queen' had seen such a Crystal Palace as that on the heights at Sydenham and such an exhibition as the international one of 1851 or of 1862, and that Shakspeare, when he makes Puck say that he will 'put a girdle round about the 'world in forty minutes' was aware that distant parts of the earth were placed in electric communication by telegraph wires carried over the land and submerged in the bed of the ocean. That the hinting at automatous tripods was pure imagination on the part of Homer is clear from his description just after of Vulcan's workmanship in the manufacture of golden attendants; for these handmaidens or waiting-women, who have all the appearance of living beings framed in the precious metal, are fabled as not only having the power of motion, but being endued, beyond the capability of human fabrication, with the principle of thought and action, and, along with understanding and mental energy, corporeal functions implied in their muscular strength, faculty of speech, and divinely acquired accomplishments. All that is allowable to be deduced from such a picture is that statues were known to Homer, which was more than likely, as the Assyrians, from the most remote antiquity, possessed the art of forming figures in perfect imitation of nature. A considerable degree of excellence was attained in the art of jewelry in Homer's time; women used clasps to their dresses, bracelets, necklaces and head-pins or ornaments formed to imitate the calyx of a flower. In these respects there seems to have been as much skill practised in Homer's days as in those of the author of the Odyssey. Riding on horseback appears also to have been known at both periods, though at the siege of Troy it was not generally applied to military purposes. Other arts and habits of luxury are introduced into the Odyssey which seem to have been entirely unknown to Homer from there being no trace of them in the Iliad; and they are marks of a more advanced and civilised age; such as eagles used in hawking and hooks in fishing. The style of catching fish in the older poem reminds one of the piscatory habits of the aboriginal inhabitants in some parts of the vast continent of

America, such as the Arowauk Indians, who, taking up their position on an enormous boulder or rock in the middle of a creek, or by the side of it, kill fish by flinging prongs or darts at them as the finny tribe swim past close to the limpid surface of the stream. So the man fishing in the Iliad is pictured sitting on a projecting crag, and after evidently throwing some brass missile, like a spear or lance, at a big fish, and striking it as a harpooner nowadays strikes a whale, hales it out of the deep with a hempen line fastened to the spear or lance (xvi. 406–8).

Payne Knight, in his 'Prolegomena,' was the first who observed that rope in the Odyssey is made from the Egyptian plant papyrus, and in the Iliad of flax, which is also the material of which lyre-strings are made in the Iliad, while in the Odyssey they are made, as now, of catgut. He was also the first who drew attention to the lyre itself in the older poem being of simple construction, but in the later one a very improved instrument, from having in the Odyssey, what it has not in the Iliad, the peg for setting the strings high or low. But neither he nor others who would separate the authorship of the poems noticed that Dress in the Odyssey marks a period posterior to the age of Homer. Men's dress, in both poems, consists of the tunic, the *læna*, and the *pallium*. Probably in both ages the læna was fastened, as in the Odyssey, by a brooch; but there appears to have been so much change in men's costume by the time the Odyssey was composed, that the læna was then more costly in make and of a richer dye, whence the poet gives it the epithet, *πορφυρέη* (xix. 225). So it is possible that women as well as men may, in the times both of Homer and the author of the Odyssey, have worn the pallium; but we have reason to believe that that garment (from *ῥῆγος* being used as a convertible word for it) was more elegantly wrought and dyed in the author of the Odyssey's day than in Homer's. When, too, in the Odyssey, *ζώστηρ* is spoken of as a part of Nausicaa's dress (vi. 38), we know from a passage in Pausanias that that was the name given in after ages to the article of female attire which Homer always calls *ζώνη*. In Homer, again, the long white garment known as the peplum is peculiar to Minerva and the other goddesses, though there are passages which show that it was also worn by *Asiatic* women of high social position; surely progress of time is indicated by the fashion having spread, in the days of the author of the Odyssey, to *Greek* women of rank.

In both poems the sudden and violent deaths of men are attributed to the arrows of Apollo, and of women to the darts

of Diana; but a variety in the art of healing in the two epics marks the Odyssey to be of a later age than the Iliad.

The practice of physic was altogether unknown in Homer's day. The Divine Power was supposed to have laid a heavy hand on every individual in whom a malady discovered itself. Internal disease, thus attributed to the immediate stroke of Heaven, was regarded as incurable. The ancients, however, believing that the gods were backward to punish, represent them giving a warning to those about to be distempered by some easily understood intimation of their anger. Thus in Holy Writ, Jehovah causes in Exodus a murrain to break out among the cattle before he afflicts the Egyptians with boils and blains; and so in the Iliad, when pestilence visits the Grecian camp, Apollo destroys the most useful of the four-footed animals, the mules and dogs, before he kills the troops. It was Hippocrates who carried to perfection the science of physic, and introduced medical practice into Greece, after systematising the cures which he found recorded in the sacred books preserved by the Babylonians in their temples. Before his time the place of physic was supplied by charms and incantations. That these were already adopted in the days of the author of the Odyssey is evident from the sons of Autolycus staunching blood by singing songs (xix. 455–8), as physicians are still said to do in Egypt and India, and as in days of yore the Northmen of Iceland and Norway used to charm away disease by composing Runic rhymes.

The surgeon in Homer's time was so highly esteemed that (according to the poet) he was 'honoured in preference to 'many.' Nevertheless, his skill went no further than to the extraction of a weapon, alleviating the pain of a wound by sucking out the blood, and stopping hæmorrhage by the application of a few herbs. In addition to these simple ordinary remedies, Homer mentions another species of surgical treatment—lotions (Il. iv. 218), while the author of the Odyssey mentions two others which show an advance in pharmacy—ointments (i. 262), and potions (iv. 220).

On account of unguents being known in the author of the Odyssey's day there were then poisoned arrows, of which the poet speaks on one occasion, when he alludes to Ulysses going on a voyage in search of 'deadly poison with which to smear 'arrow-heads' (i. 260–2), as the natives of Guiana, at this day, undertake long journeys to the settlements of the Macoushis to obtain the woorara poison described by Dr. Bancroft as instantaneously fatal. The practice of preparing unguents not having come into use at the time of the siege of Troy, the tips

of arrows were not then overspread with adhesive poisonous matter. Had they been we may be positive that Homer would have made frequent reference to the circumstance, and used toxical darts and spears pretty lavishly for the mutual slaughter of Greeks and Trojans.

A medicinal simple unknown to Homer is spoken of by the author of the Odyssey as a drug from Egypt having the power of rendering the soul impervious to the invasions of grief or any violent affection, and causing entire forgetfulness (iv. 220–30). A moderate dose of it taken by Helen in a cup of wine makes her cheerful, quiets her spirits, and eases all her pain of mind. These symptoms leave no doubt but that this drug is the product from the white garden poppy, which, now-a-days named opium, has from very early times been known to the inhabitants of Egypt and Natolia, the East Indies, and every country in Asia.

The food that horses received in Homer's day was different from that in the days of the author of the Odyssey. Both poets represent horses fed on *κρῖ*, or rather, what they both name *κρῖ λευκόν*, by which we may suppose they mean 'barley,' that having been the food given to those animals by the eastern nations in all ages from the remotest period to the present day when the Arabs on the plains of Jericho still grow that bearded kind of grain for their horses. But with barley each poet mixes a different kind of grain. With Homer it is *ὀλύρα* (Il. viii. 560), and that may be 'rye,' or a species of rye, 'spelt,' or that small kind of wild pea, 'vetch;' with the author of the Odyssey it is *ζεία* (iv. 41), by which, though we must understand another grain or seed or capsule of a legume, we cannot easily determine what kind; for the botanico-historical points of difference between *ὀλύρα* and *ζεία* are not capable of being correctly decided from what has been transmitted on the matter by Herodotus, Theophrastus, and Dioscorides, Pliny and Celsus; but if the learned Dr. Julius Billerbeck is an authority, he understands by *ὀλύρα triticum zea*, and by *ζεία triticum monococcon*. The question is not of the slightest moment, merely matter of curiosity: as to the present inquiry, it is quite enough to know that a different name stands for a different thing, and that a different custom recorded in the two poems as to the fodder of rich men's horses in the same country, points, as clear as daylight, to two different ages.

Equal confirmation of the truth of the theory is found in the diversity of botanical knowledge possessed by the two poets. They are at variance with respect to *λωτός*, each understanding a different thing by the use of that word. Homer, in his

beautiful picture of a heavy fall of snow on a wintry day, speaks of fields rich in the growth of grass and 'lotus' (Il. xii. 283), by which we may understand that species of trefoil called 'clover.' If, then, 'lotus' here means clover, it is food for cattle in the Iliad; but in the Odyssey it is food for men, the poet describing it as 'honey-sweet fruit,' so delicious that those who partake of it lose all desire of returning home, but wish to stay the remainder of their days among the Lotophagi (ix. 94–7). From the description given by Herodotus and Athenæus of this fruit, it is more than probable that it is the 'jujube.'

In a botanical direction, the point most convincing of the Odyssey being produced subsequently to the Iliad, is found in what the author of the later poem says of the young palm, in all probability the date palm, which shot up beside the altar of Apollo in Delos (vi. 163). This tree, which the author of the Odyssey calls φοῖνιξ, was not known to the Greeks in the time of Homer, its transplantation from Phœnicia not having yet taken place. Had its existence been known to the author of the Iliad, he could not have spoken of it as the author of the Odyssey by the name φοῖνιξ, that having been derived from the country whence it was introduced, and which, in order to be distinguished from all other kinds of palm, it received when acclimatised in Greece.

It will be readily admitted that drying wetted garments by exposing them to the wind is an earlier custom than drying them by exposure to the sun, particularly when in the former instance the garments are not removed from the person, and when in the latter they are taken off the body. The first habit was resorted to in the rude times of the siege of Troy (Il. xi. 620–1), and the second in the times of somewhat more refinement when the author of the Odyssey flourished (Od. vi. 98).

There is a difference in the fashion of men greeting one another in the two poems. In Homer's time it was the mere manly grasp of the hand, in conformity to the rough humour of hardy heroes. But, as time advanced, this pure and simple style of greeting gave way to a more demonstrative enunciation of good wishes. The Greeks, being a people endowed with a peculiar vivacity and impressionableness of feeling, were as prone by nature to reflect the violent and exaggerated enthusiasm of their character in outward forms of behaviour as the modern Frenchman or Italian; and we have a clear notion of the gradual working of civilisation from Homer's times to those of the author of the Odyssey by observing the great change that had taken place in the mode of salutation at the latter

period when, in keeping with the more effeminate fashions which we must presume then prevailed, men kissed each other's hands and eyes, heads and shoulders. Two herdsmen, one a keeper of cattle and the other of swine, recognising their master on his return home after an absence of twenty years, welcome him by throwing their arms round his neck and, embracing him affectionately, kiss his head and shoulders. Ulysses, the master in question, foolishly tender and pleased in as great a degree at again seeing his swine-herd and cow-herd, caresses and cockers Eumæus and Philœtius by kissing their heads and hands with equal fondness and unrestrained cordiality (Od. xxi. 223–5).

Payne Knight and Thiersch both remarked that a place of public resort, where people met to hear and talk about the news, named λεσχή, mentioned in the Odyssey, is not referred to in the Iliad; and yet if it had been in existence in Homer's time, he would certainly not have failed to notice it, many opportunities having presented themselves to him, as in the passage where he alludes to the ἀγορά, the θέμις, and the θεῶν βωμοὶ erected on the open space in front of the Greek ships. But it is clear that he knew no more of the λεσχή than that species of festival called the ἔρανος, which is twice mentioned in the Odyssey, a pic-nic established for the consolidation of good fellowship and affection, and to which every one who went brought his portion. From the details given to us of it by the ancients, it reminds us more of the agapæ of the early Christians than any mode of feasting common to the heroes in Homer's days. We then hear but of two festivities of rejoicing, the γάμος, or marriage-feast, and the εἰλαπίνη, to which the drinking-bouts of the Elizabethan era must have borne some resemblance. At the date of the Trojan war, when Greeks, swilling like Scythians, drank wine pure and in great quantities, from the belief that it made those who drank it furious and courageous—τὸ γὰρ μένος ἐστὶ καὶ ἀλκή, says Homer—the εἰλαπίνη was the appropriate feast of jolly-good-fellows and jovial companions; but in the more civilised days of the author of the Odyssey, when wine was drunk mixed with water, and women and girls partook of it as well as men, the ἔρανος, adapted more for pleasant social intercourse than mere eating and drinking, was in seemliest keeping with the spirit of those later days, though not at all in unison with the temper and characteristics of the primitive times of young Greece when Homer sang the tale of Troy.

Among the several rites described relative to the funerals of Patroclus and Hector in the Iliad, there are differences in two

important particulars from those described relative to the funeral of Achilles in the Odyssey; the rites in the latter obsequies distinctly noting a later period. In the Iliad, when the flames die out, the lighted embers are extinguished by the pouring of wine upon them, and the bones that remain are gathered, and gathered only; in the Odyssey, the bones, after being collected, are preserved in pure wine and oil. In both ages victims were consumed with the bodies of the illustrious dead: in Homer's, if we are to judge from the slaughter by Achilles of twelve noble Trojan youths whom he had captured in battle, the victims were men, who, after being killed by the cutting of their throats, were placed on the funeral pyre. In this we have evidence of a barbarous age when excessive grief and extravagant desire for vengeance would not allow men to preserve any moderation. Such a human holocaust, opposed to the notions of all civilised nations, was abhorrent to the Greek race, and had fallen into disuse already in the days of the author of the Odyssey, for the Greeks in his poem observe no such custom at the funeral of Achilles, the only victims slain at the pyre being brute animals, sheep and oxen.

Men, in primitive times, in addition to immolating their fellow-creatures, are very cruel to those who commit adultery with their wives; but, in the progress of ages, their souls becoming softened by civilising manners, they correct their savageness in the one case, and in the other reclaim themselves from needless acts of inhuman ferocity. A change much for the better with respect to the punishment for adultery as met with in the Iliad is observable in the Odyssey. In the older poem Hector, telling Paris the nature of the punishment he deserved for stealing another man's wife, says, 'You should put 'on a coat of stone;' and we can easily understand, considering the antiquity of the poem and the fierce retaliation of injured men in the earliest times, how those commentators are right who assert that the poetical expression implies 'stoning to death,' and not, as the Scholiast interprets it, 'being buried in a sepul-'chre.' We may, then, fairly presume that when Homer lived the Greeks and Trojans, in common with other Eastern nations, had the penalty of the Jewish law as the punishment of adultery. A much milder form of penalty had come to be adopted in the days of the author of the Odyssey, a money-fine, as the case is with ourselves now; and, if we suppose, which was likely to have been so, that the author of the Odyssey applied, as Homer did, men's customs to the gods' transactions, this money-fine, termed *μοιχάγριον*, was paid by the adulterer to the husband; and if the adulterer failed to pay it, he was cast into prison, nor

set at liberty until he had discharged the mulct, or procured some one to become surety for his payment of it, in addition to which the father-in-law, on account of his daughter's guilt, refunded the money which the husband had given him on receiving his daughter in marriage. The whole of this, which is set forth in the amusing episode of the loves of Mars and Venus, is of infinite importance in this inquiry, because it shows clearly how money was in constant and common use in the days of the author of the Odyssey; and this should be brought home to our minds with thorough conviction when the poet uses the phrases, *χρέος ἀλύσσειν* and *ὑπαλύσσειν*, 'to avoid 'paying a debt,' and *τίνειν*, 'to pay,' those being the exact casts of expression peculiar to the Greeks for such dealings in the time when money was a medium of exchange among them.

It may here be further noted that the two poets have two different words for the precious things or valuable possessions of a man. The author of the Odyssey calls them XPHMATA, Homer KTHMATA. The latter word, 'things that one pos-'sesses'—'property,' shows a rude state of society when the necessaries of life were exchanged for one another, and the former word, 'things that one uses'—'money,' an age when the use of coin was introduced. Pliny tells us that such a convenience as current coin was not known to the ancients at the time of the siege of Troy, but that commodities were interchanged for one another. If we are to attach truth to Pliny's statement, we must reject the story of the people of Asia Minor adopting from the Chaldæans or Babylonians the application of the system of coinage in the pre-Homeric period. Coins, at any rate, do not seem to have been known to one so extremely well informed of everything going on around him as Homer, for if he had known of them we may be pretty certain, nay, confident, that he would, somewhere or other, have made allusion to 'money.' There is one passage, to be sure, in the Iliad where he is supposed by some of the shrewd and knowing among the learned, such as the Scholiast, to be alluding to coins—where he speaks of Glaucus exchanging his gold armour for the copper suit of his less well-clad friend, Diomed; the Scholiast does not hesitate to say that Homer, from confining his speech to harmonic disposition of syllables, was prevented writing *δεκαβοίων* for '*ἐννεαβοίων*,' the *ἐννεάβοιον* being a coin that never was in existence among the Greeks. But as we cannot bring ourselves to believe that Homer wrote in mistake on account of rhythm—particularly when he could so easily, as Dr. Clarke suggests in reply to the Scholiast, have written with a little poetical license, *ἑκατόμβοια δεκαβοίων*—we

are driven to the necessity of concluding that coin was not known in his day, and that he wrote a word to signify 'the value of 'nine oxen,' just as when describing the prizes contended for at the games instituted in honour of the death of Patroclus in the twenty-third book, he speaks of a large tripod being worth *δυωδεκάβοιον*, 'twelve oxen,' and a female slave, *τεσσαράβοιον*, 'four oxen.'

In the passages where Homer alludes to the 'talent,' if he wishes to indicate a certain weight of a certain value, that weight does not correspond to, or even approximate, any known standard in measuring money—Æginetan, Euboic, Attic, Babylonian or Chaldæan—that prevailed among the ancients. If so, a judge at the time of the siege of Troy received two talents—about 500*l.* of our money—for deciding a case, which seems like an impossible fee, when in the later and better-remunerated period of Greek civilisation, a judge received about three pence—that is, two obols—at the end of a session. From its place in the order of prizes for the chariot-race in the twenty-third book it is easy to see that the 'talent of gold' was of very inconsiderable value, the first prize being a female slave and that three-legged utensil or article of furniture—a tripod; the second, a mare with foal of a mule; the third, a 'lebês,' a brazen bowl to boil water in—a kind of kettle; the fourth, 'two talents of gold,' and the fifth a phialê, or ornamented plate. From such an arranged catalogue we have overwhelming proof that 'two talents of gold' in Homer's time, from being inferior in value to a large new brass kettle, and just worth more than a plate so made as to be used with either side downward, were not at all in accord with the system of weight that prevailed throughout Greece in the historical period.

Under these circumstances it is very easy to perceive that the stories of the very high antiquity of weights and measures and of coinage transmitted to us by the Greeks are as mythical as traditionary; what is more, there is a great deal of contradiction in them. Plutarch says that Theseus was the first who coined money; Herodotus, the Lydians; Pollux, Phædon, King of Argos; and Larcher, in one of his notes to Herodotus, speaks of a tradition that it was Demodicê, the wife of King Midas. Where there is so much conflict the whole must be rejected, especially when we recollect what the Roman satirist says about the mendacity of Greece in her history. Pliny, a great authority on such matters, entirely disregarding these statements, says that the first stamped coinage was issued by Servius Tullius, which Ovid also says, and is corroborated by

his commentators, Charisius, Victorius, and Cassiodorus. Pliny, it may be urged, is speaking of a usage in his own country, irrespective of the rest of the world. But no candid person will say that he seems to be doing so. It matters, however, very little whether Servius Tullius first introduced the innovation or borrowed it from a foreigner. The innovation was of such an important character that once introduced among a nation, it was sure to find its way in a very short time into all other civilised countries. The Phœnicians, who traded alike with the Babylonians and Persians, Greeks and Romans, would very soon convey to those nations who were ignorant of it that there were people using current coin as a medium of exchange. Let us suppose that stamped metals for money had been known to the ancients in Eastern countries a hundred years before they were introduced to the Romans. Even then the word 'money' found in the Odyssey fixes the composition of that poem some two or three hundred years after the Iliad; for whatever number of fables may surround the achievements and existence of Servius Tullius, as is very clearly shown by Niebuhr, and whether we have not the period of his existence and the length of his reign, as is fairly combated by Sir George Cornewall Lewis, yet we have no reason to doubt that he was the last king but one of Rome; and if the first Consuls, Brutus and Collatinus, were appointed B.C. 509, such chronology is sufficiently satisfactory to prove that the Odyssey could not have been written until the seventh, or, much more likely, the commencement of the sixth century before Christ, whereas the Iliad must have been composed some time in the ninth century, if it be accepted that Homer flourished in the middle of that century, as we are distinctly assured by Herodotus, *Ὅμηρον ἡλικίην τετρακοσίοισι ἔτεσι δοκέω μευ πρεσβύτερον γενέσθαι, καὶ οὐ πλεόσι.* If then Homer was 'not more than' four hundred years before Herodotus, he flourished B.C. 844, as Herodotus flourished B.C. 444; a very different account, to be sure, from what Herodotus's double, the supposititious author of the 'Life of Homer,' tells us of the Father of Poetry, that he lived at the beginning of the twelfth century before the Christian era, or 622 years before the Persian invasion under Xerxes.

We mark in the Odyssey what we do not observe in the Iliad, certain established manners and common modes of acting as well as out-of-the-way and curious superstitions, indicating gradual progression and improvement in the customs and habits of the Greeks, as well as in their idle fancies and auguries, indicating, consequently, growth of time: such as placing

various gifts on the funeral pyre while performing the obsequies of dead friends and relations; princes debarred from succession to their fathers' kingdoms on account of oracles; dead men coming from their graves to answer questions; sneezing considered a good omen; the flight of birds portending great danger and even death, when, after tearing their necks and breasts with their beaks, they fly with a varied course against the wind; men, before dining, bathing in baths, called *ἀσαμίνθοι*, anointing their bodies with oil, and clothing themselves afresh in soft woollen tunics and lænæ.

A young man going to bed, in the Odyssey, is accompanied by an old female servant of the better rank with a lighted torch to his chamber. There taking off his tunic, he hands it to this aged attendant, who, folding it up and hanging it on a peg, leaves the room, drawing the door to and fastening it (i. 424–442). Much more plain and simple manners are observable in the Iliad, where the poet treats us to no such pleasing picture of the delicate ways of civilisation, but, leaving the female attendant, almost invariably a damsel, in the presence of some sturdy, young specimen of heroic humanity, tells us, as a mere matter-of-fact announcement, *τῷ δ' ἄρα παρκατέλεκτο γυνή.*

Gymnasts in the Iliad take part in the dance by whirling round in rapid orbits like bodies turning upon an axis (xviii. 599–602). In the Odyssey not only are these gyrations alluded to in the same words found in the Iliad, but there is mention of another dance known to the people of Corcyra long subsequent to the Trojan war, according to Athenæus, in which gymnasts play with a ball while they dance (viii. 377 *seq.*).

The games in the Iliad are of the most primitive kind, consisting of wrestling, running, boxing, chariot-racing, throwing the discus, and hurling the lance; and on one occasion (xxiii. 88), playing with hucklebones—*ἀστράγαλοι*—a game like dice, which, Herodotus informs us, was known to the Lydians in the reign of Atys long before the Trojan war. In the Odyssey we come across pastimes a little more refined, and so a little more modern, as where the suitors of Penelope play a game with oval stones which resembled somewhat our draughts, or might have been the rude precursor of our chess (i. 107).

Other customs mentioned in the Odyssey are not referred to in the Iliad; in every instance they indicate an advance in refinement, and consequently a lapse in ages. It is no exaggeration, but the plain unvarnished truth, to say that we could go on filling page after page with instances of habitual practices and usages in the Odyssey essentially differing from corresponding practices and usages in the Iliad; what is more

remarkably striking, they point in every case to a period not quite so primitive as when the Iliad was written; yet the incidents in the two poems take place in the same age of the world; yet the actors in both belong to the same race; and yet some of them are the same persons. What are we then to think? That the author of the Odyssey did not know or did not approve what was done by Homer? It would be folly to think that; but that he did not wish to do as Homer. Beyond an imitation which consisted in transcribing phrases, and sometimes whole verses, as, in after times, Apollonius transcribed from Eumelus and the Latin poets from Ennius, the author of the Odyssey, in all other important points, wanted to do things in his own way, as he did, and to be of his own age, as he was. It would be monstrous to suppose that when he makes women grinding corn he did not know that Homer lived before the invention of mills, and that when he speaks of *κριθή*, or *κρῖ*, being used in sacrifices, he was not aware that barley was not so used in Homer's day. It would be equally monstrous to suppose that when he writes:—

μνηστῆρσι δὲ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη
ἄσβεστον ΓΕΛΟΝ *ὦρσε,*

he did not know that Homer always writes only *γέλΩΣ*, never in any other case nor in any other dialect; and that Homer uses *ἔρως*, and its Æolic form *ἔρος*, only in the nominative and accusative, while in the eighteenth book of his poem he writes it in the dative, as Sophocles in his 'Electra,' and Euripides in a few of his plays:—

'ΕΡΩι *δ' ἄρα θυμὸν ἔθελχθεν.*

It would be as preposterous to think that Quintus Smyrnæus did not know that Homer never introduces men fighting on horseback; and yet he introduces them thrice in battle, and once in funeral games, when anyone would have thought that in that respect, at least, he would have taken Homer as an infallible guide; or that he did not know that in Homer, ambrosia is the 'food' of the gods, yet he speaks of the nymphs 'drinking' ambrosia in golden cups. Tryphiodorus, again, makes Priam and the elders drawn by mules when they go on a visit to the Grecian camp. But in Homer mules are fastened only to vehicles that carry loads. That Tryphiodorus did not know this it would be extremely difficult to believe, since, writing of Priam going out of Troy in a vehicle, he could not have failed to remember an exactly parallel passage in the last book of the Iliad, where horses draw Priam and mules are harnessed to the cart that is laden with the presents. Now

just as Quintus Smyrnæus and Tryphiodorus expressed the customs of a later age, that in which they lived, so the author of the Odyssey expressed the customs of a later, that is, of his own age.

When the Alexandrine poets—of whom, though we are not at all inclined to consider the author of the Odyssey to have been of the number, for that would be altogether inadmissible, yet we contend that his and their mode of composition had one common resemblance—set about the writing of their poems, they did not—as Lehrs informs us, and from whom we borrow these remarks—take up fables, or manners, and customs, or turns of phraseology, or even the idioms of the Greek language where Homer left them. They planted their foot on the same ground as the great poet himself; they took up incidents and persons that happened and figured in the world at about the period of the Trojan war; but they did not watch and copy Homer as closely and servilely as though they had no other precedents to follow.

As ages rolled on, Greek poetry gradually progressed, now for a time consisting in imitation as close as in the Odyssey, and now in imitation as loose as in the Halieutics; then, partly from a change of taste in the audiences, partly from an altered state of literature, partly from a bold and inventive genius springing up, it assumed fresh colours. For all that, the author of the Odyssey and the Alexandrine poets went on reproducing the colours with which Homer had provided them. Of these they wished to be not only imitators but amplifiers and innovators. Unless it had been so, we should not have the history of Greek epic poetry with its ages so distinctly marked and its limits so clearly defined. They did not want to be faithful chroniclers and historiographers, but poets. For the purposes of imitation Homer was always before their eyes. It may have been because he came the readiest to their memory; it may have been because he caught the popular taste; hence the secret of Homer permeating, as it were, the whole range of Greek poetry. The reproduction of his style was aimed at by each succeeding poet; they gathered up the little fragments of his epithets and phrases, fondly fancying that the result of their intellectual and imaginative faculties would be a product strongly suggestive of the Homeric mind and equally captivating to public audiences, just as in these modern times, for a very long while after the reigns of Elizabeth and James, all the writers of plays, who were desirous of successfully catering for the public in providing dramatic entertainment, picked up their crumbs from the banquet-table of Shakspeare.

ART. IV.—*St. Paul and Protestantism; with an Introduction on Puritanism and the Church of England.* By MATTHEW ARNOLD, M.A., D.C.L., formerly Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford, and Fellow of Oriel College. London: 1870.

MR. ARNOLD has done good service by this analysis of the nature and causes of religious separation, and the picture he presents in contrast with it of pure unsectarian Christianity. Not that either the one or the other was likely to be accepted as just or true by his Nonconformist readers. That, indeed, was hardly to be expected, even had he abstained from irritating language, which to one of his fine humour and keen sense of the grotesque was peculiarly difficult. But sincere and earnest men do not lightly part with cherished convictions; and besides, we cannot deny that much of his criticism is hardly fair, and much of his own positive system obviously inadequate. Still no slight impression is often made by remarks which are very indignantly resented; and so we think it is in this case. The echoes which Mr. Arnold's somewhat irreverent footsteps have awakened will not soon die away from the precincts he has invaded. Nor is it altogether a misnomer to call them echoes. For the excuses which have been poured forth so volubly from the Dissenting press have something in them, after all, of the self-accusation which excuses proverbially imply. And, certainly, there has been no lack of these since the publication of Mr. Arnold's book. Newspapers, journals, magazines, reviews, pamphlets, speeches, have been full of replies to it, ranging from gentle remonstrances and deprecatory apologies to the fiercest and most unsparing retorts. But 'the clearing of themselves,' with which our Nonconformist friends have been so largely occupied, 'the indignation, the fear, the vehement desire, yea, the 'revenge,' cannot but have a reactionary effect for good; leading them to abandon as well as to disclaim much of the narrowness which provokes such adverse criticism, and preparing the way for that deeper and truer union of the future which we do not despair of seeing ultimately effected.

It cannot be said that Mr. Arnold has come off unscathed from the encounters he had provoked. In many of the arguments and counter-statements of his antagonists we cordially concur. We are glad above all to accept the account which they offer of themselves, and on the other hand we cannot but allow how insufficiently Mr. Arnold has set forth the essence

of Christian doctrine. But in all this we do not doubt that he is pretty nearly of the same mind with us; and, assuredly, we feel that we are in substantial agreement with him rather than with the best and most successful of his opponents. For his object is to open the way for all to the unity of a broader and more comprehensive Church than has ever yet been formed; theirs to defend existing divisions, and to relegate union to a future indefinitely remote, while refusing to employ for that purpose the means which the present has inherited from the past.

In the polemical portion of Mr. Arnold's book his argument is this—that the denominational bodies, placing their centre of coherence and resting their whole principle of action in some strongly defined dogmatic system, are proceeding on assumptions essentially wrong and mischievous. They are building on a basis which deliberately confines Christianity to a mere section of the ground it is designed to cover. As all human estimates of theoretical truth are necessarily defective and continually needing reconsideration, the growth of thought and knowledge must perforce undermine the foundations of such religious bodies; and their very existence, having at best but a temporary use, is one whose termination is to be desired and accelerated.

He was led to this course of argument by the observation of M. Renan, in his recent work on St. Paul, that the reign of that Apostle is manifestly drawing to a close, together with the Protestantism which is bound up with it. Mr. Arnold, on the contrary, maintains that the moral reign of the great Apostle is really only just begun, and 'that his fundamental 'ideas, disengaged from the elaborate misconceptions with which 'Protestantism has overlaid them, will have an influence in 'the future greater than any which they have yet had' (p. 66). M. Renan's mistake arises from his regarding sectarian bodies, and those especially of the Calvinists, as the real exponents of Protestant and Pauline doctrines, and from the wrong estimate which he has thus formed of St. Paul himself seen through the medium of his followers. A juster appreciation of the Pauline Epistles, and a truer perception of their main purpose, will lead, and is leading us even now, to far different conclusions—conclusions which will help to emancipate the Christian Church from the narrowness, hardness, and exclusiveness which cramp our religious systems.

In all this we are entirely in agreement with Mr. Arnold; and if in many points of detail we find ourselves at issue with him, we claim none the less to be fellow-workers in the same

cause; feeling as he does that our own opinions are but tentative efforts to arrive at truth—efforts in support of which we welcome every corrective aid, even if it come in the shape of refutation.

Our author with some reason divides the Protestant sects of England into the two classes of Calvinist and Lutheran. To whatever extent this classification must be modified, there can be little doubt of the truth of his statement that both of these are beginning now to shrink from the unmitigated assertion of the notions from which they started—the Calvinist from the notion of predestination, which puts an insuperable barrier of God's own decree between man and man, excluding whole masses of the human race from the mercies of their Creator and from the brotherhood of their fellows—the Lutheran (with its offshoots of Arminian and Wesleyan) from the notion of solifidianism, which establishes a barrier equally exclusive though not so impervious, and rests the sympathy of Christians not in their moral aims and common allegiance, but in persuasions and impressions which depend on individual temperament or accidental conjunctures. From both of these views the better and nobler minds which have grown up in the communion of the several denominations are now manifestly shrinking, and show an evident desire to give a new turn to their distinctive tenets, and to substitute for them something less narrow and less offensive.

But if there be a tendency to abandon these tenets, ought there not to be a readiness to abandon the separate organisations also which zeal for those tenets has created? Such would assuredly be the effect of real consistency in the separatists. But of such a result there seems little hope at present. The strength of habit, the influence of sects, the exigencies of an existing position, all strongly tend the other way. Separation will be maintained; and for the purpose of justifying it, fresh ground must be taken. What, then, will that ground be? Mr. Arnold expresses his apprehension (and we fear with only too much reason) that it will be more and more (what it is already so largely) the ground of political dissent—opposition to a National Church, on the plea that it is an institution unwarranted by Scripture—opposition enhanced by jealousy of the privileges conceded to the Church, and manifesting itself in unceasing efforts to assail and destroy it.

Such is the tendency which even now is too apparent in all denominations of Nonconformists, including those who at one time showed little inclination to the anti-State-Church theory.

Few men have had such opportunities as Mr. Arnold of observing the temper and tendency of the Dissenting bodies. For many years he has been brought, as school inspector, into contact with the more active members, both lay and clerical, of the different denominations. Going among them with no hereditary prejudice certainly, and with no predilections of his own for the exclusive pretensions of the Established Church, he is a witness, as impartial as he is competent, of the spirit which pervades their policy, a spirit which we may be sure has never been exhibited before him in an exaggerated form. A Churchman himself, and an official of the State, he has also many personal qualities which ensure that the better side of Nonconformist principles would generally be presented to him. We fear, therefore, that we must conclude from the tone of his remonstrances how largely and increasingly this violent political feeling prevails among Dissenters. To this feeling he addresses himself through a large part of his book, especially the section called 'Puritanism and the 'Church of England,' earnestly expostulating on the change of position, no less than the unreasonableness of the position itself; while in the latter half of the volume he reasons more elaborately, and with a seriousness rarely interrupted by the light raillery of which he is so consummate a master, on the difference between St. Paul's doctrines and those of the systems which are ostensibly based on it. We purpose now to cast a glance on both of these departments of controversy, not so much accompanying Mr. Arnold (whose work, indeed, we hope that all our readers know already, or will make acquaintance with) as following on the same side, and dealing especially with those points on which his antagonists have demurred to his principles or his conclusions.

I. And, first, with regard to the characteristic differences between Puritanism and the Church of England—or, more correctly speaking, between it and a National Church.

Mr. Arnold, we have seen, lays it down as an unquestionable fact that Puritanism and the Puritan sects originated in the express purpose of proclaiming and maintaining certain doctrines supposed to be insufficiently held or insufficiently inculcated by the Church, though constituting in their view the sum and substance of the Gospel. This he asserts to be the very essence of Puritanism. And now that these doctrines begin to look dubious, even in the eyes of their former advocates, so that Dissent can no longer ground itself on Puritanism proper, he charges Nonconformists with the very questionable conduct of shifting the foundation on which they build, and

resting their case on grounds which the originators of the sects never so much as thought of—the alleged incompatibility, that is, of a pure religious polity with any sort of National Establishment. But the truth of this charge is vehemently denied by some of his critics, and notably by one of the very ablest of them—the well-known Independent minister, Mr. Dale of Birmingham.* Mr. Dale refuses to admit that the maintenance of any particular doctrine or body of doctrines is the essence of Puritanism; while he affirms that the principle on which the system is founded necessarily involves (though this consequence may not have been observed at first) the further conclusion which Mr. Arnold now stigmatises as new. According to him, the essence of Puritanism resides in the conviction it entertains of the supernatural and intensely personal character of the spiritual life, and in the claim it advances accordingly on behalf of those who share that life to combine, like with like, apart from the uncongenial world, for the better development and exercise of the gift which is communicated to them. This, and not devotion to any distinctive doctrine, is the origin of the Puritan movement; this mutual attraction of enlightened hearts, this obedience to a divine impulse constraining them to unite in sacred fellowship. And such being the case, it is an inevitable consequence of the movement to disclaim the intervention of any secular power in Church combinations, to repudiate all arrangements made for secular purposes and in accordance with secular ideas.

We think that Mr. Dale has here taken up a consistent position, overturning in a great degree the very basis of Mr. Arnold's argument; though at the same time it is clear that the latter has a special eye to the assumption thus made by Puritanism of a right to discern and divide, to include and shut out, when he protests against the sectarian systems as narrowing the doctrines of Christianity. However, we desire to regard the matter more directly as Mr. Dale has put it; and taking the system according as he exhibits it, to contrast it with the theory and practice of National Churches.

When he claims in the name of Puritanism this right on the part of those who are sensible of the Christian impulse to form themselves into a separate body, or rather into a number of separate bodies, for the cultivation of religious affections, the development of religious character, and the perfecting of Christian life, Mr. Dale could unquestionably quote many directions and exhortations from Scripture which have a plain

* Contemporary Review, July, 1870.

and clear bearing on the practice. But is he not forgetting, does not Puritanism forget, the wide difference between the circumstances under which that language was held, and those under which we are placed now by the will and order of Providence? Does not Puritanism forget too the inability of human judgment to make the distinctions upon which it ventures to act? Lastly, does it not forget many passages of Scripture itself, equally explicit with those to which it points, and still more essential to remember because they are prospective in their application?

We pause to touch briefly on particulars. This is a time when the profession of Christianity is (broadly speaking) universal; when the spirit of Christianity has not only pervaded our laws, shaped our institutions, and leavened the whole mass of society, but has won the acceptance (so to say) of everyone, and receives the homage of all. Are we to set aside therefore this providential order as worthless and void? For when the word 'Christian' is pressed in a distinctive sense, when we look about to settle whom we are to account as Christians, whom reject, it is necessary to find some other test, some other standard, than that which Providence has given us; we must either exercise some judgment of our own, or address such a challenge to questionable individuals as shall induce them to place themselves on one side or other of the line which we see fit to draw.

Now this is the very course which Christ himself has warned us against taking—has actually forbidden us to take. Not to speak of incidental occurrences noted in the Gospels, what but this is the moral of the parable of the tares, and that of the net with fishes? parables, be it remembered, which point more particularly to a condition of the Church still future when they were spoken, and which are surely essential to bear in mind when applying directions of the Apostles issued under circumstances totally dissimilar to our own.

But what does Puritanism do? It attempts to weed out the tares from the wheat, to cast away the bad fishes from its net, or at least to transplant the good wheat, and sort out the good fish, so that they shall not be defiled by contact with the unworthy. And the result is what might be expected; that not only is much of the good wheat (and that often the very best) excluded from the privileged enclosure, and many of the tares (some possibly of the worst) brought in, but that the wheat which is included is manifestly dwarfed and exposed to a peculiar blight, and the tares which have been admitted developed into a new and peculiar rankness.

We appeal at once to common sense and to experience whether these things do not and must not happen. The tests which Puritanism employs for the regulation of membership are such that the more humble-minded and the more strong-minded are alike repelled by them. Not in all cases, we allow; doubtless care and delicacy can often abate the evil. But there is something singularly formidable to the modest and scrupulous, singularly repulsive to the independent and high-souled, in the pretension to question and examine them on spiritual matters; or in the demand that they should make such professions, and adduce such evidence about themselves, as shall satisfy the inquisitorial authorities of the religious body which is to receive them. It is this which is the inherent vice of Puritanism—the use not of a moral test merely, nor of such a test combined with the acceptance of a creed, but of one which is definitely spiritual in the constitution of its societies. Who has not seen the deterrent effects of such a system upon the youthful and ingenuous on the one hand, upon the freer and more manly spirits on the other—effects which perpetually keep hereditary Dissenters from full communion with those among whom their lot is cast, or even drive them to seek refuge in the more genial atmosphere of the historic churches? and who cannot see the mischievous tendencies of the same system in the case of those who remain within the exclusive precincts — tendencies to narrowness, censoriousness, fanaticism on those who are sincere and upright, and to far worse in those who (in Puritan as in all other churches) are inwardly untrue to their profession?

And now contrast the practice of historic churches—by which term we understand churches which have not been self-constituted under some special influence or for some special purpose, but which descend directly from the original stock, either in unbroken order, or with such a breach merely as public authority has sanctioned. With these the right of membership is freely conceded to all who by the natural order of things have a place within their pale. Doubtless many inconsistencies, many evils even, result from this concession: still they are evils which depend on the mixed character of all earthly things; and inconsistencies which are not referable to the choice or agency of men, but to a law of Providence predicted and forecalculated accordingly. The counsel to 'let both grow together till the harvest,' is the warrant for patient submission to much which is undeniably hurtful and unseemly. But while this counsel does not preclude the exercise of discipline in cases of moral delinquency, it secures

by forbidding intrusion into the domain of conscience, that the Christian character, in all its stages and all its varieties, shall have time and leave to grow, and that thus a larger and more spontaneous development shall be evolved under the favouring influences of social advance and healthy intellectual progress.

We have used Mr. Arnold's term 'historic churches,' which we think a very felicitous one, hardly needing, perhaps, the definition of it which we have ventured to offer. The functions which we have here claimed for such churches eminently belong to those which are also National—those, namely, which are entwined with the institutions of a country, in which the ecclesiastical order and modes of worship have been developed according to the distinctive genius of the people, and which are publicly recognised by the Government as the normal and authorised phase of religious organisation. Historic churches are not, of course, all National; but it is the natural and almost necessary result of the acceptance of Christianity by a people that its church should assume a national character. It is to us almost incomprehensible how thoughtful and reasonable men (as so many of the Nonconformists are) should see an anomaly and almost a contradiction in terms between the words Church and National; that they should regard the combination as a thing not only unknown to Scripture, but actually incompatible with the very spirit of Christianity. Unknown to Scripture it is of course, by the very nature of the case, at least to the New Testament. But, waiving altogether the lessons of the Old Testament (which in this case we are far from thinking we ought to do), we would simply ask this question:—supposing St. Paul's visit to Rome to have resulted in the conversion of Cæsar and the Senate, followed by a general recognition of Christianity through the Empire, or at least by a general desire for instruction in the doctrines of the new religion, what would have been the consequence? Would it not have been—must it not have been—a national movement, sanctioned, superintended, guided by the central power at Rome? It is conceivable, indeed (as our modern Dissenters seem to conclude), that St. Paul would have sternly forbidden Cæsar to be a nursing father to the Church. It is conceivable that he might have protested against any decree, any resolution of the Senate, in answer to the prayer of Italy and the provinces; that he would have viewed with alarm the extension of official facilities, the application of territorial arrangements to the further extension of the Gospel; that he would have regarded with horror the utilisation of the civil and municipal boundaries for the

better superintendence, intercommunion, and growth of the scattered evangelical Churches. It is conceivable, perhaps, that whereas up to that time he had ascribed something of divine authority and sanctity to the powers that be (even when they were heathen), he would have changed his tone as soon as they became Christian, and denounced as unhallowed so profane an instrument as the secular authority. It is conceivable (we say) that all this might have been so; since under circumstances which were never realised we cannot pretend to say for certain what the Apostle's conduct might have been. But this we confidently affirm, that no words of his intimate that such would have been his decision; and of this, too, we are quite sure, that Cæsar and the Senate, unless expressly forbidden, would have been forward to employ the means at their disposal for an object desired by their subjects (for such is the hypothesis), and apparently commanded by God; that so far from feeling themselves bound to withhold assistance from the applicants, they would have regarded the claim advanced as one of irresistible force; that they would have interpreted (and reasonably interpreted) the precepts they had already received from Paul himself as justifying, nay compelling, the consecration of their high office to the welfare of the people, never suspecting that the one exception to that duty was in the highest department of all. Thus an ecclesiastical organisation would have sprung up even then, in connexion with and under the protection of the State. Nor could it well have happened otherwise but that sooner or later out of such a state of things would have arisen also the accessories which in due time actually followed, a legal status for the clergy, church endowments (at least from private sources), with many others of those characteristics of an Established Church which are now so strongly denounced as absolutely contrary to the spirit of Christianity.

We do not deny for a moment the magnitude of the difficulties which encompassed the position and government of the Church, when once this recognition was effected on the part of the community and of the State. The change was doubtless a momentous one, involving great dangers to purity of doctrine and simplicity of character. But the change was none the less inevitable. To all who are perplexed with the practical difficulties thence arising it would be a great relief undeniably, if they had an Apostle's judgment to refer to in the matter. But this has not been granted us. We are left, as best we may, to apply to altered circumstances those eternal principles which can never be obsolete or out of place. And surely it is not

too much to say, that, as there is a Wisdom above that of Apostles, the Wisdom which orders the course of events, it cannot be the best way of obtaining the guidance of that Wisdom to ignore the facts which Providence has established, and to confine ourselves obstinately to the narrow horizon which bounded the experience of apostolic times.

If we leave it to others to point out the worldliness, the corruptions, the arbitrary and persecuting spirit which have too often marked the history of National Churches, and of the English Church among them, it is not because we do not confess and deplore the truth of the charges adduced. We think that in their survey of the past relations between Dissenters and the Establishment, Mr. Arnold's critics have got the better of him. He would persuade us that throughout the conflict of parties there has been shown on the whole a large, free, and lofty spirit on the side of the Church, in marked contrast with the narrowness of the dissidents. But we cannot so read history. It is true doubtless that at any given period, had the position of the two parties been reversed, the oppressed party would probably have shown themselves the more intolerant oppressors. But assuredly a reasonable and generous spirit of concession at the Hampton Court or the Savoy Conferences would have won over the mass of malcontents, whose more violent demands were only drawn out by the crafty policy of uncompromising opponents. Room might easily have been made for them in the National communion; and the guilt of the disruption which eventually ensued lies chiefly at the door of those who refused to concede it.

We are far therefore from pressing a charge of schism against the existing sects of Nonconformists; and greatly as we deplore their existence, we readily and even gladly confess that they have done much, and may do much yet, to correct the evils of the National Church. They warn it of its perils, they expose its abuses, they indicate the reforms it needs, they show how its boundaries may safely be enlarged, they pioneer its advance, they teach in many respects a more excellent method of attaining its sacred ends. But ought it not to follow that, just in proportion as these facts are recognised amongst us, and a sincere endeavour is manifested to amend the faults and repair the wrongs of former generations, so progress should be made not only towards a kindlier feeling between the Church and its several offshoots, but towards reunion also—reunion on broader grounds in one consolidated community? Division in itself is palpably an evil thing, abhorrent to the Christian sense. And none can doubt

how much of the influence of Christianity on the world is lost in consequence. The waste of power expended in separate machinery is only exceeded by the discredit cast on religion itself by the rivalry and jealousies of its professors. And while, on the one hand, the Church suffers incalculably by the withdrawal from her service of so large a portion of the piety and energy of the nation, we are convinced that the sects suffer still more from the narrow limits to which they severally condemn themselves, the undiversified elements out of which they are recruited, and, above all, the unworthy expedients to which they are commonly driven for the means of maintaining their existence.

These evils are and cannot but be acknowledged by the nobler and more thoughtful minds among Nonconformists. They too, like Churchmen, are very generally manifesting the desire for a closer union between Christian bodies as well as individual Christians. But we fear that this desire is not leading them in the direction which we have indicated. The theory which with them finds most acceptance is this—that if the privileges belonging now to the State Church were abrogated, and all denominations placed on a footing of perfect equality, the sense of Christian brotherhood, and the recognition of truths held by all in common, would work upon all with a new and unifying force, forbidding everywhere the arrogant assumption of superior enlightenment, while each denomination would pursue with advantage its own chosen line of thought, and employ with greater freedom its own special machinery.

We have little to say against such expectations, in cases where nothing better is to be looked for, as, for instance, in the United States perhaps, and even in the British colonies; though there also we are unwilling to think that a better consummation is altogether impossible eventually, or a higher theory excluded even now from the views of thoughtful and high-minded men. And indeed is not the wish and hope for such a consummation the moving cause of that great gathering of representatives from all Protestant denominations, which, but for the war which has been convulsing Europe, was to have taken place last summer in America itself? Is nothing better contemplated by the promoters of that scheme than that each denomination should remain, as now, separate from every other, wrapped up in its own exclusive organisation, complacently regarding itself as the best (if not the sole) embodiment of the Christian idea, receiving nothing from other bodies and imparting nothing to them in return? each little community floating like distinct

globules of oil in an uncongenial and unassimilative medium, each confining its recognition of the others to courteous expressions of respect or occasional manifestations of alliance? Does no higher vision of the unity of the future present itself to the minds of the delegates who assemble to greet one another from the four corners of the earth? Does no vision arise of a time when difference in discipline, in modes of worship, and even in speculative doctrine, shall not only be tolerated in separate communities, but borne with, and even welcomed, within the limits of the same community—welcomed, because thus alone can the various requirements of individual temperament and social culture be provided for without breach of unity—welcomed, too, because all shall have learned that it is not always best for themselves to have their own prepossessions gratified and flattered and exaggerated? Would not such a fusion of what are now separate and rival denominations be far preferable to their present state of armed truce? And to go one step further, would it not be a still happier consummation if the alien medium in which these discordant bodies now find themselves floating should prove to be no longer alien and repulsive? if (to drop figurative language) the national community itself in each Christian state, confirming this freedom of the religious societies it contains, and being practically coextensive with the aggregate of them, were to extend over all its impartial and reconciling influence, thus realising in a more excellent way than is commonly intended the favourite theory of a Free Church in a Free State?

The realisation of this ideal is perhaps impossible, so long as men love to persuade themselves that their own way is God's way also. Certainly it is indefinitely remote. But that is no reason why we should not try to approximate to it; or, having effected some approximation, should not persevere in carrying it further by the use of the same means. And have we not already in this island a pledge at once, and an opening for such a consummation? We have two established Churches subsisting side by side, that of England and that of Scotland, each alike acknowledged by the State, each embracing very different schools of thought and doctrine and ceremonial practice; and we have denominational churches besides, not only tolerated by the State, but legalised, protected, and all but established. What if it be possible, in the case of the Church of England at least (for it is with this that we are now concerned), so to enlarge the terms of her communion—so to include, or at least make room for, the varied machinery which other denominations guided by experience have constructed—so to respect

and admit varieties of religious sentiment and honest Christian belief—as to bring about a nearer and nearer approximation to the happy ideal which we have indicated? There are often many routes to the same end; and an old country has ways and means open to it, which a new one is precluded from adopting. Why should we forfeit the advantages we inherit from the past, when those advantages can be made to promote the bright possibilities of the future? How unreasonable to demand the sacrifice of progress already made—of advanced posts already occupied—in order that a dead level may be secured from which to start afresh! And what a sacrifice is asked by those who would overturn the Church of England! The destruction of institutions which pervade every corner of the land and every class of society, knitting them together with ties of long-proved power—the dissolution of agencies which carry civilisation and beneficence and humanising influences into myriads of families, else neglected and degraded—the abandonment to decay and desolation of thousands of sanctuaries and pastoral homes, which are now centres of light and religion and charity—the forfeiture or waste or secularisation of revenues, 'saved' (as Dr. Arnold said) 'out of the scramble' of selfishness for the highest and most sacred purposes. Such is the first act of the proposed Liberationist drama! And for what? Even these sacrifices might not be too great if they would ensure or materially promote the desired end. But would they do so? and how? They would but create the chaos out of which the divine order was at last to spring, contributing nothing towards evolving that order, except by the abatement of jealousies which complainants are pleased to feel, and the removal of an inequality which juster measures would better rectify.

We have dwelt so fully in a former article* on the singular advantages possessed by a National Church, for freedom of opinion, for manly independence of thought, and for the necessary adjustment of religious dogma to the progress of human knowledge, that we will not enter upon that ground again. But we cannot but point out how largely the convictions which we then expressed have been confirmed by recent experience. We are encouraged more than ever to look to the Church of England for the maintenance of the harmony between reason and faith, and also for a centre round which the promoters of Christian union may rally.

And here we must notice first the recent decisions of the High Court of Appeal, the Judicial Committee of the Privy

* Edin. Rev. No. cclxi., 'The National Church.'

Council. It is loudly complained in some quarters that these decisions abridge the liberties of clergymen and will narrow the communion of the Church. We confess that we neither join in such complaints, nor share such apprehensions; ready though we are for the most part to deprecate ecclesiastical prosecutions. The cases in question were emphatically such as needed a firm and authoritative settlement. And the judgments just pronounced are the more seasonable, because the impression was gaining ground, and daily finding louder utterance, that, owing either to the vagueness of the Rubrics and formularies, or to the paradoxical subtleties of the legal mind, it was becoming impossible to restrain vagaries of ritual however fantastic, or violations of doctrine however audacious. The recent judgments in the cases of Mr. Purchas and Mr. Voysey will dispel this impression. They have amply vindicated the sufficiency of the law, and of the Courts which administer it, to enforce obedience to the rules, and respect for the doctrines of the Church. If greater liberty be thought desirable in either department, such liberty must be sought by legislative measures. Meanwhile, it is essential that the tribunals should show themselves competent to discharge their proper functions of determining and upholding the existing law. After all, we cannot see that in either case any abridgment has been suffered of equitable liberty; unless it be as respects the position of the officiating minister during the consecration prayer at the Communion. Trifling as this point seems, it is one nevertheless which will evidently cause much pain, and much difficulty to many excellent men: and we wish it could have been left as a matter of discretion; though, as the Court was called upon to pronounce on it, a decision one way or other became a necessity. In the employment of the obsolete vestments, and again in the use of wafers and of mixed wine, the licence of practice claimed by the Ritualists was by virtue obviously of mere inadvertencies in the framing of the Rubrics, and of a consequent ambiguity of language, which has now been carefully and impartially cleared up by an exhaustive consideration of the declared intentions and undoubted practice of those from whom it emanated. It was very undesirable that evasive ingenuity should succeed in baffling the evident purpose of Statute law and of ecclesiastical injunctions. And in the condemnation of the Ritualistic innovations which has now been finally pronounced, common sense has long ago come to the same conclusions as the Court, and rejoices to find those conclusions confirmed by the strict rules of legal exposition.

Mr. Voysey's case, though exciting less attention, is in-

trinsically a far more important one. And here too we defend the justice of a sentence which also we cannot regret. His is by no means a parallel case to that of the authors of 'Essays and Reviews,' or even of Bishop Colenso; forward as he has been to place himself deliberately in avowed antagonism to the teaching of the Church, and this too in his ministerial capacity, while uttering even before the simple and unlearned remarks which must be subversive of their faith in the Bible. If such conduct could escape with impunity, what (it may well be asked) can be held to constitute contravention of the Articles and Creeds, or depravation of Scripture and its doctrines? At the same time we observe with the greatest satisfaction how carefully the Judgment has endeavoured to preserve the just liberty accorded to clergymen in previous decisions of the Court—laying down afresh the principle that a large latitude of construction must be allowed in the exposition and application of the formularies; and implying moreover that an erroneous interpretation of them, however mistaken, is still (if honest) neither necessarily penal, nor even in all cases inadmissible; while the rights of serious critical inquiry, freely examining the Scriptures, and discussing the relative authority of their constituent portions, will not be disregarded in the trial of clergymen arraigned for heterodox opinions.

Where the functions of the tribunal end, there those of the Legislature begin. It is precisely because the Church of England advances no pretensions to infallibility and unchangeableness (we do not speak of the extravagant claims of individuals or of particular schools within it), but on the contrary shows itself open to correction and improvement, that we regard it with such hopefulness; because, true to the idea of existing for the sake of the spiritual and moral elevation of the community, it does not refuse to confess its shortcomings, to amend its arrangements, and even to modify its tenets, according as experience brings wider wisdom, or as it gains a better comprehension of those inspired documents to which it consistently appeals as the ultimate rule of faith.

Such a spirit has been largely manifested in the Church of late. It has been shown very strikingly in the proceedings of the Royal Commissions. These Commissions have been selected with singular and exemplary impartiality; a fact which of itself speaks eloquently for the merits of that system of State superintendence which Nonconformists and ultra High Churchmen concur in denouncing as Erastian. Constructed out of such diverse materials, little was expected from them by many but endless and hopeless dissension. Yet what has been

the result? With respect to the terms of Clerical Subscription a wise and healing measure, unanimously recommended and adopted with universal approbation. And if in the proceedings of the latest Commission we have not yet witnessed such satisfactory results, still these have been far from fruitless. Of two of the Reports, presented with scarcely a dissentient voice, we have in the one a most useful and welcome revisal of the Lectionary; while the other (the earliest of all) contained the first suggestion, crude, it may have been, but likely to prove a pregnant and most important one, of the future government of parishes on Congregational principles. The final Report, disappointing as we confess it is, chiefly on account of the unfortunate illness of the Primate, we cannot now stay to criticise. The refusal of the Commissioners to touch the 'Ornaments Rubric' during the impending lawsuits was reasonable in itself, and has been justified by the event. But we regret that they have lost the opportunity of removing several causes of offence from the Prayer Book, and thereby of obviating such sweeping measures as Mr. Morgan's Burials Bill. It can be no matter of surprise that Government should decline to propose to the Legislature the adoption of those minor amendments in the Rubric which are recommended, when discussions of so much larger moment must necessarily be thereby provoked, especially on the question of the Athanasian Creed—a point upon which the majority of the Commissioners appear to be so strangely at variance with their own Report.* Still we cannot regard the result of the Commission even in these respects as an abortive one. Subjects of the greatest importance have been mooted, substantial reforms have received an amount of support from the highest ecclesiastical authorities, which makes their speedy adoption a matter almost of certainty; the changes unanimously recommended are all on the side of liberal concession and increased elasticity of action; while again we call attention to the encouraging fact that the supremacy of the Crown in matters ecclesiastical (the keystone as it is of the alliance between Church and State) has proved in this instance, as before, a source of healing and harmonising influence among conflicting parties—a mediatory agency such

* See, in explanation of this apparent contradiction, the Preface to Dean Stanley's little treatise, just published, on the Athanasian Creed—an able and most forcible exposition of the nature, origin, and significance of that famous formulary; showing the embarrassments which beset its use, the contradictions in which its advocates are necessarily involved, and the certainty that its employment in the public worship of the Church of England will before long be abandoned, as it has been by all the other Christian Churches.

as in other religious bodies is lacking, whether in the so-called Free Churches, or in the Church of Rome itself—bringing to bear on disputed points, through the co-operation of divines and statesmen, that cool and impartial judgment, that mutual forbearance and toleration, that waiving of minor differences in view of one supreme object, which is rarely to be found in a body of delegates on the one hand, or on the other in a privileged clerical class.

In another and unexpected quarter, again, it is most welcome to find a growing spirit of liberality and expansiveness. No one can have read the debates in Convocation during the last year or two, without seeing that the clergy of the English Church have begun to desire and to look for a wider and more comprehensive system. Changes in the discipline and ministrations of the Church, and even in the Prayer-Book itself, are proposed and advocated, sometimes with general approval, rarely with anything like general reprobation — changes which, if effected, would disarm the enmity of many opponents, and infuse new efficiency into parts of the system distasteful now or unintelligible to the masses. Nonconformists are spoken of with respect, and with the evident wish to conciliate and attract them; plans are proposed for their recovery; nay, in the Convocation of York an authoritative attempt has been made to open the way to reunion with one of the denominations. Finally, we hail with peculiar hopefulness the movement which was initiated last year by the Convocation of the Southern Province to amend our English Bible. We should have spoken of this a few months ago, however, with far greater satisfaction, not only for the boon it promised to confer upon all English-speaking Christians, but still more because it was accompanied by so generous an appeal to other Christian bodies to lend the aid of their scholarship and their sympathy to a work which all are concerned alike to effect as well as possible. Even under a Royal Commission, we could hardly have expected to witness such a spectacle. Still more gratifying was it, therefore, to see it realised under the auspices of Convocation itself—to see Baptists, and Wesleyans, and Independents, and even Unitarians collected together under the presidency of Anglican bishops, and engaged harmoniously in a work which, while it encourages mutual esteem, cannot fail to draw forth, as no other equally could, the love of truth, the spirit of impartiality, and the sense of fundamental union. But it is not without misgivings that we dwell on the subject now, remembering the outburst of alarm and intolerance which has almost

carried both Houses of Convocation into a reversal of their original measures. Nothing in our opinion could have been more becoming and more laudable than the initiatory proceeding which provoked that outburst; when prelates and dignitaries of the Established Church joined in the most sacred act of Christian worship with their Nonconformist colleagues, nonconformist no longer for that great occasion. The venerable Abbey of Westminster has, in our judgment, witnessed no nobler spectacle, nor one more replete with hopeful omens for the future. There were difficulties, doubtless, doctrinal as well as technical, which could not but be felt on both sides; and more especially in the particular instance which has been singled out for reprobation. But assuredly this was a case where the law of charity recommended forgetfulness of minor difficulties on either side; and we rejoiced to observe that the act, while tacitly confirmed even by the Lower House of Convocation, was expressly justified afterwards by the mild wisdom and large-hearted tolerance of the Archbishop of Canterbury. That the alarmed susceptibilities of intemperate enthusiasts should nevertheless have frightened the Bishops into a course so unworthy of them, is much to be lamented. Happily, the courage and moral energy of a few determined remonstrants, headed by Bishop Thirlwall and Dean Stanley, have saved, though barely saved, Convocation from a practical conclusion as disastrous as it was inconsistent.

Looking more widely over the country at large, we see in many quarters additional signs of the hopefulness for the future of the Church. The charges of bishops and archdeacons, the resolutions and utterances of church congresses and conferences, all show more or less the same spirit of expansiveness, the same increasing willingness to tolerate, to modify, and to enlarge. Doubtless there is much also of an opposite nature—lofty pretensions which are fatal to comprehension, unsparing denunciations of measures which seem to us essential. But it is something—it is much—amidst all which we are forced to deplore, that there is so general an emancipation from the dread of change, so general a readiness to see in present exigencies a call to multiply the agencies and put forth the powers of the Church, such a willingness to adopt even from Nonconformists something of the machinery which their energy has invented or developed. The evangelical zeal of the Ritualists, so unexpectedly put forth, and their direct and homely adaptation of their services to the wants of the masses, strangely as this is combined with puerile devotion to mediæval ornamentation, is but one phase, though a striking one, of

the general movement. Meanwhile there is a notable stir among that portion of the Evangelical party which has hitherto been most impassive to the call for reform. Mr. Ryle, one of the acknowledged leaders of that party, has lately startled the readers of the 'Record' newspaper with a series of letters, which by the aid of the provincial press have been still further diffused over the country, in which he advocates the most sweeping measures of change as absolutely necessary. Deprecating ourselves the flippancy of the writer's tone, the violence of his statements, and the crudeness of his suggestions, we yet hail the appearance of movement in those stagnant regions where hitherto Dean Goode's apologetic doctrines of finality have prevailed. And we are persuaded that the far more moderate terms in which Mr. Ryle expressed himself in the Church Congress at Southampton may be accepted as indicating convictions now common amongst Evangelical Churchmen that much of the present system must be abandoned, and much conceded, with a view to a closer union with those who are their natural allies.

Of the broader school of English Churchmen we need hardly speak in this conjunction. It is an essential part of their aim and hope to remove obstacles and bring forward inducements to a larger comprehensiveness. Dean Stanley, who is justly regarded as the chief and most influential representative of the school, has recently republished in his volume of 'Essays on 'Church and State,' the pamphlets and articles with which, for many years past, he has been endeavouring not unsuccessfully to advance this great work. If we forbear to dwell in detail on the merits of that volume, it is mainly because so large a portion of it appeared originally in the pages of this Journal; a fact which we mention with pride and pleasure, and not without an increasing hope that the principles which we have steadfastly advocated may commend themselves more and more to the judgment of the country.

The temper of the High Church party we have in great measure noticed already while touching on the proceedings of Convocation. But as a further indication of the expanding views entertained by many of them, we may point to a volume published last year, under the title of 'The Church and the 'Age,' the complexion of which is sufficiently attested by the names of Dean Hook, Bishop Ellicott, and Dr. Irons. This volume contains, we must allow, many sentiments inspired by the narrowest Anglicanism, and so far discouraging in the highest degree to the prospects in which we indulge. But it surprised and delighted us to find much of an opposite cha-

racter; and that, above all, in the two concluding essays, written by the joint editors of the work, the Rev. W. D. Maclagan and the Rev. Archibald Weir. We did not happen to have heard before the names of either of these gentlemen—names which we can hardly be wrong in connecting with the northern kingdom, and regarding as fresh instances of the good effects produced by the infusion into the Anglican communion of views and tendencies brought from beyond the border. Mr. Maclagan, in his essay on 'The Church and the People,' pleads nobly and forcibly for that larger liberty and elasticity in the services of the Church of which the Scottish Kirk and the Nonconformists of England have alike shown the advantage; while Mr. Weir, in a still higher strain of catholicity, expounds the theory which is Mr. Arnold's also—the theory of a Church embracing in one pale a large diversity of theological tenets, in accordance with the pre-existing diversity of mental constitutions. While avowedly rejoicing in the large scope already allowed within the Church of England, he looks forward, like ourselves, to the possibility and promise of a larger comprehension still; adding counsels to his fellow-churchmen in the meanwhile as wise and moderate as they are liberal and far-sighted. We sincerely hope that we shall not only meet Mr. Weir again in our capacity of critics, but hear also of his influence and activity in the Church which he serves.

While the clergy are thus in so many quarters advancing the enlargement of their communion, there is no want of proof on every side that the laity of the Church will not be behind them in supporting large and well-considered measures, when such shall be submitted to the Legislature. Witness the prevailing feeling, even at the Universities themselves, in favour of the admission of Dissenters to Fellowships. Witness again the support accorded to the still more liberal proposal to open the pulpits of the Church to ministers of other denominations. But we confess that the prospects are less cheering when we turn to the Nonconformists. On their side a proud self-complacency, a suspicious reserve, and a resolute abstinence from anything like counter-advances is too generally perceptible. But even this fact has its encouraging aspect. For if such are seen to be severally the effects of the system of sectarianism and the system of a National Church upon the minds of their votaries, the spectacle cannot fail to affect the nobler spirits among the Nonconformists, and to shake their faith in principles which so cramp the sympathies and promote disunion. We entertain the highest opinions of the great qualities of many of them; qualities which Mr. Arnold

too has not failed most unequivocally to acknowledge. And while speaking of volumes of essays, we must notice one which, under the title of 'Ecclesia,' was published last summer, being the joint work of a few eminent Independent ministers. The essays are all temperate and able; some of them remarkably striking, and worthy to be widely read and pondered by Churchmen: all the more, because this is the direction which ecclesiastical reform tends now more especially to take. They are kindly in their tone towards the Established Church, just and appreciative of its merits in many ways, even when most keenly criticising it. Yet the tone of excessive self-complacency which we noticed just now runs through this volume also; nor have we observed in any part of it the expression of sorrow for the disruption, or desire for the reunion, of the Church. Only two or three of the essays betray the suspicion, if we remember rightly, that Congregationalism is not perfect; only one of them recommends any practical changes; and even in this (Mr. Rogers's contribution), the suggestions for reform are so timidly made, and with such disclaimers of innovating propensities, that English clergymen may well be reconciled to their twofold bondage to Church and State. Can it be that 'the Congregational 'Union' is capable of such proceedings as those of the Wesleyan Conference at Burslem last summer, when an unfortunate minister was cashiered for venturing to question the wisdom and spiritual benefits of the class system? The announcement of this proceeding appeared in the 'Times' of August 4th, side by side with the Archbishop of Canterbury's calm and law-loving answer to the anti-ritualist agitators; supplying a curious comment on the contrast between the Church which Liberationists would free, and those which are free already. With respect to the Congregational Union, we regret that it should have issued its recent manifesto in support of Mr. Miall's Bill for the Disestablishment of the National Church. A body consisting of the ministers and representatives of Christian congregations, meeting professedly for the promotion of evangelical religion and the maintenance of their own religious liberty, is hardly acting up to its ideal standard by taking a forward part in aggressive politics; and we cannot but be reminded of Mr. Arnold's remark, that though religion is good and politics are good, 'they make a fractious mixture.'

Individuals, of course, whether laic or clerical, may freely express their sentiments; and we could not wish for a fairer and more manly, as well as able, antagonist, than the Rev. J. Baldwin Brown, whose remarks on the subject before us, lately pub-

lished,* we must here notice briefly. Frankly and generously acknowledging that the principle of an Establishment has been highly beneficial and even necessary in its time, he urges that its day is now past—the whole current of the age is against it—statesmen and thinkers of all classes are becoming more and more convinced that the work of the Christian Church is done better and more nobly without secular aid—the religious life, just like the higher intellectual life, of the nation thriving best when left altogether to itself. We reply that, as to the current of the age tending irresistibly towards disestablishment, this is true neither more nor less than that it tends to the abolition of monarchy, of aristocracy, and of all privileges whatsoever, whether of classes or of persons—tendencies which doubtless are very patent and very powerful, which no statesman can disregard, no thinker can stigmatise as evil, but which, notwithstanding, few reasonable men of any party or station would wish to see wholly dominant. Then, as to the higher intellectual life, we are convinced that it is very materially dependent on establishments and endowments, in the shape of Universities and Schools (to say nothing here of the Church also), with their stimulants, their aids, their facilities for study. Doubtless the higher growths of genius are often independent of these, yet hardly independent of the seed which through them is continually supplied and diffused throughout the country. Similarly we are sure that the standard of theology, and we suspect of preaching also, would suffer materially by the abolition of the Establishment; and that this deterioration would be felt not least in that denomination of which both Mr. Brown and Mr. Dale are such distinguished ornaments—a denomination which owes more than it is aware of to the steady attraction and moderating influence of the great body which it protests against. But far more than effective preaching or theological attainments, our thoughts revert to the beneficent pastoral agency of the Church; that agency which would be fatally affected by the measure of disestablishment.

But surely, says Mr. Brown, the Church, if worthy of the name, will survive disestablishment and disendowment too. With all the advantages it has enjoyed, with the prestige of centuries attached to it, surely the Independent Episcopal Church could trust its own vitality, nay confidently look to remain the first and most powerful branch of the Christian Church in the land. 'The Independent Episcopal Church!' The title at once suggests the woeful change which would have

* Contemporary Review, January, 1871.

been undergone. A powerful body doubtless; though more likely two or three powerful bodies, each claiming to be the inheritor of the past, and each pressing accordingly with exaggerated emphasis the peculiar tenets on which its pretensions rested. But even if (after all secessions from it) still unbroken, yet no longer comprehensive or expansive; no longer even in hope, or effort, or possibility national; and this precisely because it would be 'independent,' because it would be deprived of the present effective and, as it seems to us, rightful, salutary, and sacred bond of union between diverse schools of thought—the administration, namely, of a joint trust for the highest purposes, conferred and watched over by the highest earthly power. This is a view, however, which we almost despair of making our Nonconformist opponents understand. They, too, like ourselves (we doubt not), can repeat and admire the famous maxim: '*In certis veritas; in dubiis libertas;* '*in omnibus caritas.*' But with them it is a truth which must be sharply defined and sternly held; a liberty which must submit to run in some sectarian channel; a charity which is never at ease while retaining on its feet the dust of a brother's errors.

The temper of the rival systems has been lately exemplified on a larger scale in the recent history of the Education Bill, which we refer to here as showing very strikingly the natural tendency of the principles which we contrast. For many years past, as everyone knows, the work of educating the children of the poor in England has been most zealously and effectively promoted by the parochial clergy, in spite of a cost often beyond their means, and with a self-denial which bore to see the fruits of their labours reaped largely on Sundays by the Dissenting minister. Now why was this? Not because a Churchman is necessarily a better or less bigoted man than a Nonconformist; but because the parish clergyman, however deeply (and it may be unduly) attached to fixed doctrines and prescribed formularies, still knows and feels that the theory of his position is to work for the benefit of all, and is constrained in direct proportion to his conscientiousness so to do.

Such being the existing state of things, when Government brought in the Education Bill of last Session, how was that Bill met on either side? We have seldom seen a more apt illustration of the case of the two mothers in Solomon's judgment. Mr. Arnold is not too severe in the remarks he makes on the parliamentary champions of the party. We share his hope, however, and his belief, that they were not really the representatives of the bodies for whom they claimed to speak.

And while we are sure that the country in general has not been slow to judge of either tree by its fruits, as has been shown indeed in the recent elections of School Boards, we trust that many among the Nonconformists in particular will be led to reconsider their position, and to reflect whether, after all, a National Church is so unchristian an institution, and dissent from it so sacred a duty, as they have long been taught to think.

II. But it is time before we conclude to cast a glance on that other portion of the subject which Mr. Arnold has handled —the doctrinal causes which have led to secession from the English Church. It is by St. Paul's authority chiefly that dissidents would seek to justify their position; and in the case of both Calvinists and Solifidians, principally on the ground of certain passages in the Epistle to the Romans. This Epistle, more than any other part of Scripture, has been made the stronghold of peculiar dogmatical systems, often in disregard, not to say contradiction, of other parts of Holy Writ equally claiming deferential acceptance. It has occupied the attention of controversialists quite disproportionately to its intrinsic importance, great as that importance is. M. Renan aptly remarks that dogmatic theology was born on the day when this letter was despatched from the port of Cenchreæ to the rising Christian community at Rome.

Now without entering on theological discussions, which we wish to avoid, we are impelled to challenge the undue supremacy accorded to this Epistle over all others which St. Paul has written, and indeed over all the doctrinal writings of the rest of the Apostles. If we are to claim for some one of the Pauline Epistles a pre-eminence over all besides on the ground of the wider experience and the maturer wisdom which suggested it, such pre-eminence assuredly cannot be adjudged to this one in particular. Doubtless such a superiority is claimed for it, not without reason, over those that are of earlier date; but by parity of reasoning it must give place itself to those which were written three or four years later, during his imprisonment at Rome. And, indeed, it is impossible to doubt that, granting the compatibility of inspiration with mental growth and progress in wisdom, the period which witnessed his confinement at Cæsarea, his voyage to Rome, his residence in the great city, and his intercourse during all that time with Western Gentiles of all classes, could have failed to enlarge the Apostle's sphere of thought, and to teach him to grasp more freely and more comprehensively the central principles of the Gospel which he delivered

But still it may be said that the Epistle to the Romans, more than any other, is a systematic and exhaustive treatise. In one sense, doubtless, so it is. But if by this be meant (as even Mr. Arnold seems to think) that it contains an exposition of the Gospel addressed specifically both to Jew and to Gentile, the assertion seems to us to be directly contrary to fact. The Roman Christians to whom St. Paul was writing were essentially Judaic in their conceptions, and to them alone he addresses himself. They had reached Christianity as Jewish proselytes through the medium of Judaism, and all their ideas of it were tinged with this local colour. Knowing this, and intensely alive to the importance of a Church placed at the very centre of world-wide influence, and exposed to the narrow and mischievous errors which everywhere he so earnestly combated, the Apostle sets himself with all the energy of his powerful mind to expound the doctrines of Christianity. Yet this he does with a care so delicate not to offend the prejudices of his readers, and with an understanding so thorough of those prejudices, as almost to amount to a sympathy with them. Such a treatise, however elaborate, cannot be represented as being equally addressed to those to whom such prejudices are almost unintelligible. And it is because we are now expected by religionists to read the Epistle under a belief in our need of the same arguments as the Romans, that we get into so helpless a state of mind in reading it. Can anyone seriously think that St. Paul would have written in the same strain to a Church composed of thoughtful Gentile Romans—men, we will not say like Seneca and Gallio, but even like Julius the centurion? Even to Seneca and such as him, whether in the character of converts or of inquirers, who can doubt but that Paul would have known how to state his message powerfully and persuasively? We have no such specimens of his teaching preserved to us, or at least only short and imperfect summaries of such in the Book of Acts. But assuredly we have an approximation to it in the Epistles to the Colossians, and the Ephesians (so called), and again to the Philippians, rather than in that to the Judaising Romans. Here then, rather than in the latter, we are to look for the fundamental principles of his teaching 'my Gospel' as he called it elsewhere, 'that Gospel 'which I preach among the Gentiles.' Even here we must guard in some degree against a factitious attitude of mind, producing distorted impressions. We must remember that we read as bystanders (so to speak), not as direct recipients—not as those for whom the words were specially intended, and to whom they were immediately addressed. It is this canon of criticism, long

neglected under a false conception of the nature of inspired writings, which is now giving such freshness and force to the revived study of the Bible; and in the application of which (hazardous often, we grant, and tending to rationalism) we need divines to guide us endowed with great qualities spiritual and intellectual also.

Mr. Arnold deserves our thanks for having in so large a measure drawn out the true ideal of St. Paul from their accidental surroundings, and shown how unlike is his theology to the favourite systems of Puritanism—systems which often arise in fact from distorted reproductions in a modern form of notions which the Apostle shared just so far as to seek to bend them in the direction of Christianity. Our author is severely assailed by his critics for adopting this view of the matter. 'We were 'told just now (they say) by Mr. Arnold that the Roman 'Christians judaised; now he would have us believe that the 'Apostle judaises himself.' Well, who can deny that he does so, unless we contradict his own assertion: 'To the Jews I 'became a Jew that I might gain the Jews'?

Mr. Arnold analyses the Epistle to the Romans, dividing it into what he calls primary, subprimary, and secondary parts (p. 151). Fortified ourselves by the teaching of the three great Gentile Epistles (to which we add also those to the Thessalonians), we see every reason to confirm his conclusions in this respect; we think too that he has truthfully and strikingly described the leading characteristics of St. Paul's mind, as being an enthusiastic longing after righteousness and an overwhelming sense of his natural inability to attain to it. But when we pass with him 'from the sphere of morals into the sphere of religion' (p. 112), Mr. Arnold must pardon us for saying that, in spite of much even here which is beautiful and true in his essay, we are deeply dissatisfied with his exhibition of Pauline doctrine. We cannot accept his conception of faith as at all sufficient (p. 130, &c.); we demur to his merely mystical view of resurrection (p. 146); and when he tells us that 'science cannot 'follow theologians into the transcendental distinctions they 'make between Jesus and Socrates' (p. 138), we can only say that such science has little in common with Christianity. These theological questions, however, are not for us to deal with; and we merely notice them now as points in which we think Mr. Arnold's book deserves the blame it has met with; points in which he has either gone too far as an analytical critic, or not far enough as a Christian teacher.

And now briefly, in conclusion, let us say that, notwithstanding all discouragements, we cherish the hope of a time ap-

proaching when Churchmen and Orthodox Dissenters shall coalesce on the basis of a simpler doctrinal system and a broader ecclesiastical constitution; leaving inevitable differences in these matters to be badges, if need be, not of sects but of schools. We are thankful to see so many proofs of the possibility of such a fusion in the expanding views and growing charity of both parties; and if these are more observable on the side of the Church than on that of the separatists, thus much is certainly due from those by whom the wrongs have been chiefly committed, and by whom the exclusive rights are still enjoyed. We will not venture to suggest more definitely the measures by which the desired consolidation might be effected; but in truth it is not so much practical suggestions which are needed now, as an increase of the wish on both sides to reach the desirable end. 'Our main business' (as Mr. Arnold well remarks elsewhere) 'is not so much to work away 'at certain crude reforms, of which we have already sketched 'the scheme in our own mind, as to create a frame of mind out 'of which really fruitful reforms may with time grow' (Culture and Anarchy, p. 253). On the part of the Church, however, some of these reforms are more and more generally felt to be necessary; and if effected, would assuredly do much in opening the way to reconciliation and union. Limits doubtless there must be, after all, to any possible combination between conscientious men earnestly persuaded of the intrinsic importance of their respective tenets. But even at the point where fusion is no longer possible, federal union may be carried further still. And, certain as it seems to be that modern thought will take more and more the direction in too many cases of departure from Christian faith, it behoves all who have the same sacred cause at heart to unite in defending the truths which they hold most precious, and in maintaining for the country that national profession of Christianity which they believe to be in all things essential to its welfare.

ART. V.—*The Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley, including various Additional Pieces from MS. and other sources.* The Text carefully Revised, with Notes and a Memoir. By WILLIAM MICHAEL ROSSETTI. 2 vols. London: 1870.

THAT a new and carefully-revised edition of Shelley's works was needed has long been admitted, and even insisted on, by the students and critics of his poetry. In all existing editions the text, it is well known, had numerous inaccuracies and corruptions, some of which seriously affect both the metre and the sense. The late Professor Craik, in noticing Mrs. Shelley's four-volume edition of her husband's poems, gives from the first volume alone a long list of errata affecting a number of lines in several of Shelley's most exquisite pieces. Some of these, such as 'the blue Ægean girls' instead of 'the blue Ægean girds,' are obvious misprints corrected in subsequent issues. But the majority of corrupt passages—some, it is true, involving nice points of criticism—reappear in the one-volume editions, and have continued to disfigure the text. Supposing the number of errors in the three other volumes of Mrs. Shelley's edition to be no greater than those pointed out in the first, there would still be in Shelley's poems upwards of a hundred lines and passages requiring critical revision. But recent discussions on the subject show that the actual difficulties of the text are both more numerous and more important than earlier critics had supposed them to be. Mr. Swinburne, who has taken an active part in these discussions, hardly exaggerates when he says, 'It is seldom that the work of a 'scholiast is so soon wanted as in Shelley's case it has been. 'His text is still a matter of debate and comment, as though 'he were a classic newly unearthed. Certain passages begin to 'be famous as crucial subjects for emendation, and the master 'singer of our modern poets shares with his own masters and 'models the least enviable proof of fame—that given by corrupt 'readings and diverse commentaries.'

It was his intimate knowledge of these imperfections that led Mr. Rossetti to undertake the task of editing Shelley's poetical works, and in executing this task he has directed his attention mainly to the text. The new edition contains, it is true, a number of early poems and fragments not previously included in the collected works, with some that have never yet been printed. Many of these are of indifferent merit, but they are all of some interest and value, as helping to illustrate the growth and development of Shelley's poetical genius. There

is also prefixed to the first volume a memoir by the editor which condenses the known facts of Shelley's life into a clear and readable narrative, and deals with the disputed points of his history in a spirit of candour and impartiality. But the most important feature of the new edition is the careful revision of the text, on which a good deal of minute critical labour has evidently been expended. The editor has done his best to recover and turn to account the materials still available for the correction of Shelley's text. These, it must be confessed, are not very abundant, or of much authority. The manuscripts of the more important poems are not known to exist, and in these cases the first printed editions—especially those published under Shelley's own eye—are the only sources available for critical comparison and revision. These have supplied a few improved readings, and removed some of the more obvious corruptions of later texts. But the most critical use of first editions leaves the great mass of difficult passages untouched, and for the correction of these Mr. Rossetti has had to fall back on conjectural emendation. It is, perhaps, useless to expect anything like general agreement in relation to this most difficult part of an editor's work, and we certainly cannot accept many of Mr. Rossetti's suggested corrections. Still, some of his readings are happy, and in wielding the two-edged weapon of critical conjecture, he displays in the main both caution and skill. His work is, indeed, marked throughout, not only by intelligence, but by unflagging zeal and enthusiasm in the execution of his chosen task. As a natural result, we have in the volumes before us a completer collection and more accurate text of Shelley's poetical works than has hitherto been given to the world.

It is a curious psychological problem how it is that amongst modern poets Shelley should be distinguished by his comparative neglect of minute verbal accuracy; how it comes to pass that the text even of poems which he himself carefully revised should be so extremely imperfect. Mr. Rossetti's solution of this problem, while true as far as it goes, appears to us hardly satisfactory or sufficient. Strictly speaking, indeed, it can scarcely be called an explanation at all, being little more than a detailed and elaborate statement of the fact:—

'If we inquire *why* Shelley has suffered so much in the printed form of his poems, we shall find that the responsibility rests upon three defendants—Shelley himself, Casualty, and Mrs. Shelley. Shelley was essentially careless as a writer. Spite of his classical education and tastes, and his cultivated perceptions of many kinds, he was at all times capable of committing, and incapable of avoiding, slips of grammar and

syntax—slips which may, indeed, be called small, but which are not the less gross—and other oversights, such as rhymes left unsupplied, or nullified by writing the wrong word.'

The two last sources of inaccuracy mentioned by Mr. Rossetti may, however, be dismissed, as they can only affect poems not revised on their first appearance by Shelley himself. And some of the greatest difficulties in sense, construction, and metre occur in the longer poems, such as 'The Revolt of Islam,' corrected in proof by Shelley's own hand. The problem is, how it happens that in these poems there are grammatical laxities and metrical oversights, which are not only stumbling-blocks to readers of ordinary cultivation, but the despair of acute and accomplished verbal critics. Mr. Rossetti, as we have seen, does little more than emphasise the fact that Shelley was in the habit of making such slips, and perhaps it is difficult to get much beyond this in the way of definite explanation. Still, it seems desirable to offer, if possible, some rational account of so curious a feature of Shelley's writing. An attempt to throw some light upon it may at least be made.

This uncritical negligence, the want of minute accuracy in the details of his verse, seems to us intimately connected with the whole character of Shelley's mind, and especially with the lyrical sweep and intensity of his poetical genius. He had an intellect of the rarest delicacy and analytical strength, that intuitively perceived the most remote analogies, and discriminated with spontaneous precision the finest shades of sensibility, the subtilest differences of perception and emotion. He possessed a swift soaring and prolific imagination that clothed every thought and feeling with imagery in the moment of its birth, and instinctively read the spiritual meanings of material symbols. His fineness of sense was so exquisite that eye and ear and touch became, as it were, organs and inlets not merely of sensitive apprehension, but of intellectual beauty and ideal truth. Every nerve in his slight but vigorous frame seemed to vibrate in unison with the deeper life of nature in the world around him, and, like the wandering harp, he was swept to music by every breath of material beauty, every gust of poetical emotion. Above all, he had a strength of intellectual passion and a depth of ideal sympathy that in moments of excitement fused all the powers of his mind into a continuous stream of creative energy, and gave the stamp of something like inspiration to all the higher productions of his muse. His very method of composition reflects these characteristics of his mind. He seems to have been urged by a sort of irresistible impulse to write, and displayed a vehement and passionate absorption in the

work that recalls the old traditions of poetical frenzy and divine possession. His conceptions crowded so thickly upon him, were embodied in such exquisite verbal forms, and so enriched by illustrations flashed from remote and multiplied centres of association, that while the fever lasted his whole nature was carried impetuously forward on a full tide of mingled music and imagery. From this exuberance of poetical power some of his critics have reproached him with accumulating image upon image without pausing to select, discriminate, or contrast them. And it is no doubt true that there are passages in which metaphors and similes are heaped on each other in almost dazzling profusion. But even in his most opulent and ornate descriptions there is hardly a trace of conscious labour or deliberate effort. In his higher work the brilliant diction and splendid imagery glow with kindled emotion, and are wrought into the very substance of the poem by the sustained vehemence and rapture of his impassioned verse. Many of his most exquisite pieces were in this way produced almost at a sitting—at a single heat, as it were—and some of his longest poems, such as 'The Revolt of Islam' and 'The Cenci,' were completed in a few months. Once engrossed with a great poetical conception, all his powers were kindled to a pitch of the highest intensity, and amidst the crowding realities of imagination the whole world of sense grew pale and dim, and everything around became for the time unsubstantial as a dream.

This power of complete and passionate absorption in an ideal world of his own had marked Shelley from his earliest years. The stories told of his boyhood and youth strikingly illustrate this feature of his character. His relative and early companion, Medwin, tells us, for example, that at Sion House, Brentford, where they were at school together, Shelley was habitually given to waking dreams, from which he was with great difficulty aroused, and that when he did awake 'his eyes flashed, 'his lips quivered, his voice was tremulous with emotion, a 'sort of ecstasy came over him, and he talked more like a spirit 'or an angel than a human being.' And the curious account given by Hogg, of the way in which during their walks together round Oxford, he would pause at any wayside pond or pool, set little paper vessels afloat, and, taking no note of time, watch with exquisite enjoyment the fortunes of his tiny fleet, brings into strong relief the same habit of mind. Shelley himself, however, gives the most vivid picture of this abstracted mood in the description of the poet by one of the spirits in 'Prometheus':—

'He will watch from dawn to gloom
The lake-reflected sun illume
The yellow bees in the ivy-bloom,
Nor heed nor see what things they be;
But from these create he can
Forms more real than living man,
Nurslings of immortality!'

Shelley's 'nurslings of immortality' were produced in such seasons of wrapt and exulting vision, and they bear in every part authentic and indelible marks of their origin. The verbal obscurities and metrical defects that have given his critics so much trouble are amongst these marks. The thoughts and feelings and images that crowded upon him he was in the habit of committing to paper with the utmost rapidity, and so that the expression was clear and rhythmical enough to be for the moment a kind of musical transcript of what was passing in his own mind, he was satisfied. He could not pause to elaborate the niceties of diction while new and stimulating thoughts, fresh and more brilliant images, were every moment pressing for utterance. If any difficulty as to word or phrase arose, instead of staying to remove it, he left a blank and passed on to embody the fresh visions of ethereal beauty that filled the inward eye before they again faded into the obscurity out of which they had so swiftly arisen. Or he would sometimes give within brackets tentative or alternative expressions, to be afterwards examined and decided on more at leisure. When he returned to revise and complete the unfinished or fragmentary piece, his mind evidently kindled afresh into something like its first ardour, and the work was matured under conditions of poetical excitement similar to those that accompanied its birth. And once fairly finished he busied himself to get the new creation of his brain printed as soon as possible. His eagerness to publish and the reason he gives for it are highly interesting and characteristic. 'If you ask me,' he says, writing to his friend Trelawney, 'why I publish what few or none will care 'to read, it is that the spirits I have raised haunt me until 'they are sent to the devil of a printer. All authors are 'anxious to breech their bantlings.' The real reason was, of course, that his mind being full of new conceptions he wanted to be free for fresh creative efforts. In this way, having once published a poem, he considered himself to have done with it, and rarely attempted afterwards anything in the shape of critical revision. Nor in the first printing did he make any important alterations or correct the press with any great care. Some of his poems, it is true, sent from Italy in manuscript,

were carried through the press by friends in England, but this was probably rather an advantage in the way of accuracy than otherwise. Hunt, Peacock, and Gisborne would probably be more careful readers of proofs than Shelley. At least, 'The 'Revolt of Islam,' published under his own eye, contains perhaps more verbal and metrical difficulties than any other of his poems.

Not that Shelley was careless as to expression, or at all wanting in critical power. On the contrary, he had the finest instinct for language, which he had early cultivated so as to acquire a wonderful mastery over the more vivid, ideal, and expressive elements of poetical diction. But for this, indeed, with his rapid habit of composition, eagerness to print, and neglect of all after revision, the verbal difficulties of his poems would be far more serious than they are. Again, his prose writings show that he possessed a critical faculty of the rarest delicacy and penetration, a power of philosophical analysis of the keenest edge and finest temper. But the persistent exercise of this faculty upon his own poetry would have required an amount of deliberation and delay, a coolness of temperament, a power of standing aloof from his own work and regarding it in a purely objective point of view wholly foreign to Shelley's nature. In seasons of inspiration he concentrated his whole soul on the work in hand, wrought strenuously to invest his poetical conceptions with 'the light of language,' and present them to the world in the most perfect form, and having done so he deliberately left them to their fate. To have occupied himself afterwards in touching and retouching the finished work would have been in his view a waste of time. Such careful and minute critical revision could in any case only be undertaken in intervals of leisure as a reaction and relief from creative effort. But Shelley was always producing; the completion of one poetical work being almost invariably followed by the commencement of another. In the preface to 'The 'Revolt of Islam,' a poem half as long as the 'Æneid,' he offers what may be regarded as an explanation and defence of his procedure in this respect:—

'The poem now presented to the public occupied little more than six months in the composition. That period has been devoted to the task with unremitting ardour and enthusiasm. I have exercised a watchful and earnest criticism on my work as it grew under my hands. I would willingly have sent it forth to the world with that perfection which long labour and revision is said to bestow. But I found that if I should gain something in exactness by this method, I might lose much of the newness and energy of imagery and language as it flowed fresh from my mind.'

Shelley's longer poems rarely therefore display that perfect evenness of verbal and metrical finish which we find in later writers, and most of all in Tennyson. It must be remembered, however, that Tennyson has spent upwards of forty years in elaborating with consummate art a body of poetry hardly greater in amount than Shelley produced in seven. Nevertheless, in his best work Shelley is superior to Tennyson, not only in substance, but in form. His finest passages have a witchery of aërial music, an exquisiteness of ideal beauty, and a white intensity of spiritual passion which Tennyson never reaches. But the very qualities of mind and heart out of which these perfections spring carry with them the conditions of relative imperfection in the minor details of his work. The lyrical depth and impetuosity of feeling which carries Shelley on, and gives such freedom and grace to the poetical movement of his kindled thought, is unfavourable to perfect smoothness and accuracy in the mechanical details of his verse. He was often, in fact, too completely absorbed in the glorious substance of his poetry to give any minute attention to subordinate points of form. Thus, although from native fineness of ear his lines are never unrhythmical, the rhyme is often defective, and sometimes the metre as well. And while his thought, even in its most subtle refinements, is always lucid, the expression, from haste or extreme condensation, is sometimes far from being clear.

But there are other features of Shelley's poetry besides its occasional metrical defects and verbal obscurities that are evidently due to the same cause—spring naturally from his lyrical mood of mind and rapid manner of writing. Amongst these may be ranked his habit of repeating sometimes over and over again the same epithets, phrases, and images, and he often does this even with the rarer and more noticeable words and phrases. This constant repetition of favourite epithets and illustrations, not only in different poems, but often in the same poem, is in marked contrast to the scrupulous exactness of more recent poets in this respect. If Tennyson, for example, uses a striking or unusual epithet, he is sure to do so very sparingly, and we might predict with something like certainty that it would not occur again, at least in the same poem. But Shelley has hardly a trace of this artistic fastidiousness and reserve. Early in the first canto of 'The Revolt of Islam,' for example, Shelley uses the epithet *marmoreal* in a passage that, hurriedly read, might suggest its reference to the sea, but where the context shows that it is metaphorically employed in a more familiar and

intelligible way to the unveiled bosom of the fair shape sitting on the sand:—

> 'Then on the sands the Woman sate again,
> And wept and clasped her hands, and all between
> Renewed the unintelligible strain
> Of her melodious voice and eloquent mien;
> And she unveiled her bosom, and the green
> And glancing shadows of the sea did play
> O'er its *marmoreal* depth:—one moment seen,
> For ere the next, the Serpent did obey
> Her voice, and, coiled in rest, in her embrace it lay.'

A few stanzas further on, in the same canto, the epithet occurs again, and is applied, as Homer and Virgil apply it, to the sea. Speaking of the spirit-temple which lifts its vast dome beyond 'nature's remotest reign,' he says:—

> 'Twas likest Heaven, ere yet day's purple stream
> Ebbs o'er the western forest, while the gleam
> Of the unrisen moon among the clouds
> Is gathering—when with many a golden beam
> The thronging constellations rush in crowds,
> Paving with fire the sky and the *marmoreal* floods.'

The epithet is noteworthy in several respects. In the first place, although *marmorean* occurs in older glossaries, *marmoreal* seems to be a coinage of Shelley's own. At least it is unknown to our standard English lexicographers, and we remember no instance of its use by previous writers. In the second place, though a classical epithet, it does not seem to be used by Shelley in the classical meaning of bright, shining, smooth, and brilliant. It is rather employed to describe an element or substance of lucid purity and depth with a faintly variegated surface, in much the same way as the term *marble* itself is applied by Milton and Shakspeare to the sky. Shelley himself, indeed, interprets his own use of the term as applied to watery expanses, when, in a later poem, he speaks of 'the liquid 'marble of the windless lake.' The beautiful phrase, 'liquid 'marble,' is Ben Jonson's, only it is applied by him to poesy in one of the finest passages of his more serious verse:—

> 'She can so mould Rome and her monuments
> Within the liquid marble of her lines,
> That they shall stand fresh and miraculous,
> Even when they mix with innovating dust.'

But the point to be noticed is, that, although thus rare and striking, the word is used by Shelley twice within the compass of a few stanzas. In the same canto, another epithet, employed in an unusual, if not an ambiguous, sense, occurs more than

once. This epithet is *breathless,* applied to the sky and to the sea in a way that makes it doubtful whether it is used in its literal sense, to denote the perfect calm, the unruffled state of the elements when not a breeze or a ripple is stirring; or whether it is applied figuratively to express the expectant hush, the eager rapturous silence, when the very breath is held for admiration and delight, and all the powers of mind and body are stilled by an overmastering emotion into a state of ecstatic trance. The epithet may have been derived from the fine description of the hushed moonlit night at the end of the eighth book of the 'Iliad;' for although the Homeric epithet, applied also by Euripides to the sea, is *breezeless* rather than *breathless,* it might be fairly enough translated by the latter word. Or it may have been originally suggested by a passage in Wordsworth, of whose early writings Shelley was an appreciative reader. The poet is describing the address of an Indian chief to the assembled tribes

> 'In open circle seated round, and hushed
> As the *unbreathing air,* when not a leaf
> Stirs in the mighty woods.'

Here the precise meaning of the epithet is perfectly clear. Shelley, however, uses the analogous but more intense and eager term *breathless,* both more frequently and with greater latitude of meaning than Wordsworth's calm and critical nature would allow him to do. The following instances illustrate his use of this epithet, and they all occur within a comparatively few stanzas of each other:—

> 'For I was calm while tempest shook the sky:
> But when the *breathless* heavens in beauty smiled,
> I wept, sweet tears, yet too tumultuously
> For peace, and clasped my hands aloft in ecstasy.'

> 'The spirit whom I loved in solitude
> Sustained his child: the tempest-shaken wood,
> The waves, the fountains, and the hush of night—
> These were his voice, and well I understood
> His smile divine, when the calm sea was bright
> With silent stars, and Heaven was *breathless* with delight.'

> 'And now, to me
> The moonlight making pale the blooming weeds,
> The bright stars shining in the *breathless sea,*
> Interpreted those scrolls of mortal misery.'

There is perhaps no real ambiguity in any of these instances, the use of the term in the second case being figurative, and, in the other two, mainly literal, expressive of perfect outward

calm, undisturbed by breath or breeze. But even in these cases, where the term seems literally applied, there is probably the double reference so common in Shelley's poetry; the suggested subtle interfusion of human and natural influences, the blending in their higher moods of individual and general life, the instinctive sympathy, if not the momentary identification, of the soul of man with the soul of the universe. This kind of vital action and reaction comes out more fully in the following instances of the same image taken from some of the minor poems. The first refers to a poet walking at sunset with the lady of his love:—

> 'None may know
> The sweetness of the joy which made *his breath*
> *Fail*, like the *trances of the summer air*.'

In 'Rosalind and Helen,' there is another description of a similar scene:—

> 'And when the evening star came forth
> Above the curve of the new bent moon,
> And light and sound ebbed from the earth,
> Like the tide of the full and weary sea
> To the depths of its own tranquillity,
> Our natures to its own repose
> Did the earth's *breathless* sleep attune.'

And in the 'Lines written among the Euganean Hills,' we have, referring to the murmur of leaves kissed by odorous winds:—

> 'While each *breathless* interval
> In their whisperings musical
> The inspired soul supplies
> With its own deep melodies.'

Other favourite epithets, constantly used by Shelley to describe the same hushed moment of nature, the same rapt mood of mind, are *windless* and *wordless*. These ecstatic intervals, brief trances of breathless delight, are associated in Shelley's thought and in his poetry with another physical sign of swift desire and eager expectation, that of parted lips. The quenchless ardour of his own mind made him indeed acutely sensitive to all, even the slightest, natural indications of kindled thought and intense feeling, and he has an unrivalled power of depicting these. With regard to the feature under review, that of parted lips, there is a passage in his letters from Rome describing the figures of Victory on the arch of Titus, which shows the delicacy of his observation and supplies a key to many brief descriptions of the same kind in his poetry. 'The figures of Victory with 'unfolded wings, and each spurning back a globe with out-

'stretched feet, are, perhaps, more beautiful than those on either 'of the others. Their lips are parted; a delicate mode of indi- 'cating the fervour of their desire to arrive at the destined 'resting-place, and to express the eager respiration of their 'speed. Indeed, so essential to beauty were the forms expres- 'sive of the exercise of the imagination and the affections con- 'sidered by Greek artists, that no ideal figure of antiquity, not 'destined to some representation directly exclusive of such a 'character, is to be found with closed lips.' This feature of passion-parted lips occurs in the description of the veiled maiden, who reveals herself to the sleeping poet in 'Alastor;' of the woman on the sands watching the struggle between the serpent and the eagle; as well as in the account of the more passionate intercourse between Laon and Cythna in the 'Revolt 'of Islam.' It is repeated also in the 'Prometheus,' and in a number of other poems. In many of the longer poems, indeed, the description occurs, not once alone, but several times, and is often associated with the other sign of supreme emotion, that of rapt silence or speechless ecstasy. A couple of examples will suffice to illustrate this:—

'Her dark and deepening eyes,
Which, as twin phantoms of one star that lies
O'er a dim well, move, though the star reposes,
Swam in our mute and liquid ecstasies
Her marble brow, and eager lips, like roses,
With their own fragrance pale, which spring but half uncloses.'

'I stood beside her, but she saw me not—
She looked upon the sea, and skies, and earth;
Rapture, and love, and admiration wrought
A passion deeper far than tears, or mirth,
Or speech or gesture, or whate'er has birth
From common joy; which, with the speechless feeling
That led her there united, and shot forth
From her far eyes, a light of deep revealing;
All but her dearest self from my regard concealing.

Her lips were parted, and the measured breath
Was now heard there.'

These passages from 'The Revolt of Islam' exemplify the repetition of favourite images as well as of unusual epithets. Shelley's poetry abounds in beautiful images and descriptions, derived from the reflection of objects in the depths of a quiet stream, or on the broader expanse of the tranquil sea. This, no doubt, resulted from his early habit of poring for hours over the margin of a shaded pool or silent lake, absorbed in the contemplation of aërial mountains, woods, and skies, in the

inverted world of beauty below. The passages we have quoted contain no fewer than three examples of stars reflected in the sea, while, in an earlier stanza of the same canto, we have a fourth:—

> 'And that strange boat, like the moon's shade did sway
> Amid reflected stars that in the waters lay.'

Further on in the poem again we have,

> 'Around, a forest grew
> Of poplars and dark oaks, whose shade did cover
> The waning stars prankt in the waters blue,
> And trembled in the wind which from the morning flew.'

These examples are taken from a canto or two of a single poem. But all the longer poems, and many of the shorter ones, are brightened at intervals with wave-reflected stars, and gems and flowers. In Shelley's later and more finished productions these elements of beauty are, however, used both more sparingly and with finer artistic feeling. In this point of view it is interesting to compare the comparatively frequent and careless use of wave-reflected images, and especially of wave-reflected stars, in 'The 'Revolt of Islam,' with the exquisite employment of the same image in the more matured 'Prometheus':—

> 'The point of one bright star is quivering still
> Deep in the orange light of widening morn
> Beyond the purple mountains: through a chasm
> Of wind-divided mist the darker lake
> Reflects it; now it wanes; it gleams again
> As the waves fade, and as the burning threads
> Of woven cloud unravel in pale air;
> 'Tis lost! and through yon peaks of cloud-like snow
> The roseate sun-light quivers.'

Nothing could be more perfect than this. Another image Shelley is fond of, that of *lair* or *den*, seems less intelligible, or at least less attractive on the score of intrinsic beauty and expressiveness. But it occurs throughout his poems with considerable frequency both in its literal and figurative signification, and may be taken as one amongst many illustrations of what is an undoubted feature of his mind—the fascination which images of gloom and terror exercised over his imagination.

We may add, as examples of striking and unusual terms repeated in the poems, *moonstone*, *dædal*, *nurslings*; the two latter occurring over and over again in many of his important works, while amongst the epithets he is fond of repeating are, *lumpless*, *dreadless*, and *printless*. Of phrases repeated, 'mists 'of sense and thought,' and 'a mist of sense and thought,' are

found in the compass of a few lines in one of the smaller poems. Other favourite references are 'to downward gazing 'flowers,' 'eddying whirlpools,' 'rushing torrents,' 'sublunar 'and interlunar spaces,' 'stellar and planetary wildernesses,' 'love's folding-star,' and 'the serpent of eternity.' Shelley shows, indeed, a strong partiality for serpent metaphors, similes, and allegories, the serpent being with him the emblem of good instead of evil. Very early in his poetical career, he had so far reversed the accredited symbols of truth and falsehood, guilt and innocence, as to make the serpent the representative of virtue and goodness, of the higher influences and hopes of humanity. He is also very fond of cloud metaphors and similes, and revels in descriptions of the effects of cloud-transmitted light at dawn, sunset, moonrise, and in moonlighted midnight skies.

But the allusions that occur most frequently of all in Shelley's poetry are undoubtedly those to the art and mystery of weaving, including the whole process and its results, warp, woof, and web. These references are indeed so numerous, so habitual, so wrought into the very texture of Shelley's poetical thought and style, as almost to defy analysis and calculation. We may, however, class together some of the more common allusions, the groups being derived from actual examples in his poems. We have in them woven sunbeams, moonbeams, and dewbeams, woven winds, waves, foam-wreaths, rainbows, and exhalations, woven hearts, affections, passions, caresses, and murmurs, woven lights, sounds, odours, hues and flames, woven boughs, leaves, branches, tracery, and bowers, woven thoughts, language, words, converse, hymns, and tales. We have in addition woofs of spell-woven clouds, of intelligible thought, of thrilling sound, webs of gold, webs of being, webs of mystic measure, braided sunbeams, braided locks of twilight, star-in-woven robes, flower, violet, and moss in-woven soil, intertangling lines, complicated waves and implicated orbits. These examples are taken for the most part from the longer poems, but similar allusions occur in most of the smaller ones, and there are certain forms of natural beauty and certain kinds of emotional experience which are almost always illustrated by images derived from this prolific source. Had Shelley indeed been the enchanter Merlin himself, with the profoundest faith in 'the charm of woven paces and of waving hands,' he could not have resorted more constantly to this peculiar spell, or have given it a more prominent place in his magical verse. His whole poetry is in fact covered with a fine net-work or web of figurative allusions to weaving. No doubt this lavish

use of a special kind of imagery has a direct relation to characteristic elements of Shelley's own thought. It reflects the subtle but profound and unceasing interpenetration of all physical and psychical influences which we have already noticed as a feature of his poetry, and which constitutes, indeed, one of the most vital articles of Shelley's philosophical creed. In his view, the universe at large is instinct with thought and emotion, while, on the other hand, the human soul is filled in turn with light and colours, fragrance and music, sea and sky, and experiences alternately the changes of vernal beauty and wintry desolation. The activities of each—supported by the vital spirit of nature, the ever-living soul of love—pass into the other, and weave the mystic web which mortals in their pathetic ignorance call hope and fear, life and death, time and eternity. This view, reflected from innumerable side-lights of imagery and allusion, underlies the more serious and thoughtful passages of Shelley's poetry, and occasionally finds expression in more direct terms, as in the last stanza but one of the 'Adonais,' and in a striking passage towards the close of the 'Lines written among the Euganean Hills.' But while the kind of imagery thus reflects what is deepest in Shelley's poetry, it is still a defect of art, or at least of critical watchfulness on his part, to repeat again and again the same image in almost the same words. Without pausing to illustrate this in extended detail, we may give a single example from the first volume of poems Shelley ever published, the thin duodecimo containing the 'Alastor' and a few smaller pieces. In the comparatively few pages of this slight volume the same image is repeated three times—and twice at least in almost the same terms. In 'Alastor,' the first poem in the book, the following description of twilight occurs:—

> 'Twilight, ascending slowly from the east,
> Entwin'd in duskier wreaths her braided locks
> O'er the fair front and radiant eyes of day;
> Night followed clad with stars.'

Further on, in the beautiful lines entitled 'A Summer-Even-'ing Churchyard, Lechlade, Gloucestershire,' this is repeated as follows:—

> 'The wind has swept from the wide atmosphere
> Each vapour that obscured the sunset's ray;
> And pallid evening twines its beaming hair
> In duskier braids around the languid eyes of day.'

And in the last poem, 'The Demon of the World,' in an appeal to one who had watched the sunset from the shore we have:—

'Thou must have marked the braided webs of gold
That without motion hang
Over the sinking sphere.

. . . . .

The feathery curtains
That canopy the sun's resplendent couch.'

We can hardly doubt that in these, as well as in the other instances we have noticed, Shelley himself was unconscious of the repetition, and if so, no stronger proof could be offered of the uncritical manner in which he was accustomed to regard even his best poems when the inspiration under which they were produced had passed away.

There is another and perhaps still more curious feature of Shelley's poetry that illustrates the same want of critical vigilance and reflective scrutiny. We refer to his habit of unconscious plagiarism, of borrowing words, phrases, allusions, conceptions, and situations, from other poets without a word of acknowledgment, and evidently also without any perception at the moment that they are not his own. This singular habit has not, it seems to us, received from the critics the amount of notice and investigation it deserves. Almost the only allusion to it commonly made is the general statement that Shelley imitated Southey in the verse and in a few details of 'Queen Mab,' and was influenced by Milton and Wordsworth in some of the reflective and descriptive passages of 'Alastor.' With regard to special instances of plagiarism, Mr. Rossetti, we believe, simply refers in general terms to one or two of the most glaring in the 'Cenci.' The truth is, however, that Shelley habitually borrowed from other poets, and phrases, images, and conceptions derived from writers of widely different schools are found scattered over his writings from the earliest to the latest. He himself tells us that he was a diligent reader of English poetry, and even apart from such express testimony, his writings afford ample evidence of the fact. The careful study of his poetical style and vocabulary would alone suffice to show his acquaintance with the great poets of each period of our literary history, except perhaps the earliest. The indirect evidence here supplied has, however, been in general overlooked, and never, so far as we are aware, turned to anything like full account. One of his critics, in touching on his obligations to former writers, goes so far as to say that 'Shelley had not at any period of his life studied 'largely our elder writers,' adding that, 'at the time "Queen '"Mab" and "Alastor" were written, it is improbable that 'he had read any English poetry of an earlier date than that

'of the great poets of his own time.' But 'Queen Mab,' as we shall presently show, contains passages and forms of expression plagiarised from Pope and Gray and Collins, as well as from Milton and Shakspeare. And taking the evidence of language alone, it is clear, even from his earlier poems, that he was familiar with the great poets of the Elizabethan era—with Spenser and Shakspeare, Jonson and Fletcher, and with the one great poet who filled—and as Shelley himself says, illumined—the interval between them and the later period of Dryden and Pope. His early study of Spenser is reflected not only in the choice of the Spenserian stanza for his first considerable poem, and the high terms in which he speaks of it, but in the use of words and grammatical forms that are peculiar to Spenser. *Mage* for magician, and *archimage* for arch-magician, are well-known Spenserian terms, and Shelley describes the dwelling of the witch of Atlas as—

> 'Stored with scrolls of strange device,
> The works of some Saturnian *Archimage*.'

Again, amongst writers within the range of Shelley's reading, *glode* as the past tense of the verb to glide is, we believe, peculiar to Spenser, and used with some ambiguity even by him. We had imagined that amongst modern writers this form was peculiar to a single American humourist, and concluded that it must be the coinage of his curious brain. In describing a ball, Artemus Ward says he asked his partner 'if they should 'glide in the mazy dance,' adding, 'she sed we should, and we '*glode*.' But the same form occurs three or four times in 'The 'Revolt of Islam,' and Shelley uses it in perfect good faith as a legitimate form of expression. While found in Chaucer and Gower, *glode* is, however, an archaism even in the 'Faery 'Queene,' from which it must have been borrowed by Shelley. Another thoroughly Spenserian word is *undight*, in the sense of undressed, or as applied to the hair, as Shelley applies it, in loose locks, dishevelled. The very phrase in which Shelley paints the rapt ecstasy of Cythna with countenance uplifted and 'her locks undight,' occurs in Spenser's description of Venus:—

> 'Her golden lockes, that late in tresses bright
> Embreaded were for hindring of her haste,
> Now loose about her shoulders hung *undight*
> And were with sweet Ambrosia all besprinckled light.'

There are other Elizabethan words and phrases used by Shelley, such as *foison*, plenty, *grain*, colour, *swink*, labour, *eyen*, *treen*, for eyes and trees, which, though not peculiar to

Spenser, were probably derived from him. The proof from Shelley's language of his acquaintance with Shakspeare is still stronger and more decisive. Shelley has a number of unusual words, which if not exclusively Shakspearian, are used in senses peculiar to Shakspeare. In the 'Prometheus,' for example, in the dialogue between the two fauns, the second gives, as a reason for hurrying away,—

> 'But should we stay to speak, noontide would come,
> And *thwart* Silenus find his goats undrawn,
> And grudge to sing those wise and lovely songs
> Of fate, and chance, and God, and Chaos old,
> And love, and the chained Titans' woful doom.'

Now, although the adjective *thwart* occurs in Spenser and Milton in the literal sense of transverse, we believe its figurative use to express what is morally perverse, a cross-grained crooked temper, is, amongst the Elizabethan writers, peculiar to Shakspeare. It is indeed used in the same sense by Gavan Douglas and older Scotch writers, a sense exactly equivalent to the Scotch word *thrawn*; but Shelley undoubtedly derived the word from Shakspeare. Again, in the 'Epipsychidion,' we have the following passage:—

> 'The destined star has risen
> Which shall descend upon a vacant prison.
> The walls are high, the gates are strong, thick set
> The sentinels—but true love never yet
> Was thus constrained: it overleaps all force;
> Like lightning, with invisible violence
> Piercing its *continents*.'

Dr. Johnson, in noticing the unusual meaning of the word *continent* as that which holds or contains, suggests that the word in this sense is peculiar to Shakspeare, and although this is not the case, Shakspeare often so uses it, and it must have been from him that Shelley derived it. Again in the 'Sensitive Plant,' after a description of the poisonous blight and killing vapours that had blasted the beauty of the garden, we have:—

> 'The Sensitive Plant, like one *forbid*
> Wept, and the tears within each lid
> Of its folded leaves, which together grew
> Were changed to a blight of frozen glue.'

The phrase, 'like one forbid,' here means, like one prayed against, accursed, like one under a malediction, the word 'forbid' in this sense being derived from Shakspeare's use of it in 'Macbeth.' Other words used by Shelley with Shakspearian

meanings are *speculation* in the literal sense of sight, *gulf* in the sense of gaping mouth and jaws; *ravin*, booty or prey; and *rouse*, a foaming bumper, noisy health-drinking, or convivial bout. The two latter, it is true, are not restricted to Shakspeare, but he is the author from whom Shelley most probably obtained them. The Miltonic words and compound epithets in Shelley are quite as numerous as the Shakspearian and more easily recognised. We may give as examples, *quips and cranks, imparadise, low-thoughted, unessential, frequent* in the sense of crowded, and *distinct* in the sense of adorned, decorated. One of the most curious of these borrowed epithets is *inessential*, Shelley in adopting Milton's *unessential night* having changed it into *inessential naught*. The term *unessential* has not, as it seems to us, been adequately explained by any of Milton's commentators. *Essence* was a technical term in the schools and in philosophical language for vital form, that which out of a primitive matter differentiates various kinds of existence, making each thing to be what it is. *Unessential* is thus formless, void of distinctive being, chaotic. Curiously enough, in his first use of the epithet in 'Queen Mab,' Shelley applies it to the substance rather than to the form, but in 'The Revolt of Islam' the phrase *inessential naught* is more correctly used to designate the primitive chaos out of which definite existences or forms of being arose. While Shelley's poetical vocabulary thus betrays his acquaintance with the great poets of the Elizabethan and the succeeding age, his poetical style, especially in his early works, shows a familiarity with Pope and the poets of the eighteenth century. Apart from the plagiarised passages from Pope and Gray, the didactic and rhetorical parts of 'Queen Mab' exhibit the influence of Akenside, Collins, and Thomson, especially the two latter. Even in 'Alastor,' where Shelley is so thoroughly on his own ground, and where the higher qualities of his genius come out in such characteristic forms, there are very distinct traces of the same school. One mark of this influence is the personification of abstractions in the poem in such lines as 'Ruin calls his brother Death'—

> 'And Silence, too enamoured of that voice,
> Locks its sweet music in her rugged cell.'

But though Shelley was in this way acquainted with most of the greater English poets, it is abundantly clear that he went through them in a vital and impassioned rather than in a reflective or critical manner. He had devoured rather than studied them. In a word, he had read their poetry as he composed his own, under conditions of imaginative excitement that enabled him rapidly to realise the substance, to assimilate

the leading emotional and ideal conceptions, without paying any separate or minute attention to details of form and phraseology. His own account of his poetical studies brings this clearly out. 'The poetry of ancient Greece and Rome,' he says, 'and our own country, has been to me like external 'nature, a passion and an enjoyment. I have considered 'poetry in its most comprehensive sense, and have read the 'poets, and the historians, and the metaphysicians whose 'writings have been accessible to me, and have looked upon the 'beautiful and majestic scenery of the earth as common sources 'of those elements which it is the province of the poet to em-'body and combine.' Here we see that the reading of poetry was with him a passion and an enjoyment rather than in any distinctive sense a critical study or an artistic discipline. This largely helps to account for his habitual plagiarisms which at first sight appear almost inexplicable. While as the result of his passionate communion with great poets, their thoughts and images would become part of his intellectual life, he still had not studied them with sufficient care to fix their verbal forms consciously in his memory. But it is certain that in a mind like Shelley's many of their most striking phrases, images, and allusions would be retained, and when suggested in moments of inspiration amidst a crowd of kindling fancies, it is quite conceivable that he might adopt them at once without the least suspicion of their true origin. That he was not conscious of any definite or detailed obligations to other poets is abundantly clear from his own testimony, as well as from the internal evidence afforded by the poems themselves. In the preface to 'The Revolt of Islam' he says:—'I do not presume 'to enter into competition with our greatest contemporary poets. 'Yet I am unwilling to tread in the footsteps of any who have 'preceded me. I have sought to avoid the imitation of any 'style of language or versification peculiar to the original 'minds of which it is the character, designing that even if what 'I have produced be worthless, it should still be properly my 'own.' This frank and modest statement is perfectly just, and it applies substantially to all that Shelley has written. There never was a poet more thoroughly individual, more nobly independent, more completely free from the conscious imitation of any master or the mannerism of any school. In relation to the great body of his poetry, the unconscious plagiarisms we have referred to are mere specks on its rounded translucent orb of ethereal song. Like his own nightingale, he sings out of the fulness of a heart overcharged with intense and melodious feeling. And if he sometimes seems to rise in

company with other singers, he is no sooner on the wing than he soars away to the central blue, and sings apart, filling the entire hemisphere of his thought with aërial music. The plagiarisms are to be regarded rather as psychological curiosities than as serious blemishes in his work. In this personal point of view they are, however, of great interest. The marvel is, how it comes to pass that Shelley's borrowing from other poets can be at once so frequent and direct and at the same time so entirely unconscious. What we have already said may help in general to explain this, and a few special illustrations will complete the proof of each point. Both aspects of the psychological problem attain to something like a climax, and are illustrated *in excelsis*, in the 'Cenci.' It contains perhaps the most numerous and flagrant plagiarisms, especially from Shakspeare, to be found in his poems; and in the preface he is careful to acknowledge having taken a single idea in one of the speeches from Calderon, adding emphatically that it is 'the 'only plagiarism that I have intentionally committed in the 'whole piece.' Yet there are in the drama not only memorable lines, phrases, and allusions, but parts of scenes and striking situations, taken directly from Shakspeare. It is difficult adequately to represent this without more space than we have at command, because the Shakspearian element, though sometimes present throughout entire scenes, is so broken up, distributed, and wrought into the very substance of Shelley's own work as to require careful comparison and analysis for its full development. This detailed illustration is, however, the less necessary, as some of the more striking plagiarisms in the 'Cenci' from 'Othello,' 'Lear,' 'King John,' and 'Richard III.' were given some years ago in an interesting paper entitled 'Some Notes on "Othello,"' in the 'Cornhill 'Magazine.' The writer does not, however, notice the plagiarisms from 'Macbeth,' 'Hamlet,' the 'Merchant of Venice,' and the 'Sonnets,' some of which are equally striking. Take the following for example from the murder scene in 'Mac-'beth':—

'He is about it.
The doors are open, and the surfeited grooms
Do mock their charge with snores. I have drugg'd their possets,
That death and nature do contend about them,
Whether they live, or die.
Macb. (*Within.*) Who's there?—what, ho!
Lady M. Alack! I am afraid they have awak'd,'
And 'tis not done:—the attempt, and not the deed,
Confounds us.—Hark!—I laid their daggers ready,
He could not miss them.—Had he not resembled
My father as he slept, I had done't.—My husband!

Enter MACBETH.

Macb. I have done the deed.—Didst thou not hear a noise?
Lady M. I heard the owl scream, and the crickets cry.
Did you not speak?
Macb. When?
Lady M. Now.
Macb. As I descended?
Lady M. Aye.
Macb. Hark!
Who lies i' the second chamber?
Lady M. Donalbain.

. . . . . .

Macb. There's one did laugh in 's sleep, and one cried, "murder!"
That they did wake each other: I stood and heard them;
But they did say their prayers, and address'd them
Again to sleep.'

Compare with this the following from the fourth act of the 'Cenci':—

'*Olimpio.* Is he asleep?
Marzio. Is all
Quiet?
Lucretia. I mixed an opiate with his drink:
He sleeps so soundly—
Beatrice. That his death will be
But as a change of sin-chastising dreams.

. . . . . .

Lucretia. They are about it now.
Beatrice. Nay, it is done.
Lucretia. I have not heard him groan.
Beatrice. He will not groan.
Lucretia. What sound is that?
Beatrice. List! 'tis the tread of feet
About his bed.
Lucretia. My God!
If he be now a cold stiff corpse—
Beatrice. Oh! fear not
What may be done, but what is left undone.
The act seals all.

Enter OLIMPIO *and* MARZIO.

Is it accomplished?
Marzio. What?
Olimpio. Did you call?
Beatrice. When?
Olimpio. Now.
Beatrice. I ask if all is over.
Olimpio. We dare not kill an old and sleeping man.

. . . . . .

Marzio. But I am bolder, for I chid Olimpio.
My knife
Touched the loose wrinkled throat, when the old man
Stirred in his sleep, and said, "God! hear, oh hear,
A father's curse! What, art thou not our father?"
And then he laughed. I knew it was the ghost
Of my dead father speaking through his lips,
And could not kill him.'

Another instance of direct borrowing from 'Macbeth' occurs in the scene which follows that just quoted. The murderers having retired to the chamber and executed their bloody work, Beatrice exclaims:—

'The deed is done,
And what may follow now regards not me.
I am as universal as the light;
Free as the earth-surrounding air: as firm
As the world's centre. Consequence to me,
Is as the wind which strikes the solid rock,
But shakes it not.'

Macbeth, when he finds the bloody deed not completely done, Fleance having escaped the murderers' hands, says:—

'Then comes my fit again. I had else been perfect;
Whole as the marble, founded as the rock;
As broad and general as the casing air;
But now, I am cabin'd, cribb'd, confin'd, bound in
To saucy doubts and fears.'

Another example from 'Macbeth' occurs in the first scene of the same act in the soliloquy of the 'Cenci' going over in thought the villany on which he was resolved:—

'O multitudinous hell, the fiends will shake
Thine arches with the laughter of their joy!
There shall be lamentations heard in heaven
As o'er an angel fallen; and upon earth
All good shall droop and sicken, and ill things
Shall with a spirit of immortal life
Stir and be quickened.'

Most of our readers who are familiar with 'Macbeth' will probably recall the passage in which, contemplating the murder of Banquo, now near at hand, he says:—

'Come, seeling night,
Skarf up the tender eye of pitiful day;
And, with thy bloody and invisible hand,
Cancel, and tear to pieces, that great bond
Which keeps me pale!—Light thickens; and the crow
Makes wing to the rooky wood;
Good things of day begin to droop and drowse;
Whiles night's black agents to their prey do rouse.'

We must be satisfied with these detailed illustrations from a single play of Shakspeare's, though more than half-a-dozen are laid under contribution in the 'Cenci.' The plagiarisms from 'Othello' and 'Lear' are, perhaps, more verbally direct and striking than those from 'Macbeth,' but it is clear that many scenes and suggestions from the latter play were running in Shelley's mind during the composition of his terrible drama. There are, however, quite as many borrowed passages in Shelley's early works as in his later. We have marked upwards of a dozen instances in 'Queen Mab,' and only regret that we cannot give in detail these curious examples of Shelley's transference and adaptation of passages from Pope and Collins and Gray, as well as from Shakspeare and Milton. Those who are curious on the point may, however, be briefly referred to one or two examples. The passage beginning 'Throughout these infinite worlds of mingling light' is in part borrowed from the fine lines in the 'Essay on Man,' beginning 'All are but parts of one stupendous whole.' The king's imploring address to Peace is an abstract of Henry the Fourth's apostrophe to Sleep; parts of the splendid imagery employed in describing 'Mab's ethereal palace' were evidently suggested by the cloud-pavilioned temple of Freedom in Collins's 'Ode to Liberty;' while the ten lines beginning 'How many a rustic Milton,' are a rather barefaced expansion of a celebrated verse in Gray's Elegy.

We must devote the remainder of our space to a brief notice of some points in which Mr. Rossetti's work as editor appears to us open to criticism. The changes he has introduced into the text may be ranked under the three heads of punctuation, printing, and conjectural emendation. In each of these directions he has made a number of alterations, some of which appear to us of a very questionable kind. With regard to the first point, Shelley's own punctuation is extremely loose, and he shows a partiality for dashes which is generally a sign of unsettled views on the whole subject. But, lax as Shelley's pointing is, we must say we very much prefer it in the main to the stiff, pedantic, and intensely self-conscious punctuation which Mr. Rossetti often substitutes in its place. As a rule Mr. Rossetti's punctuation is much heavier than Shelley's, but he is not consistent even in this, for while he constantly substitutes colons and semicolons where Shelley only has commas, on the other hand he sometimes abolishes Shelley's commas, leaving the line or couplet without any point or stop at all. Mr. Rossetti shows another symptom of a mind morbidly excited about punctuation, if not hopelessly given up to extreme views

on the subject. He is very fond of parentheses, and introduces them where they are not in the least required, where they do not help the sense, and are a mere disfigurement to the page. Some of Mr. Rossetti's changes in Shelley's punctuation effect, however, important alterations in the sense, and these are in many cases by no means happy, while in more than one instance they have simply effaced some profounder touch of feeling, or refined stroke of descriptive truth. A single example must suffice, though many might easily be given. The second canto of 'The Revolt of Islam' closes with the following stanza, describing the effect of Cythna's self-sacrificing resolve to separate for a time from Laon in order to carry out more effectively the great object of their lives:—

> 'I could not speak, tho' she had ceased, for now
> The fountains of her feeling, swift and deep,
> Seemed to suspend the tumult of their flow;
> So we arose, and by the star-light steep
> Went homeward—neither did we speak nor weep,
> But pale, were calm with passion—thus subdued
> Like evening shades that o'er the mountains creep,
> We moved towards our home; where, in this mood,
> Each from the other sought refuge in solitude.'

Here in the sixth line, Mr. Rossetti, in common with the later editions, inserts a full stop after the word calm, on the ground, possibly, that to be calm with passion is a contradiction, while, on the other hand, strong passions are generally succeeded by a reaction more or less depressing. But Shelley's punctuation brings out the higher truth that extremes meet, that nothing produces a profounder calm than intense passion, especially of a noble kind. This is a truth, moreover, which Shelley is specially fond of emphasising. He dwells upon it in his beautiful description of Raphael's St. Cecilia, and the passage affords a key to more than one description of the effect of high-wrought passion in his poetry. 'The central figure, St. 'Cecilia, seems rapt in such inspiration as produced her image 'in the painter's mind; her deep, dark, eloquent eyes lifted up; 'her chesnut hair flung back from her forehead—she holds an 'organ in her hands—her *countenance, as it were, calmed by the 'depth of its passion and rapture,* and penetrated throughout 'with the warm and radiant light of life. She is listening to the 'music of heaven, and, as I imagine, has just ceased to sing.' We can have no doubt that in the stanza we have quoted, Shelley's own punctuation brings out his real meaning. He evidently intends to say that Laon and Cythna were calmed

by the very intensity of the passion which possessed them, and which for the time absorbed every other thought and feeling.

With regard to the mere printing of the text, Mr. Rossetti has in many places abolished Shelley's initial capital letters, and in others introduced them where the original has no such distinction. In the beginning of the third scene of the first act of the 'Cenci' the original edition has,

'Princes and Cardinals, pillars of the church.'

Here Mr. Rossetti gives initial capitals to both pillars and church, on what principle we do not understand, and we certainly prefer Shelley's own printing. The editor has, moreover, in some places, changed Shelley's spelling in a way that seems to us capricious, and affected if not unintelligible, as for example Cachmire instead of Cashmire. But our greatest quarrel with Mr. Rossetti is on the score of his printing words in italics at his own pleasure, without the least authority from Shelley or any other source. This offence, so far as we have noticed, is indeed restricted very much to the 'Cenci,' but there it is flagrant and abounding. In carrying this noble drama through the press, the editor seems to have been seized with a sudden passion for emphasising, in this weak way, all the pronouns and auxiliary verbs that struck his fancy. The result is that there are in Mr. Rossetti's edition upwards of a dozen of these indispensable words printed in italics without any authority at all for such an unwarrantable innovation. In the first scene of the first act Shelley himself, it is true, prints a single pronoun in italics for an obvious reason. But this is, we believe, the only instance in the play, the numerous other words printed in a different type having been selected for this distinction by the editor himself. We must protest most energetically against this procedure as an intolerable liberty for any editor to take with an author. Fancy Shakspeare, or Milton, or any great English classic, edited in this way, with a different type for all the words and phrases which the editor might choose to consider peculiarly emphatic. The emphasis would probably be often wrong, as we think it is in many of the cases in question. But this is of comparatively little importance. The outrage lies in the thing itself, and it is in our view one of a very unpardonable kind. It is the officious intrusion of the editor's personality into the very text of the author that constitutes the offence; the imposing of his peculiar interpretation, often of course narrow and mistaken, not only on the reader, but on the poet himself, that is on all grounds so reprehensible. But, apart from this fatal

objection in principle, the intrusion of a different type is practically offensive to all readers of intelligence. The general use of italics for the mere purpose of emphasis is the well-known resource of forcibly feeble writers whether in prose or verse, and except for a special practical object, such a blemish ought not to disfigure any finished literary work. It is commonly an attempt to supply mechanically certain intellectual and literary deficiencies, and too often indicates, not only that such deficiencies exist, but that the writer himself has a kind of uncomfortable semi-consciousness of their presence. It is, in short, an essentially feminine device for giving artificial weight to weak thought and ineffective expression. And in reading a great poem like the 'Cenci,' such an element of triviality produces a momentary shock, a painful jar of feeling. You intensely resent the prosaic intrusion, the didactic and self-satisfied pointing of the editor's finger, as much as to say, 'mark 'in the lines before you the important distinction between *you* 'and *I*, *have* and *had*, *could* and *would*.' You are angry at the trivial impertinence, and resent the unseasonable interruption. This is the natural feeling, though we are far from saying it ought to be extended in all its force to Mr. Rossetti himself. He is incapable of offering any intentional slight to Shelley, or of consciously interfering with the reader's enjoyment of his poetry. But we must express our unmixed surprise that, even by inadvertence or mistake, such an outrage should have been committed by Mr. Rossetti—above all, upon a poet like Shelley. And we earnestly hope that in any future edition Mr. Rossetti will purge away all traces of this literary guilt.

We must glance for a moment at a few of the verbal difficulties that occupy so large a space in Mr. Rossetti's notes, as well as at some of the emendations he has introduced into the text. With regard to the latter we are strongly of opinion that all important changes in the text should be indicated by the use of brackets, or some such device. No doubt a good deal may be said for the plan Mr. Rossetti has followed, of relegating all notice of verbal changes to the end of the volumes, and giving no indication of them in the text itself. But the question is in our view not so much one of taste or feeling as of literary jurisdiction. It seems to us that an editor has no right to thrust his own conjectures into the text without any mark or note of warning as to their true character. Leaving this, however, we must turn to the textual changes themselves. We have already spoken of the critical industry and intelligence which Mr. Rossetti has displayed in this part

of his work. But there is still a good deal to be done. Even in the preparatory part of an editor's work—that of comparing the first editions with the later ones—his labours are not exhaustive or complete. He has overlooked or neglected some of the better readings which the first editions supply. At the commencement of the fourth canto of 'The Revolt of Islam,' for example, is the following stanza, which we give as Mr. Rossetti prints it:—

'The old man took the oars, and soon the bark
Smote on the beach beside a tower of stone.
It was a crumbling heap whose portal dark
With blooming ivy-trails was overgrown;
Upon whose floor the spangling sands were strown,
And rarest sea-shells, which the eternal flood,
Slave to the mother of the months, had thrown
Within the walls of that *great* tower, which stood
A changeling of man's art nursed amid nature's brood.'

Here instead of *great*, the first edition gives *grey*, which is evidently a more appropriate word as applied to a crumbling heap of stone partially buried in the sand, the portal overgrown with ivy, and the mouldering walls so like in colour to the neighbouring cliffs, the rock-built barrier of the sea, that it stood 'a changeling of man's art nursed amid nature's brood.' Again in Orsini's speech at the end of the second scene of the first act of the 'Cenci,' the following passage occurs:—

'Old men are testy, and will have their way.
A man may stab his enemy or his *vassal*,
And live a free life as to wine or women,
And with a peevish temper may return
To a dull home, and rate his wife and children;
Daughters and wives call this foul tyranny.'

Here the original edition has *slave* instead of *vassal*, a manifest improvement in metre, and, as it seems to us, in sense as well. These readings, and others of the like kind, Mr. Rossetti seems to have overlooked, as he does not refer to them in any way. There are other minor points of difference in the first editions of which Mr. Rossetti takes no notice. In 'Alastor,' for example, referring to the spirit of the wind, the first edition has 'in *its* career' instead of 'in *his* career.' Again in the following passage:—

'There, huge caves,
Scooped in the dark base of *those* aëry rocks,
Mocking its moans respond and roar for ever'—

the first edition has *their* rocks, which is an improvement, no rocks having been previously mentioned in the immediate

context. Other original readings which seem to us improvements Mr. Rossetti rejects upon what appear to us insufficient grounds, such as 'herself a poet' instead of 'himself 'a poet.' Here the reading *herself* seems on all grounds distinctly preferable. It would be useless and therefore tautological to describe the youth as a poet, that having been abundantly done already. But it is important to add this in regard to the veiled maiden in order to complete the kindredship of spirit between them, and make her the perfect realisation of the poet's highest ideal. This vital point of sympathy helps to explain the sudden and intense passion with which she had inspired him, and is further illustrated by what follows. Her ardent thoughts, we are told, kindled into 'wild numbers' which she sang to unseen music, her beating heart and rapid breath timing themselves with 'the pauses of intermittent 'song.'

While thus overlooking or neglecting some of the helps which the original editions afford, Mr. Rossetti has at the same time artificially increased the hindrances in the way of a more accurate text. He has in some cases created difficulties where none exist, and made conjectural emendations where none were needed, and in more than one instance he has actually introduced into Shelley's correcter text original errors of his own. As an illustration of artificial difficulties we may take the following passage from the 'Prometheus.' It refers to the spirit voices heard in the solitary woods when the 'voluptuous 'nightingales' are mute:—

> 'When there is heard through the dim air
> The rush of wings, and, rising there
> Like many a *lake-surrounded* flute,
> Sounds overflow the listener's brain
> So sweet that joy is almost pain.'

On the third line Mr. Rossetti remarks: 'The epithet seems to 'me void of meaning. I can hardly doubt its being a misprint. 'The original edition of "Prometheus Unbound" (1820) gives '"lake-surrounding," which is not any more intelligible. A 'friend has suggested to me as an emendation "lake-re-'"sounded." This is at any rate plausible, but I have not 'ventured to introduce it into the text.' There is really, however, no difficulty in the passage at all, lake-surrounded flutes being simply flutes playing in a boat or on an island in the midst of a lake, the tranquil expanse of water adding to the liquid sweetness of the notes. The mellow tones and emotional effect of sweet music are notoriously increased when it is heard on the distant shore across a quiet sweep of water, and this peculiar

effect is secured in the highest degree by placing the music on a lake-surrounded spot. Such a device for intensifying the effect of musical sounds is indeed a favourite one with the poets. Fitz James for example, in the 'Lady of the Lake,' when Loch Katrine bursts on his view and he sees Helen's wooded isle resting on its unruffled bosom, exclaims:—

> 'How blithely might the bugle-horn
> Chide, on the lake, the lingering morn!
> How sweet, at eve, the lover's lute
> Chime, when the groves were still and mute.'

Shelley himself was especially fond of such musical effects, and he may have derived from this very passage the image and the epithet that have occasioned his editor so much perplexity. Mr. Rossetti finds, or rather creates, a difficulty in another passage of the 'Prometheus' occurring in the scene between Asia and Panthea, of which the burden is 'follow, follow:'—

> 'Low, sweet, faint sounds, like the farewell of ghosts,
> Were heard: "O follow, follow, follow me!"
> And then I said, "Panthea, look on me:"
> But in the depth of those beloved eyes
> Still I saw "follow, follow!"
> *Echo.* Follow, follow!
> *Panthea.* The crags, this clear Spring morning, mock our voices,
> As they were spirit-tongued.
> *Asia.* It is some *being*
> Around the crags. What fine clear sounds! O list!'

On this thoroughly Shelley-like description of the voiceful echoes of the crags the editor remarks: 'I suspect around for 'being a misprint for either among or amid; some "being '"around the crags" would be a curious sort of being.' We must say this strikes us as being a singularly prosaic and irrelevant commentary. In a drama like the 'Prometheus,' pervaded with elemental life, diffused natural powers, and formless spiritual essences, it is surely a vulgar error to interpret the term *being* in such a connexion not only as an individual, but as an individual locally defined and possessing a material body. The term *being* is undoubtedly here used by Shelley in a generic sense, and means that vital presences, viewless, intangible, and undefined, are around the crags, their immaterial essence and inorganic voices being felt and heard on every side. Mr. Rossetti's interpretation destroys at once the poetry and meaning of the passage, reducing the wild and multitudinous echoes simultaneously heard to a single material centre instead of investing them for the time with spiritual life and activity. Another needless difficulty seems to us raised in the seventh canto of 'The Revolt of Islam,' where after their long separation

Cythna, on her swift recollection of the past, looks suddenly into Laon's face with anxious scrutiny:—

'Then Cythna did uplift
Her looks on mine as if some doubt she sought to shift.'

'We may surmise,' says Mr. Rossetti, 'that this *shift* was 'inadvertently substituted for *sift*, which seems the more 'natural term.' But shift is surely the right word, used here in the same sense as remove, get rid of, and this is confirmed by the line which immediately follows. Cythna sought to remove some doubt that suddenly crossed her mind, but it would not flee.

In the examples just given Mr. Rossetti has simply raised difficulties without altering the text, but in other cases he has introduced conjectural emendations where it seems to us none are needed. The last stanza in the third canto of 'The Revolt 'of Islam,' for example, is as follows:—

'And then the night-wind *steaming* from the shore,
Sent odours dying sweet across the sea,
And the swift boat the little waves which bore
Were cut by its keen keel, though slantingly;
Soon I could hear the leaves sigh, and could see
The myrtle-blossoms starring the dim grove,
As past the pebbly beach the boat did flee
On sidelong wing into a silent cove,
Where ebon pines a shade under the starlight wove.'

On the first line Mr. Rossetti remarks, 'Surely this ought 'to be *streaming*,' which he accordingly substitutes for 'steam-'ing' in the text. But we have little doubt Shelley wrote *steaming*, the word being quite in harmony with his fondness for describing the dew mists that arise at sunset on the sudden lowering of the temperature. These mists, mingled with silvery exhalations and touched by odorous winds, would be vividly and accurately described by the epithet steaming. The context supports this interpretation, the same odorous night-wind being described a few lines further on as the dewy breeze.

Again, Mr. Rossetti mars the beauty and expressiveness of one of the most exquisite lines in the 'Skylark,' by adopting a conjectural emendation unhappily suggested by the late Professor Craik. In the first edition the third verse is as follows:—

'In the golden lightning
Of the sunken sun,
O'er which clouds are brightning,
Thou dost float and run;
Like an unbodied joy whose race is just begun.'

In quoting the poem Professor Craik changed *unbodied* into *embodied,* adding that the latter was 'undoubtedly the true 'word, though always perverted into *unbodied,*—as if a joy 'were a thing that naturally wore a body.' This is just the smart but superficial kind of criticism that readily convinces prosaic minds, and is at once accepted by careless and unimaginative readers. To our great surprise, however, it seems to have satisfied Mr. Rossetti. At least, as in other cases where he has adopted the suggestions of previous critics, he has become accountable for the change by introducing it into the text. That any responsible editor should have given this kind of sanction to such a reading is on all accounts to be regretted. In the first place, Shelley's text ought never to be abandoned except on very strong grounds; and the reasons in this case, instead of being in favour of the change, are all against it. Professor Craik says, in support of his conjecture, 'as if joy 'were a thing that naturally wore a body.' But in reality joy usually has a body, and a very visible one. It manifests itself by corporeal signs and gestures of a very obvious and distinctive kind, and is universally known and recognised by these signs. Almost the only exception to this law of visible embodiment is that of sweet and thrilling vital sounds when the source whence they flow is unseen. In this case, while the sounds are felt to be full of rapture, or at least of conscious enjoyment, still the enjoyment is not embodied in any visible or tangible shape. This spiritual character of the skylark's singing is the very key-note of Shelley's poem, struck in the first stanza, and maintained through all its marvellous combinations of musical thought, and imagery, and emotion, to the very close. The fatal objection to the proposed change is, that it is completely at variance with the whole feeling, as well as with the entire conception of the poem, that it reverses the very epithet by which in this particular stanza that conception is most vividly expressed. At the outset, Shelley addresses the skylark as a spirit singing in the pure empyrean, and ever soaring nearer to heaven's gate as she sings. He then apostrophises the emancipated soul of melody on the celestial lightness and freedom in which it now expatiates. To the swift sympathetic imagination of the poet, the scorner of the ground, floating far up in the golden light, had become an aërial rapture, a disembodied joy, a 'delighted 'spirit,' whose ethereal race had just begun. This is a representation at once profoundly poetical and profoundly true. But its force and consistency is destroyed by the so-called emendation. The passage from the 'Witch of Atlas,' quoted

by Professor Craik in support of the change, is irrelevant, the object of the poet in the two cases being wholly different. The conception in the 'Skylark,' instead of being, as Professor Craik says, 'of the same kind' as that in the 'Witch of Atlas,' is indeed exactly the reverse. In the 'Witch of Atlas' an invisible power is described as assuming a material form; while in the 'Skylark' a material form vanishes in light and sound. In the former, spirit becomes body; in the latter, body becomes spirit; and the epithet *embodied* is thus as necessary and appropriate in the one case as *unbodied* in the other. But if authority were really needed for the phrase 'unbodied joy,' it is to be found in Byron, of whose poetry Shelley was a constant reader and a great admirer. Manfred, on hearing the shepherd's pipe amidst the mountains in the early morning, exclaims:—

> 'Hark! the note,
> The natural music of the mountain reed.
> . . . . . .
> My soul would drink these echoes.—Oh, that I were
> The viewless spirit of a lovely sound,
> A living voice, a breathing harmony,
> A *bodyless enjoyment*—born and dying
> With the blest tone which made me!'

This passage shows how naturally sweet music awakens this kind of spiritual yearning, the desire to escape from the cumbrous conditions of mortality, to throw aside 'this muddy vesture of decay,' and share in the 'unbodied joy' which such strains seem for the moment to reveal and express.

Mr. Rossetti destroys the meaning and imagery of another verse in the same beautiful poem, by adopting the punctuation suggested by Professor Craik. The second verse of the 'Skylark,' as Shelley points and prints it, is—

> 'Higher still and higher
> From the earth thou springest
> Like a cloud of fire;
> The deep blue thou wingest,
> And singing still dost soar, and soaring ever singest.'

Here Mr. Rossetti, following his unfortunate guide, removes the semicolon from the end of the third to the end of the second line. In doing this he could hardly have examined with any care either the context or the reasons given by Professor Craik in favour of the change. These reasons, though stated in a detailed and confident manner, are throughout grounded on mere confusion and mistake. In criticising the punctuation of the verse, Professor Craik says—

'Very absurdly the cloud of fire which the bird has become in the poet's imagination is, by the removal of the semicolon from its proper place at the end of the second line to the end of the third, represented, not as soaring in the deep blue of the sky, but as springing from the earth—which is what nobody ever saw a cloud do; not a cloud of fire, or cloud glowing with coloured radiance at any rate; and would, besides, give us as forced and false an image of a lark commencing its ascent as could be well put into rhyme or into words—for the cloud of fire was only, according to this pointless pointing, the appearance which the bird presented (and which yet it never could have presented) when rising from the earth.'

The whole of this reasoning, and there is more to the same effect, rests on the assumption that in the second verse the lark is described as leaving the ground. This is, however, a complete mistake, the critic having failed to notice that in the opening verse of the poem the lark, when first addressed by the poet, is already far up the sky; and that in the second verse she still continues to ascend further and further from the earth, higher and higher into the air. The image, 'like a 'cloud of fire,' applies not to the appearance of the bird at all, as Professor Craik supposes, but to the continuous motion upward, for the obvious reason that 'fire ascending seeks the 'sun.' The assumption on which it rests being thus an error, the whole reasoning falls to the ground, and with it any show of plausibility for the change. Indeed, the altered punctuation of the verse, and its interpretation, simply blur the pure and delicate outlines of the poet's glowing picture, reducing his lucid thought and vivid imagery to a confused and inconsistent jumble. These examples well illustrate the danger attaching to the conjectural emendation of Shelley's poetry. Professor Craik was an accomplished English scholar, and his verbal criticisms are usually sound as well as ingenious and acute. But Shelley, more than any other modern English poet, requires to be carefully studied before his refinements of thought and niceties of language can be fully understood or perfectly explained. The thought, while exquisitely articulated, is often so complex and subtle, and the feeling, though deep and strong below, has so many swift and brilliant changes on the surface, catching 'at every turn the colours of the sun,' that his more important poems cannot be adequately realised or interpreted without profound and sympathetic study. While this holds true of his poetry in general, it applies with peculiar force to its more obscure and difficult passages. In these the poet's meaning must be grasped as perfectly as possible before the critic attempts to correct what he may regard as imperfect or faulty in expression. Mr. Rossetti is not always sufficiently

careful in this particular. In many cases he has not gone through the preliminary labour essential to success in the work of critical revision. The result is a want of due reverence for the author's text, and the introduction of needless and therefore injurious alterations. The criticisms we have offered are in the main vindications of Shelley's own text from the destructive inroads of confident but rash conjecture.

We have no space to illustrate further the imperfections still attaching to Mr. Rossetti's work. It is, however, in the main, as we have already said, well done. Many of his verbal emendations are happy, and some may probably take rank as permanent improvements of the text. It will be seen, however, from what we have said that there is still critical work for the editor to do, and it must be carefully done before his volumes can be accepted as the standard edition of Shelley's poetical works.

ART. VI.—1. *Sessional Papers of the Reichstag or Diet of the North German Bund.* First Legislative Term. Second Extraordinary Session of 1870. Nos. VI., IX., and XII. Berlin: November, 1870.

2. *The Overthrow of the Germanic Confederation by Prussia in* 1866. By Sir ALEXANDER MALET, Bart., K.C.B., late Minister Plenipotentiary at Frankfort. 8vo. London: 1870.

3. *Les Droits de l'Allemagne sur l'Alsace et la Lorraine.* Par HENRY DE SYBEL. 8vo. Bruxelles: 1871.

4. *Réunion de l'Alsace à la France.* Par le Baron HALLEZ-CLAPARÈDE. 8vo. Paris: 1844.

'IN the sixteenth century,' says Sir William Stirling Maxwell, in a passage which we have quoted before, and are not unwilling to quote again, 'the office of Emperor was surrounded with august and venerable associations which we can now but imperfectly recall. Heir of the universal sway of Rome, the holder of it claimed to be the suzerain of all earthly kings. First and oldest of European dignities, its very name had a sound of majesty, which it has lost since it has been vulgarised by Muscovite and Corsican, by black men and brown men in the New World, and worst of all degraded by the House of Hapsburg-Lorraine itself, in the meaningless title of Austria and the bloody infamy of Mexico.' The title of Emperor took its origin in the death-throes of

Roman freedom. It was first borne by rulers who were stained with the crimes of the Claudian and the Flavian Houses. It was then conferred on a series of military adventurers by the acclamations of a venal and profligate soldiery. It passed in due time to the stolid pomp and growing degeneracy of the Court of Byzantium. The imperial crown of the West was placed by Papal hands on the brows of the first victorious soldier, who combined the savage tribes of Northern Europe beneath his sway. It was worn under varying fortunes by his successors for nearly a thousand years, and no doubt at one time it was regarded as the highest symbol of temporal power. The title was not inappropriately revived by Napoleon, when he had succeeded in trampling on the States of continental Europe. For always and everywhere it has been the symbol of despotic government and military strength, rather than of national rights or of freedom. Its strength, when it has been strong, was attested by acts of violence and oppression—by aggression on the territories of independent States, and by persecution of those subordinate princes and communities which held their authority in subjection to it. Its weakness, when it has been weak, proved infinitely more favourable than its strength to the liberties of Europe, in so much that the history of Germany for many centuries consisted in a continuous struggle to defend the rights of the Empire, and of the States belonging to the Empire, against the Emperors. The politics of Germany and of Europe, from an early period down to the Treaty of Westphalia, might justly be described as a protracted, and at last successful, effort to prevent the erection of one huge military monarchy in central Europe, under the imperial dignity which was then vested in the House of Austria; to resist the predominance of a power alike hostile to freedom and independence; and to limit the prerogatives of a crown which claimed a paramount authority over all cognate and allied States, for the purpose of reducing them to subjection, and of assailing and invading at pleasure the dominions of weaker nations. Some vestiges of this ancient tradition of foreign conquest survived even to our own time, for it was by virtue of this Imperial sway, which had outlived the Empire itself, that Austria continued, till within a very recent period, to hold Italy in chains and thraldom. The Emperors of Germany had done so for six hundred years. If then we are to look to the past to shed any light upon the future policy of the German Empire, whether at home or abroad, it is indeed, to borrow another expression from a celebrated article of this Journal, 'an ominous and evil name'—a name synonymous with the worst elements of human history,

originating in bloodshed, appropriated by crime, dedicated to oppression. Cæsarism or Imperialism have become in our own days the last expressions of contempt to describe the degradation to which a great nation may be reduced by a long series of revolutions; and we should see no reason to admire them on one side of the Rhine more than on the other.

It was therefore with some surprise that the world learned that, whatever else King William of Prussia might have taken in France, he should have thought it added anything to his own dignity to appropriate the crown and mantle of the Emperor he had just dethroned. Indeed the Prussians themselves were more astonished than pleased to find that they were henceforward to be the 'Kaiserlicks,' the nickname of their ancient enemies. The title of Emperor was not awarded to the King by the acclamations of a free people, by the vote of a national Diet, or even by the cry of a victorious army. It was obscurely tendered to him by a junto of small princes, who were trembling at the least sign of Prussian irritation, and whose armies were at that moment serving under his orders. In his eagerness to secure this singular prize, he did not even wait until he had returned with the spoils of an unparalleled campaign to his own northern capital; nay, it can hardly be said that the Empire of Germany had itself any legal character or existence when the Emperor was declared. With singular bad taste it was hastily inaugurated at Versailles. In his acceptance of the proffered crown, the King cautiously abstained from any reference to the past, present, or future rights and liberties of the German nation, and the same significant silence on this vital point prevails in the speech delivered to the Reichsrath from the throne on the 21st March at Berlin. He assumed the title as the reward of victory, conferred upon him by the assent of the princes serving in his armies; he described it as a pledge of the unity and military strength of Germany; and he intimated that it was his intention 'to restore or re-establish' (both words were used) the German Empire. When the doctors of the University of Bologna were ordered by the Emperor Frederic I. in the year 1158, at the Diet of Roncali, to define the rights of the Imperial Crown in Italy, they wound up a long enumeration of privileges and powers by these comprehensive words: 'Tua voluntas jus esto: sicuti dicitur quidquid 'Principi placuit legis habet vigorem.' The doctors of Berlin, assembled at Versailles, would probably not hold language so explicit; but we cannot discover in the report of their acts which is now before us, any effectual provisions to limit the

power they are so anxious to create and to serve. We shall, however, revert to this part of the subject in the latter pages of this article.

There exists, we are well aware, in Germany a numerous, highly-instructed, and patriotic body of men who hail these changes with great satisfaction as the noblest and best result of their recent success in war; who accept the title and authority of the Empire, not so much in memory of its past glories as in the hope of the services it may render in future to the unity of the nation; and who certainly believe that neither unity nor military power will promote the true welfare of the country and the general peace, unless they are based on free institutions. We sympathise to a great extent with these persons. We desire nothing so much as that the freedom and independence of the German people should eventually triumph over the military caste and the absolutist traditions of Prussia; and we trust that it is not impossible that this result may ultimately be arrived at. But at present everything in Germany seems to be moving in the opposite direction. The eminent military services rendered in the war by the princes and nobles of the land; the habits of authority and obedience engendered by military command; the overwhelming forces and money at the disposal of the governments; the passionate desire of national unity, which has led the Germans of the present day to cast aside with disdain many of those rights of independence which their forefathers struggled for centuries to obtain and defend; and the prestige of recent victory, all tend to throw a great advantage at the present time on the side of absolutism and aristocracy. The ministers and generals of the King of Prussia who have raised that sovereign to so exalted a position in Germany and in Europe are not men to cast aside this advantage. They have availed themselves of the national enthusiasm for unity to create a great power in the world; but they are for the most part the known enemies of popular rights and popular control; and on their return to their native country, when the severe pressure and constraint which they have maintained during the war is removed, they find themselves at the very outset of a political struggle, in which military and irresponsible authority will either have to submit to the just demands of liberal opinion or to confront them.* At present,

* It deserves to be noted that the very first act of the constituency of Berlin, after the war, was to *reject* Generals Moltke, Werder, and Manteuffel as Parliamentary candidates: a striking proof of the determined hostility of the population of the capital to the military spirit of the government, and, as far as it goes, an encouraging symptom.

little has really been done to settle on fixed and permanent principles the future government of Germany. The institutions which have been conceded by Prussia to the associated States now comprised within her dominions have yet to be put upon their trial. To assume an ancient title, to evoke the shadowy recollections of past ages, to determine by treaties between sovereigns the relations which are to combine their armies, is but a small step towards the great result. The future policy of the German Empire depends on the principles and institutions which are to govern it; and although, as we shall presently show, these bear some external resemblance to Federal ties, and even to a popular form of government, we have yet to learn the reality and sincerity of these provisions.

One thing is certain. In spite of the language of the King of Prussia at Versailles, he cannot 'restore or re-establish' the ancient German Empire. He might as well restore the Heptarchy. To attempt it would be an anachronism and an absurdity, if it were not an impossibility. For what was the German Empire? We will endeavour briefly to describe the principal traits in its constitution and history, which the Germans themselves in their present fit of enthusiasm appear to have forgotten.

The empire of Charlemagne was of short duration. It fell to pieces under his immediate successors. The crowns of Germany and France were divided; and on the extinction of the German branch of the Carlovingians, the States of Germany elected a chief of their own in the person of Conrad of Franconia, who was succeeded (in the tenth century) by Henry of Saxony and the Othos his descendants. The great offices of the household and the fiefs of the Empire were granted at the pleasure of the sovereign, but they soon became hereditary and perpetual in certain families. They passed by descent, even through females. They were dealt with, and often subdivided, like family property. Under the emperors of the Franconian and Suabian lines, the power of the imperial crown was perpetually diminishing; that of the Church increased, and still more the independence of the nobles. They enacted laws, declared and carried on wars against each other, and exercised all the prerogatives of sovereignty. The Imperial Cities, which alone retained the principles of free government, rose into importance and became the seats of trade, wealth, and culture; but they owed little to the nominal protection of the Empire. It was not till the fifteenth century that the Emperor Maximilian succeeded in establishing a tribunal to restore and uphold public justice and order, and

even in this court the territorial princes had a large share of power. The appearance and title of monarchical prerogatives in the emperor was more than counterbalanced by the authority of the princes and states in every act of administration. No law extending to the whole body could pass without the assent of the Diet, at which every prince and state of the Empire had a right to vote. The Empire was in fact a loose confederacy with a monarchical head. The members of this confederacy originally held their lands as fiefs of the Empire, but their political subjection was at an end, though the ancient forms remained. The emperors themselves were still invested with the most pompous titles. They were served on occasions of state and ceremony by the princes of the land. But they had been gradually stripped even of their domains, which once extended along the Rhine from Basle to Cologne, and not a foot of land belonged to them in their imperial capacity. Their revenues decreased even more than their authority. Even their casual revenues were alienated or squandered.* Granvelle, the minister of Charles V., asserted in the year 1546, in presence of several of the German Princes, that his master drew no money at all from the Empire, and in fact for about 400 years the emperors depended solely on their hereditary dominions for the maintenance of their court and for their own subsistence.

The consequence of this state of things was, of course, that they looked mainly to foreign conquest, foreign spoliation, and foreign revenues to support their power. Italy was their constant victim and peculiar spoil from the days of Barbarossa downwards; and when the Imperial dignity passed, almost permanently, into the House of Austria, it derived its principal resources from the non-German possessions of that house, the rich Flemish inheritance of the Dukes of Burgundy, the Milanese, Naples, and Hungary, to which were added, under Charles V., Spain and the Indies. At home, in Germany, the Emperor was in reality powerless and poor. The exalted position he filled in Europe was mainly due to his strength and wealth as a foreign sovereign.

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* For example, in 1376 the emperor Charles IV., the author of the Golden Bull, promised each of the electors 100,000 crowns to elect his son Wenceslaus King of the Romans; but being unable to pay so large a sum, he alienated to the three Ecclesiastical Electors and the Count Palatine such countries as still belonged to the Imperial domain on the banks of the Rhine, and made over to them the Imperial tolls in that district.

The constant policy of great rulers and politicians like Maximilian and Charles V. was to augment their own authority and to crush the independence of the territorial princes. But the Reformation gave fresh energy to those parts of Germany which embraced the new opinions, and at the same Diet of Worms where Luther confronted Charles, the Electors renewed the ancient confederation, known as the Electoral Union, for the maintenance of the privileges, the public liberties, and rights of the Empire, which was ever after regularly confirmed by the Capitulations on each successive Imperial election. The princes of the House of Austria represented the twofold principle of the ascendency of the Empire and the domination of the Church of Rome. Happily for Germany and for Europe, neither cause prevailed. The contest which began by the League of Smalkalde may be said to have continued until the close of the Thirty Years' War, when the Peace of Westphalia, negotiated under the guarantee of France and Sweden, established those general conditions of the balance of power which have for more than two centuries been regarded as the basis of all succeeding general treaties, assisted the principle of religious toleration in Germany, and established, in a positive and precise form, the rights and liberties of all the members of the Germanic Empire.

That treaty was no doubt in great part the result of the policy of Richelieu and Mazarin, and it gave to France acquisitions of territory and a right of interference in the affairs of Germany, which Louis XIV. made the basis of an aggressive policy. When the possession of the three bishoprics of Toul, Verdun, and Metz, and of Alsace, was finally secured to France by that treaty, it was a question whether Louis XIV. should hold them in absolute sovereignty, or as fiefs of the Empire. The latter alternative would have given the French King a voice in the Diet at Ratisbon, and even made him eligible for the Imperial Crown, and it was on both sides rejected.

But as we have just seen that the power of the emperors in Germany owed much to the resources they drew from their foreign or hereditary dominions, so the princes and sovereign houses of Germany relied frequently and habitually on foreign alliances for the protection of their own rights. For example, on the 5th October, 1551, the allied Princes of the Protestant League, Maurice of Saxony, George Frederic of Brandenburg, John Albert of Mecklenburg, and William of Hesse, signed a treaty with Henry II. of France, by which they obtained the support of France in men and money against Charles V., and allowed the King to take possession of Cambrai, Toul, Metz,

and Verdun, with a reservation of the rights of the Empire—an occupation confirmed and extended to actual sovereignty by subsequent treaties, and which was never impugned till the late war. Our own Queen Elizabeth said to Sully when she saw him at Dover, that to insure the liberties of Europe two things were to be done—to free the Low Countries from the dominion of Spain; and *to create on the Rhine an independent republic, with which Alsace and the country of Burgundy should be incorporated*, and that the Emperor should be compelled to renounce all his claims over the Swiss Cantons. Elizabeth had encouraged the Protestant Suabian League, and only three months before his death Henry IV. of France concluded a treaty of alliance with the Confederate Princes of the Palatinate, Brandenburg, Wirtemberg, Anhalt, &c. These instances may suffice, but they might be increased to any extent. Germany may have suffered much from the intrusion of foreign Powers in her internal affairs, but it was her own feeble and vicious constitution, and the mutual jealousies of her States and rulers, which were continually invoking foreign intervention. Spaniards, Italians, and Poles have marched under the standards of the Empire. Swedes, Danes, Dutch, English, under those of the Protestant Leagues. French troops, at different times, on one side and on the other. It is absurd to impute these invasions (as they have been termed) to hostility to Germany or to the mere objects of foreign ambition, when in fact they were loudly sought for, and frequently paid for, by German partisans. Germany has in all ages been the field of civil wars. The last of them took place only five years ago; and it is very possible that this may not prove to be the last. Civil wars naturally open the door to foreign intervention, and in the struggles carried on by the territorial princes against the Empire they constantly relied on foreign assistance. 'La 'Prusse,' says Frederic the Great in his 'Memoirs of the 'House of Brandenbourg,' 'avait besoin de s'épauler de la 'France ou de l'Angleterre.' Professor Ranke, the flower of Prussian historians, declares, in speaking of the great conflict of the Protestant Princes against the House of Austria:—'We 'are forced to confess that Germany was not then in a position 'to defend her own cause or to win back her past importance. 'The help of a foreign prince was needed to overthrow the 'armed Power which threatened to overwhelm the Lutheran 'States.' The same writer contends that 'if the great 'sovereigns who founded or extended the supreme power in 'Germany, gave the nation the consciousness of its own unity,

'on the other hand the territorial princes who opposed those 'monarchs defended the freedom of the national genius, and 'prevented the destruction of individual life and liberty.'

Amongst these territorial princes, the most powerful in the last two centuries, and the most assiduous enemy of the Imperial authority, has been the House of Brandenburg. Nearly two hundred years have elapsed since the actual date of a prophecy, which once laid claim to far higher antiquity, for whoever may have been the author of the Lehnin predictions (*Die Lehninische Weissagung, Vaticinium Lehninense*), it is certain that they were generally known and circulated in Germany at the beginning of the last century—indeed the librarian La Croze had seen a copy at Berlin in 1697—and they were published in 1714. The leading features of this singular national poem in Macaronic verse were hatred of all foreigners, and especially of the French; resentment against the times when the policy of Brandenburg was dependent on that of Austria, and when George Wilhelm, the degenerate son of the Great Elector, allowed himself to deviate from the footsteps of his race; an ardent desire for the ecclesiastical and national unity of Germany, when 'the Shepherd would 'recover his flock and Germany get back her King;' and this transformation was to be brought about by the '*last* 'Ruler of Brandenburg.' The last Ruler of Brandenburg was taken to mean the Prince who should exchange the Electorate of the Northern Marches for an Imperial German Crown. It looked, at one time, as if the hour and the man were come in the person of Frederic II. to fulfil the prophecy; for never was the House of Brandenburg so vigorous, and never was the House of Austria so near extinction, as in the middle of the last century. But the course of time is less sudden in its changes; another century has almost past away since the death of the Great Frederic before his work was completed, and even then more by the mysterious combination of events than by the direct effort of any personal volition.

It would be superfluous to recapitulate the long series of wars, intrigues, leagues, and aggressions of the Court of Berlin, all directed to the grand end, which it has recently accomplished—first, to wrest from Austria the position she still retained in Germany, as a lingering inheritance of the old Imperial dignity, by excluding her altogether from the Germanic body, to which she belongs by so many ties of race and history; secondly, to assume for itself the station and prerogatives of the Imperial Crown—those very prerogatives which it had never ceased to combat as long as they were possessed by another house, but

which Prussia is now prepared to assert and to enforce in very different language. The archives of the German Courts are full of schemes and combinations to prevent the execution of the grand design of which Austria was perpetually accused—that of bringing all Germany into subjection. We have before us at this moment a remarkable memoir, drawn up in 1784 by one of the Ministers of the Duke of Zweibrücken, the immediate ancestor of the house now reigning in Bavaria, which proposes 'a league or union of the territorial princes as the 'most natural and effectual way to maintain the constitution 'of the German Empire, with the support of the European 'courts, who have ever regarded that Constitution as of essen-'tial importance to the balance of power.' 'The plan of be-'coming sovereign in Germany,' he goes on, 'is of old 'standing with the Court of Austria. To cite all the attempts 'which have been made to realise it would be to write the 'history of the country from the Emperor Frederic III. 'downwards. That plan is always going on. It aims at the 'undermining of the Germanic Constitution, and at the esta-'blishment of total subjection to a supreme authority in its 'place.' Towards the close of his life, in March 1784, Frederic II. wrote to his own Ministers:—'Examining the 'state of Europe, I see no resource but to construct a league 'in the Empire to support the rights and prerogatives of the 'Princes and their immunities.'* In a Declaration addressed to the French and Russian Courts in the following year the King of Prussia added that 'His Majesty thinks he could do 'no less for his own security and for that of the whole German 'Empire, than to propose to his fellow-States to make an 'association conformable to all the fundamental constitutions 'of the Empire, more especially the Peace of Westphalia, 'and the Imperial capitulations, founded on the example of 'all ages, tending solely to preserve the present legal con-'stitution of the Empire, and each of its members in the free 'and tranquil exercise of his rights, dominions, and posses-'sions, and to oppose every arbitrary and illegal enterprise 'contrary to the system of the Empire.'

These extracts are drawn from the purest German sources, and they may be corroborated by other acts and opinions of the Court of Brandenburg itself, expressed by some of the ablest of its Ministers. For instance: in 1778 a scheme had been set on foot for effecting an exchange between the Aus-

* These despatches are printed by Adolf Schmidt, in his 'Geschichte 'der Preussisch-deutschen Unionsbestrebungen. Berlin, 1851.'

trian Low Countries and the Bavarian territories of the Palatine House, which would have strengthened the position of Austria in Germany by the acquisition of some contiguous provinces at the cost of an embarrassing non-German dependency. This proposal was stoutly resisted by Prussia as fatal to the independence of Germany:—

'If the House of Austria,' it was said, 'succeeded in acquiring the Circle of Bavaria, inhabited by a brave nation in a fertile territory, and got rid of the Low Countries, which are a source of weakness to her, the result would be an enormous mass of power, a huge empire extending from the Black Sea to the Rhine, which the minor States of Germany could never resist, so that the balance, the security, and the freedom of Germany would solely depend on the moderation of each Austrian Sovereign. If this moderation were to fail, and if the state maxims of Charles V. and Ferdinand II. were revived, what could resist her power? The whole German Empire would become a monarchy of that House. Nor is this all. For if it be supposed that one Sovereign governs the whole extent of the German Empire, fertile, populous, situated in the centre of Europe; and if he found himself at the head of so numerous and warlike a nation already completely armed, as the German nation now undoubtedly is, what Power in Europe could resist such a Sovereign, if it pleased him to assert the ancient pretensions of the Roman Emperor or King of Germany, over the border lands, such as Holland, Switzerland, Italy, or even the old kingdoms of Burgundy and Lorraine? Would not all Europe be exposed to the certain danger of a *universal monarchy*? Nor is this a dream. Any impartial man, who knows the force and internal constitution of Germany, as well as that of the neighbouring States, who thinks of the past, and of the characters of Sovereigns who have figured in history, will be convinced that under the circumstances we have supposed, a German Monarchy, and after it a universal European Monarchy, is a possible thing—nay, even a probable one; and that none but a Sovereign of all Germany can ever realise it.' (*Œuvres de Hertzberg*, vol. ii. p. 336.)

To these suppositions the answer made by their author was, that by the Constitution of Germany, no German Emperor had any such power; that the supreme authority was shared by the territorial Princes; and that if the head of the Empire attempted to extend or abuse his power, he violated the eighth article of the Treaty of Osnabruck and the Capitulations of the Empire; and he justifies the Princes in seeking, even by foreign alliances or by leagues amongst themselves, to restrain him.

These were the principles maintained in the last century by Count Hertzberg, one of the ablest Ministers of Frederic the Great. They were the basis of the policy of Prussia, when Austria was supposed to aim at the erection of a

preponderating power in Germany. Are they not as literally applicable, even in minute particulars which cannot fail to strike the reader, when it is not Austria, but Prussia, which has raised herself to a position in Europe, which no other single State is at this time able to resist with success in the field? It would be impossible to describe with greater accuracy the present condition of the adjacent States, than by saying with Count Hertzberg, that their existence depends entirely on the moderation and forbearance of so formidable a neighbour, since all the checks, limitations, and engagements which formerly sustained that colossal power, both within and without, have just been swept away.

Such was the language and ostensible policy of Prussia, when the Imperial dignity was still possessed by Austria, and when it suited her to raise up coalitions against the arbitrary designs imputed to that Power. We should be glad to think that she was now animated by the same determination to resist all schemes of aggrandisement contrary to the territorial rights and independence of the other German States. But after having torn up the Treaties of 1815 constituting the Germanic Confederation in place of the Empire—after having made war on her own confederates—conquered Hanover, Hesse, Nassau, Holstein, Sleswig, and Frankfort, and now Alsace and part of Lorraine—expelled Austria from Germany in order to secure her undisputed supremacy over a confederacy of feeble vassals—and established her military authority over the whole country, it would be idle to expect that the Court of Berlin proposes to respect the rights or dominions of any State which it may suit Prussia to incorporate with herself. The terms of the new Federal or Imperial Constitution, as we shall presently see, are those on which Prussia has thought fit to place the minor States, which she has not yet absorbed, under the shadow of her own protection.

When, therefore, the King of Prussia talks of restoring or re-establishing the ancient German Empire, and assumes the title that belonged to it, he is guilty of a strange abuse of language. Whatever the German Empire may hereafter become, it certainly will not resemble in the slightest degree either the ancient German Empire, or the Confederacy which was created in 1815, with the assent of Europe, in place of it. The German Empire was elective; the new dominion will be hereditary in a powerful and martial house. The German Empire was a monarchical confederacy of co-equal States, whose rights were jealously secured to them against the danger of a preponderating supremacy; the new dominion has been created by the

sword, by conquest within and without, and the securities of its subjects and allies are just what Prussia thinks fit to concede to them. The Empire enjoyed a large amount of local freedom, which undoubtedly weakened its collective action; the new dominion tends openly to unity—unity is the cry of Germany at this moment, and it would seem as if no sacrifice of freedom and independence is too sacred or too costly to be made to it. In exchange for all that has hitherto constituted their peculiar and multifarious greatness, the Germans are eagerly bent on obtaining what it seems they value more highly—a concentrated military organisation and power which may render them masters of a great part of Europe, and the political influence abroad which their admirable and enormous armies may confer on them.

It has been for ages the distinctive characteristic and glory of Germany that she has escaped that centralising force which has reduced most of the other European States to a common pattern, and which will probably henceforth be still more active and intense in the world, whether democratic institutions or military despotism direct the application of it. She owes to that absence of a central authority her manifold varieties of intelligence and life—her capitals and courts, which have been in various ways the centres of her civilisation—her universities, rivals in learning and in letters—her Free Cities, which retained till the other day a complete self-government, and ranked with the great marts of the world—and that blending of races and religions, which produced an endless social variety, with a certain amount of political unity. These elements of her true national greatness are threatened by the preponderance of the most arbitrary and absolute of the German Powers—the only one which has made military force the end and aim of all its policy.

The future welfare of the country is brought back to the old question, whether Prussia is to dominate over Germany, or Germany to absorb Prussia. The latter of these alternatives we should accept with the utmost satisfaction and gratitude, and it will probably be arrived at in some future age by the destruction of monarchy throughout the German States, a result to which the policy of Prussia towards her neighbours is secretly and unconsciously tending. But as long as the Prussian monarchy remains what it is, we cannot question that it will make its superiority felt over all the other States. When the beasts of the field, in Æsop's fable, went out hunting with the lion, we know who got the spoils of the chase.

The extinction of the ancient Germanic Empire dated from

the signature of the Act constituting the Federation of the Rhine under the headship of France on the 12th July, 1806. Bavaria, Wirtemberg, Baden, Hesse-Darmstadt, the two Hohenzollerns, Nassau, and some other minor Princes joined that league. Upon which the Emperor Francis II. laid down the Imperial Crown on the 6th August, Napoleon having declared to his allies at Ratisbon a few days before that the German Imperial Constitution was no longer in existence. But it deserves to be remarked that no sooner had these events occurred than Prussia set on foot her schemes to organise a North-German League and a North-German Constitution, by which Frederic William III. was to assume the Imperial title, and to exercise all the former prerogatives of the German Empire over the Northern States. From these dreams Prussia was awakened by the campaign of Jena; but through all bad or good fortune, she remained equally steadfast to her idea of Empire.

'After the War of Liberation in 1814 it was necessary,' says the Queen's Advocate, Sir Travers Twiss,* 'to create 'another Germanic political body, partly to satisfy the deep-'seated feeling of nationality amongst the people of the Ger-'manic States, partly to fill up the void which the disappearance 'of the Germanic Empire had caused in the centre of the 'European political system.' The Emperor Francis of Austria repudiated the advice of those who urged him to resume, as a matter of course, the crown of the Roman Empire of the Germanic nations, as unjust to the States which had enjoyed sovereign rights since 1806. Nor did he favour the idea of a simple political alliance between the German States. He therefore insisted on a Confederation of States, compatible with the independence of the Sovereign Princes and States of Germany, and capable of securing the integrity of the Germanic territory. The assent of Russia, Prussia, and Great Britain to this scheme was made a condition *sine quâ non* of Austria's accession to the Quadruple Alliance of 1813, and the sixth Article of the Peace of Paris provided that 'Les États de 'l'Allemagne seront indépendans, et unis par un lien fédéra-'tif.' The German Federal Act was thus a part of the public conventional law of Europe, and in fact the *Schluss-Act*, as it was termed, was textually inserted in the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna. When therefore the Prussian envoy

* Twiss 'On the Law of Nations,' vol. i. p. 69. The learned author's observations on this subject are the more important, as he is known to have had access to the best sources of information upon it.

declared at Frankfort on the 14th of June, 1866, 'in the name 'and by the orders of his Majesty the King of Prussia, that 'Prussia henceforth regards the hitherto existing Federal 'compact as dissolved and no longer obligatory,' he repudiated a treaty binding not only as between Prussia and her confederates, but between all the Powers of Europe.

Sir Alexander Malet, who was the British Minister on the spot at Frankfort, has recorded with the utmost fidelity all the incidents of this important rupture; and to understand fully the effects of it on the general relations of Europe, it is necessary to follow in detail the tortuous but steady drift of the policy of Prussia both in the Danish question and in the Diet. We refer our readers for these details to Sir Alexander's most interesting volume, for by these acts the constitution of Germany was abruptly and totally changed.

Nor is the change a matter of indifference to Europe. The Confederation of 1815 was essentially a defensive league. It is true that it could not have undertaken or carried on an offensive war. But we are entitled to assert that as a defensive league it fully answered its purpose and attained its end, since no foreign State *ever ventured to attack it.* The united forces of Austria and Prussia, with their minor confederates, constituted a power which effectually held France in check for fifty years. The Emperor Napoleon III. was known to have said that he could never attack them collectively. He defeated Austria singly; he thought himself (though most erroneously) in a condition to make war against Prussia. But as long as the Bund was in existence, backed by the great Powers of Europe, who had co-operated in the creation of it and were deeply interested in its security, for defensive purposes the security of Germany was unassailable.

On this point we must invoke the evidence of Sir A. Malet, which is conclusive.

'It should and will be noted by the historian that these institutions were framed with a view to two objects—the maintenance of the internal tranquillity of Germany, and the holding France in check; and that, with the brief exception of the troubles of 1848–49, both objects were secured for half a century. During that period neither Austria nor Prussia made attacks on their confederates; above all, France made no encroachments, nor was any umbrage given to her, at periods when that country was most ready to take umbrage. The Germanic Confederation was respected alike by Louis XVIII., by Charles X., by the short-lived Republic, and by Louis Philippe. Even after Solferino the resumption of the Rhine frontier may have been talked of, but was never seriously contemplated. An area of 11,000 geographical miles and a population of forty-five millions on her immediate confines

remained in the pursuit of peaceful industrial progress; and France had good reason to know that any aggressive move in that direction stirred the great soul of Germany like one man. That this result was obtained while the Diet still subsisted cannot be forgotten by anyone who impartially records the events of the time.' (*Malet*, p. 380.)

In fact, this was the reason distinctly expressed by the Emperor Napoleon III., both to Lord Russell and to Lord Clarendon, as the chief ground of his refusal to co-operate with Great Britain in resisting the German invasion of Denmark. The following expressions occurred in a despatch of M. Drouyn de Lhuys, of the 26th of January, 1864:—

'It may be comparatively easy for England to carry on a war which can never go beyond maritime operations of blockade and capture of ships. Schleswig and England are far apart from each other. But the soil of Germany touches the soil of France, and a war between France and Germany would be one of the most burthensome and one of the most hazardous in which the French Empire could engage. Besides these considerations, the Emperor cannot fail to recollect that he has been made an object of mistrust and suspicion in Europe on account of his supposed projects of aggrandisement on the Rhine. A war commenced on the frontiers of Germany could not fail to give strength to these unfounded and unwarrantable imputations. For these reasons the Government of France will not take at present any engagement on the subject of Denmark. If, hereafter, the balance of power should be seriously threatened, the Emperor may be induced to take new measures in the interest of France and of Europe.' (*Despatch quoted by Sir A. Malet*, p. 428.)

The destruction of the Bund has already led to two wars, and it has shown to the world by forcible examples, that instead of a great defensive Power, formed of united States and interests, there exists in the centre of Europe a monarchy capable of carrying on a war of invasion on the largest scale and of rendering itself formidable to all its neighbours. Such a monarchy having for its head a sovereign addicted to war and a minister versed in the arts of aggression and aggrandisement would be a curse to the world. Such princes have before now not been wanting to the House of Hohenzollern. Such ministers have been found even in the Cabinet of Berlin. Nor are examples wanting of the manner in which a country may be engaged in war in direct opposition to the wishes of the people.

'Throughout Germany,' says again Sir A. Malet, in speaking of the outset of the war of 1866, 'and largely in Prussia itself, the strongest possible repugnance and horror of the coming crisis was entertained. But amongst the Prussian troops the force of discipline, stronger than any individual shade of opinion, impelled the soldier unhesitatingly against those who were pointed out to him as enemies to his country.

Once engaged in actual contest, all reflection was soon drowned in the din of battle, while under able leadership, and stimulated by almost unvarying success, the Prussian army, each unit of whose mass was a citizen of one of the most highly educated states in Europe, soon gave another proof of the force of military discipline and habits, and, wielded with consummate ability, effected all that its most sanguine projectors and artificers could have expected from a sentient but obedient machine.' (*Malet*, p. 196.)

The Germans, jubilant with victory, and suffering at the same time from the cost of victory, which must be paid in the life-blood of a nation, are probably sincere at this moment in their desire for the restoration and maintenance of peace. But Europe can place but little reliance on these transient impressions. The military caste in Prussia is strong, and war alone enables it to feel and put forth its strength. Indigent nobles, who have no other profession and no other utility than to fight and feed the crows on battle-fields, are a dangerous element in society, especially when they are surrounded by richer and fairer countries than their own swamps and sands and pine-forests. The old barbarian impulse of the men of the north to break out upon the lands of the south revives. In the recent campaign in France all respect for private property seems to have been lost. Pillage and rapine of private dwellings became the general practice of men and officers. To the other attractions of war to a fierce people was added the acquisition and appropriation of wealth by a needy people. The State practised the same policy on a larger scale. The enormous exaction levied on France will leave no small residue in the military chest of Berlin or Potsdam after the cost of the war and the claims of the allies have been discharged. Of this sum, judging by precedent, no account will be rendered to the nation, but enough of it will remain to render the Crown on an emergency independent of the control exercised by Parliament over the public revenues, and able to meet at pleasure the demands at the outset of another war. It is a calamity to France to have to pay so vast a sum, which must in the end be wrung from the industry of her population, and imposes a cruel burden of permanent debt on future generations. But it may yet prove a greater calamity to Germany to receive so vast a sum, not earned or created by industry, but won by the sword, for it puts a profit on war, and renders the government disposing of such prodigious spoil in great measure independent of the people. In all former treaties of peace, acquisitions of territory and levies of money have invariably been regarded as a set-off or equivalent

of each other. Prussia in this peace has exacted both. The revenue she will draw from the rich province of Alsace and part of Lorraine will probably reach three millions sterling, so that the money value of those territories might be capitalised at a hundred millions. In addition to this she takes upwards of one hundred and fifty millions sterling net, so that the annual value of the sums and lands acquired will exceed ten millions sterling. Acquisitions on such a scale are no small inducement to undertake other wars, and at any rate they supply the means of engaging in them.

This fact alone has greatly increased the relative power of Prussia, more especially with reference to Russia and Austria, and they will probably one day feel the effects of it. Germany has shown conclusively that she is more than a match for the military forces of any other single Power. The consequence will be that she will be watched with the utmost jealousy by all the Powers combined, or rather their combination, which has at present no existence, will result from a sense of common danger. She leaves behind her in France a legacy of hatred and a thirst for revenge. Russia is, with some unknown motive, arming on an enormous scale. Austria, though eagerly desirous of peace at any price, is conscious that her existence may be at stake. England surveys the state of Europe with uncertainty and distrust. Peace may be preserved. God grant it may! For we have seen enough of ruin and bloodshed. But that which makes peace effective and secure—mutual confidence, common obligations, respect for treaties, an open policy—is entirely wanting. Without these conditions peace itself is but partially restored. Armaments and military preparations will continue on an enormous scale. The burdens imposed by them will be unspeakable. We are at a loss whom we can trust and with whom we can act, because, in one word, the system of European policy has been destroyed, and as yet we see no approach to the reconstruction of it. There are persons, we know, who think that words such as these—the system of Europe, the balance of power—are idle expressions; and who would be content, we suppose, to see the nations of the earth separated from each other like barbarous tribes, trusting to nothing but their own powers of defence. If that be so, we take the liberty to say that civilisation itself is moving backwards. Without mutual confidence, regulated and protected by public law, there is no security and no peace; and the most painful and alarming symptom of the present state of the world appears to us to be that force rather than law at this moment governs the most civilised nations of the earth, that all alliances are shaken, and

that there are no longer any common standards or principles of political action recognised by governments. If such a state of things were prolonged, it would lead us back to never-ending wars and barbarism. Yet this appears to us to be the result of the policy of which Count Bismarck is the chief author.

It is related that M. Thiers in his peregrination round Europe in the course of last autumn, to make an appeal which was answered like that of Gay's 'Hare with many 'Friends,' found himself at table at Vienna with an eminent Prussian historian, we believe, Professor Ranke himself. After enlarging on the effects of the capitulation of Sedan and the fall of the sovereign who was regarded as the author of the war, the lively French Minister remonstrated on the inconsistency of pursuing hostilities to their furthest limit against an unoffending people, and ended with the question '*A qui faites-vous donc la guerre?*' 'A LOUIS XIV.' was the grim answer of the Northern sage. That answer strikes us as the most just and profound observation which has been made during the whole course of this crisis; and if Professor Ranke really said it, he deserves more credit for such a speech than for any page of his 'Nine Books of Prussian 'History,' uninspired by the Muses.

To make this declaration perfectly accurate, however, it should have gone one step further. Prussia has been making war with success not only against Louis XIV., since she has been able in one campaign to wring from France many of the concessions that monarch succeeded in engrafting upon the Treaty of Westphalia by an abuse of his influence and his arms; but she has in reality overthrown and reversed the principles of the Treaty of Westphalia itself, so far as they might still be traced in the public law of Europe, of which they were the foundation. It is with no idle or pedantic motive, but really to explain our view of the present state of Germany, that we are compelled to go back to this remote period.

The great international compact known as the Treaty of Munster or Westphalia, concluded in 1648, derives its chief importance and authority from the fact that it was the first time in modern history that *all* the States of Europe had concurred in one general engagement, and that as it was based on mutual concessions and guarantees, all had a common interest in maintaining it. It was the first solemn recognition of the principle that all nations have reciprocal rights and duties; that peace can only be secured by a compre-

hensive system of mutual engagements; and that a Power which attacks that system in any part, impairs the stability of the whole edifice. In this respect, the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna in 1815 can alone be compared to it. The same spirit pervaded both. Europe had in both instances been torn by long and sanguinary wars. At both these epochs, it was felt by all nations that peace and security were only to be secured by associating all the Powers in the common work. More especially did this consideration apply in both instances to Germany. Germany had been the scene of the Thirty Years' War; Germany had suffered most by the wars of the French Revolution. Her central position, her open frontiers, and her divided governments and creeds, rendered the settlement of Germany the first condition of the settlement of Europe, and of extreme importance to her neighbours. In 1640 the Emperor had attempted to negotiate a peace through the Diet at Ratisbon by direct negotiation within the Empire. The attempt failed. The aid of foreign nations was invoked, and it was incontestably by the good offices of France and Sweden that peace was at length re-established on equitable terms. The grand object of the whole negotiation was to defend the civil and religious liberty of Europe against the aggressions of the House of Austria, then in possession of the Imperial Power, and aiming at an Imperial and absolute supremacy. The first condition was a general amnesty, which the mediating Powers exacted in favour of the subjects of the Emperor himself, and throughout Germany. The second was the maintenance of the rights and independence of the territorial princes, cities, and corporations, in all their ancient extent. The third was the establishment of the principle of religious toleration, and the mutual recognition of the hostile creeds which had been seeking to extirpate one another. These conditions were imposed by the mediating Powers, greatly to the dissatisfaction of the Imperialists.

It was *in satisfaction* (that was the phrase) of the services rendered by France in this negotiation to the settlement of Germany and Europe, and in compensation for the expenses of the war, that she obtained from Germany the full recognition of her sovereignty over the Three Bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which had been ceded to Henry II. in a more restricted form by some of the German princes in the preceding century; and also the cession of Alsace, in the same manner as that province had been held by the Austrian princes to whom it then belonged, with a reservation of the

rights of the Bishops of Strasburg and Bâle, and of the ten imperial towns belonging to the prefectorate of Haguenau. The landgraviates of Alsace belonged to a younger branch of the House of Austria, the same then reigning in the Tyrol; but their tenure was limited by the double obligations of the feudal system to those under whom they held, and to those who held under them. The Austrian Princes eventually received from France an indemnity of three million livres for their interest in the provinces, which was, in fact, a limited one, and not a sovereign right at all. A vast amount of controversy has sprung out of these reservations and is not even abandoned by the Germans to this day, for Professor von Sybel of Bonn contends in a recent pamphlet entitled 'Droits 'de l'Allemagne sur l'Alsace et la Lorraine,' that the Austrian princes could only cede the limited superiority they themselves enjoyed, and that everything else was obtained by Louis XIV. and annexed to France by subsequent fraud or force. We shall not attempt to draw our readers into the depths of this dispute. But we are surprised a man of Professor von Sybel's high character for learning and candour should have abstained in his pamphlet from noticing the fact that on the 24th October, 1648, an Act of cession of the Three Bishoprics of Lorraine, and of Alsace, Brisach, and Pignerol, was duly executed on behalf of the Emperor and the Empire, by which every sort of authority and dominion was fully relinquished and transferred without the least reservation to the Crown of France, and their inhabitants released from all allegiance whatsoever to the Holy Roman Empire. The document itself is published at the end of the first chapter of Koch and Schœll's 'History 'of Treaties of Peace.' And it appears to us to be absolutely conclusive as to all that was comprehended within it. Strasburg, the city or commonwealth, and the bishopric were not comprehended within it, and the scandalous fraud by which possession was taken of that free city in the year 1681, by the Ministers of Louis XIV., is one of the darkest stains on the policy of that unscrupulous king—a stain, indeed, as dark as the destruction of the Free City and Republic of Cracow in 1846, to which, if we remember rightly, the Court of Prussia was not a stranger. Many German princes and nobles retained feudal rights in Alsace down to the French Revolution: they were confiscated and abolished by the National Assembly, because similar rights were abrogated throughout France. The abolition of these rights was an immense boon to the people, and contributed to strengthen among them that ardent attachment to France and the Revo-

lution they have ever since displayed. In 1792 a demand made by the Germans for the restoration of their privileges was an obstacle to peace, and it was not till the peace of Luneville in 1801 that the question was settled. But we cannot agree with Professor von Sybel that any species of German right of sovereignty lay all this time dormant in those provinces. Even if it did, the final declaration of 1814, that France should resume the frontiers of 1790, which was insisted upon by England and Russia, perempted and barred the revival of the German claim. The best argument of Prussia, and probably the only one which M. Bismarck would condescend to use, is that she has conquered these provinces by the sword and means to keep them, alike regardless of ancient rights, of former treaties, and of the will of the people. Just so, it was argued by all the public writers in Germany in the question of the Duchies, that the claims of the Duke of Augustenberg were irrefragable; but after the war, the Crown lawyers of Berlin discovered that the Duke had never had any rights at all, and that as the sovereignty resided solely in the King of Denmark, it had been transferred absolutely to Prussia by sheer conquest. To this argument there is, of course, no reply; except that force confers no rights at all, and that whenever France is strong enough to reconquer Alsace she will do so: that the possession of these spoils is not, and will not be, recognised by any general treaty; and that they can only be held by the severest means of internal oppression and external vigilance.

But now observe with what skilful precision Prussia has succeeded in reversing the stipulations of the Treaty of Westphalia. Having placed herself in the Imperial position, of which Austria had been divested, and having in 1866 destroyed all the old obligations of the Bund towards her Confederates, devouring several of them and crushing the rest, she now proceeds to give the strongest expression to the power and authority of a supreme unitary government. She has in fact accomplished, to all outward appearance, all the objects which the territorial princes and Free Cities of Germany, with the House of Brandenburg at the head of them, resisted for so many centuries in the name of freedom, toleration, and independence. She has reduced to dust and ashes all those laws and traditions of the past by which these rights were protected, and she stands at this moment supreme in Germany and in Europe, undeniably great by a military superiority, but absolutely unrestrained by any positive obligations to any Power at home or abroad except by the voluntary engagements

she has recently entered into with the minor German States. No wonder she hastened to snatch from France lands which were ceded to that kingdom in consideration of services rendered in checking the ambition and absolutism of the Empire; but as those lands were avowedly once Austrian possessions, connected with the Empire only by the light tie of feudal dependence, Austria would have a fairer claim than Prussia to recover them. Prussia, however, evidently conceives herself to have inherited all the pretensions and rights of the old Empire, with none of its limitations. There can be no wilder fiction in politics than the substitution under the same name, of such an Empire and such a dominion as Prussia has become for the ancient Holy Roman Empire of the Frederics, the Charles, and the Leopolds.

But we are told this is what the Germans desire. They are the only competent judges of their own affairs. They desire strength; they desire unity; they abhor the slightest foreign influence at their courts, whether it proceed from Petersburg or from Paris; and it is added that such is the vigour, intelligence, and political sagacity of that nation, that we shall soon see them impose on this Imperial power the effectual restraint of constitutional law and Parliamentary control. That is precisely what we too desire. We have no fear at all of the power of Germany, if we are satisfied that it will henceforth be exercised under the strict control of a free popular government; but we have the greatest distrust of it as long as it is mainly directed by a warlike sovereign, a military aristocracy, and an unprincipled minister. To ascertain what the German nation desires, and what it is likely to obtain, has, of late, become the more difficult, as throughout the late war, the Government of Berlin has taken the precaution to muzzle the country—military law has been in force, not only in the country they have invaded, but in their own homes, and even in the capital of Prussia—and anything approaching to a free expression of opinion has been repressed with such exemplary severity, that the victorious nation has been allowed no voice at all, except to celebrate its own successes. That period is now happily at an end. The King of Prussia has returned to his dominions with a new title, and before these pages see the light, active measures will have been taken to form and declare the future character of the Imperial Government. We have thus far endeavoured to show our readers what that Government is not and cannot be; but it is a matter of far deeper interest to ascertain, as far as we are able, what its future constitution and powers are really likely to become; and to this object we shall now endeavour to apply ourselves.

The Sessional Papers of the German Bund, now to be termed we presume the Empire, which are before us, contain the most authentic account we have been able to procure of the present Constitution of that body. They comprise the text of the Constitution of the North German League, and the treaties negotiated and signed at Versailles on the 24th and 28th of November last between Prussia, as head of the existing League, and the States of Bavaria, Wirtemberg, Baden, and Hesse on the Rhine respectively, by virtue of which they became members of the League, and some alterations were introduced in the organic law of that body. We shall briefly recapitulate the provisions of these instruments, which have not, we think, been published in this country.

The territory of the Bund or Empire consists of the following States, and the numbers annexed to them denote the number of their votes in the Federal or Imperial Council. Prussia with Lauenburg, and including Hanover, Electoral Hesse, Holstein, Nassau and Frankfort, 17 votes;* Bavaria, 6; Saxony, 4; Wirtemberg, 4; Baden, 3; Hesse, 3; Mecklenburg Schwerin, 2; Brunswick, 2; Saxe Weimar, Mecklenburg Strelitz, Oldenburg, Saxe-Meiningen, Saxe-Altenburg, Saxe Coburg Gotha, Anhalt, Schwarzburg Rudolstadt, Schwarzburg Sondershausen, Waldech, Reuss of the elder line, Reuss of the younger line, Schaumburg Lippe, Lippe, Lubeck, Bremen, and Hamburg, 1 each; in all 58 votes. Each State may name as many plenipotentiaries as it has votes. This Federal Council, of which the King of Prussia or Emperor is the permanent head, determines the proposals to be submitted to the Diet; and decrees, when necessary, the execution of Federal laws; and provides for any unforeseen emergencies. Its decisions are given by the majority of votes. The Council is subdivided into seven committees for War, Marine, Taxes and Duties, Trade Railroads Post Office and Telegraphs, Justice, and Public Accounts. The headship of the Bund or Empire being attached to the Crown of Prussia, that Power can declare war and make peace, and conduct diplomatic relations in the name of the whole body. It also names to all appointments and offices under the Bund. In the event of any omission to fulfil the Federal obligations of any State, an 'execution,' as it is termed, may be decreed by the Federal Council and carried into effect by the Head. Without entering into more minute

* In the Bund of 1815 Prussia and Austria had each single votes in the ordinary Diet, and four votes each out of seventy in the *plenum*.

administrative detail, it must be added that the entire population of the whole Bund is liable to bear arms and can name no substitutes. This liability lasts for seven years in the life of every man (from the age of twenty to twenty-eight), of which three are to be spent in the ranks of the standing army, and four in the reserve, with a further liability to serve for five years in the Landwehr. The active army on its peace establishment, however, consists of only one per cent. of the entire population. Throughout the whole Empire, the Prussian military system is established, under Prussian command. Each State belonging to the Bund is to contribute to military expenses at the rate of 225 dollars per man.

Next to these monarchical and military institutions, which breathe a very absolute spirit, comes the Reichstag or Diet—a body of a very opposite character, for it consists of a popular assembly elected by universal suffrage and ballot every three years. This body has legislative powers over the whole Bund, but its functions and rights are loosely defined, and we cannot determine with precision what control it will exercise over the executive departments of the Empire.

We remarked in an article entitled 'New Germany,' which appeared in this Review in July 1868 (No. cclxi. p. 240), that the North German Constitution was a mere pretended Confederation, as there was no equality or counterpoise of power between its members. It clearly gave Prussia absolute power over her confederates, whilst it gave the lesser confederates no powers at all over Prussia. And we observed that such a Constitution was manifestly only a form of transition into that of a more homogeneous commonwealth. It appeared at that time that this consideration might long retard the anticipated fusion between Northern and Southern Germany. The war, however, has abruptly settled that question, and whatever may have been the secret policy or desires of the respective parties, Bavaria, Baden, Wirtemberg, and Hesse have now cast in their lot with the rest of Germany. We rejoice at this result, for not only does it bring Germany considerably nearer to the unity she desires, but it supplies the elements of a much more considerable opposition and counterpoise to the preponderating power of Prussia in the Federal Assemblies.

Prussia has thus far carried everything before her, and had her own way in everything since the rupture of 1866. The only effectual check upon her autocracy is that which may be applied by the representatives of the German nation in the Federal Parliament or Diet. Everything depends on the constitutional attitude they may assume, and on their firmness in

maintaining it. The Prussian Government has hitherto treated Parliamentary assemblies with supreme contempt, and used them only as a blind to mask its own secret policy, which was working in the opposite direction. The Parliament was for a reduction of the army; the King increased it: the Parliament was for peace; the King has carried on with success two colossal wars: the Parliament stopped the supplies; but the King levied the taxes, on the ground that taxes already established by law in former years must be paid. Of the ingenious mechanism by which the representatives of the people in England and America do really hold the purse-strings of the nation, and thereby control the whole policy of the executive government, there is at present hardly a trace in Germany. The real battle between prerogative and military power, represented by the symbols of the Empire and the rights of a free people awakening to a sense of its national strength, is only now about to begin; and it will depend on the result of that contest whether the German Empire of the future becomes a more perfected form of military despotism, or a government worthy of a free and enlightened people. We need hardly say that we cordially desire the latter result; and there are some reasons for hoping that it may ultimately be attained. The military organisation and training of the whole population has this advantage, along with many evils, that the army is of one blood with the people, and the people are almost as well prepared to fight as the army. Were matters to come to the last extremity, it is difficult to say how long the sense of military duty would prevail against popular sympathies; and at any rate a nation of men trained to the use of arms, and electing every three years a body of representatives by universal suffrage, cannot, without their own consent, be converted into the tools of despotism.

This is the grand distinction between the Empire of the Past and the Empire of the Future. The Germans have shown a power of organising immense armies unprecedented in history, and even more remarkable than their gallantry and endurance on the field of battle. They have now before them another task of equal difficulty, but demanding the same patriotic qualities. We trust for their own sake and for the sake of Europe that they may succeed in it, and that the Empire which was proclaimed on a foreign soil amidst scenes of carnage and rapine, will in another generation take rank among the free and peaceful States of Europe. And here we must in justice remark that the known principles and character of the Crown Prince of Prussia, the Heir Apparent of this vast Empire, are

a hopeful symptom and a pledge that the future will not always be as the past has been. That Prince has shown his valour and military skill, accompanied by moderation, in two great wars. He may ere long enter upon a nobler task, and establish on a lasting basis the liberties of the great nation over which he is not unworthy to reign.

But upon a review of the whole subject, we incline to the belief that the federal union and liberty of Germany will ultimately be secured, not by Imperial, but by Republican, institutions. It is not impossible that King William himself with his obsolete ideas of divine right, and Count Bismarck with his very practical notions of royal or imperial authority, are in reality preparing the way for a future state of things entirely opposed to their own system of government. They have dethroned sovereigns of houses far more ancient than that of Brandenburg—so much for legitimacy; they have annexed and absorbed independent kingdoms and duchies—so much for territorial rights; these very measures have been accepted and applauded by some of the organs of the most advanced section of the German democratic party, because they argue that these acts of violence are excellent precedents for their own revolutionary policy. But in truth, there is no country in Europe which offers so fair a field for republican institutions as Germany. The divisions of the nation have been kept alive by the interests or ambition of the ruling families; a Federal Union of free commonwealths would unite, without confounding them. There are now some millions of German emigrants settled in the United States, who have cordially and successfully adopted the republican institutions of that country; and the correspondence, public press, and state of opinion of the American Germans reacts powerfully on the mother-country. The general diffusion of the two great elements of freedom—education and the use of arms—throughout Germany render it highly improbable that the nation will be content to accept any 'restoration' of the Germanic Empire in full satisfaction of its claims. The heroes of the present hour may exult in new titles, in military ascendency, and in the supremacy they have acquired over the country, from the Alps to the Baltic. But the future destinies of Germany are not within their control. They rest with the People of Germany; and we believe, from the progress already made, that in one or two generations, not only will the Empire of Germany not be restored, but its monarchical traditions will be swept away; *Fata viam invenient*: and Germany may one day be both united and free.

ART. VII.—1. *Mémoires de Madame de Mornay; édition revue sur les manuscrits, publiée avec les variantes et accompagnée de lettres inédites de M. et Mme. du Plessis-Mornay et de leurs enfants. Pour la Société de l'Histoire de France.* Par Mme. DE WITT, née GUIZOT. Deux tomes. 8vo. Paris: 1869.

2. *Les dernières Heures de De Mornay du Plessis, Gigord, Rivet, Du Moulin, Drelincourt et Fabri.* Par JEAN-JACOB SALCHI. Publiée par la Société de Livres religieux de Toulouse. Valence: 1847.

3. *Les Fondateurs de l'Unité Française. Études historiques.* Par M. le Comte LOUIS DE CARNÉ. Paris: 1868.

WHILE the events of the late war still echo in our ears, we know not whether any apology be needed for reverting to a page of long past French history. Yet the book before us is so full of genuine interest, is so personal, and so pathetic, and turns so much on those feelings by which, as a French poet has assured us, the heart of humanity is kept ever young, that it will prove, as we believe, its own apologist. If it be true that history repeats itself, then assuredly a narrative of domestic trials, of political emergencies, and of religious animosities can never be out of date, since men and women still bear in their hearts passions as vindictive, a patriotism as ardent, and, let us hope, a piety as sincere as distinguished, in the sixteenth century, Philip and Charlotte du Plessis de Mornay.

Monsieur du Plessis, best known to fame as having been the confidential secretary of Henry IV., married Madame de Feuquères, *née* Arbaleste de la Borde, in 1575, when he was twenty-three, and his bride twenty-two years of age, while yet, to use M. Guizot's striking words, they were of the number of those in whom the sight of crimes and the prospect of danger only serves to arouse indignation, and a more obstinate persistence in virtue. How they did persist, and what of rewards or penalties their conduct entailed on them, this history of their joint lives will show, which was written by the wife and originally intended for the use of their son. We extract from the author's preface—

'Now that I behold you ready to start off into the world, to see it, and to study in it the manners of men and the state of nations, not being able to follow you with my eyes, I will follow you however with the same care, and pray God that you may increase in the fear and love of God. . . . . He has made you to be born of a father of whom in these

days He has made use (and who will again serve to His glory), and who has since your infancy dedicated you to His service. . . . . But to the intent that you should never want a guide, here is one under warranty of my own hand to go with you: this is the example of your father, which I adjure you to have ever before your eyes, to the which end I have taken the trouble to discourse to you what I have been able to know of his life. Albeit that our companionship was often interrupted by the troubles of the time, you have enough here to know what graces God has given him, as well as the zeal and affection with which he has ever used them; and you may hope for the like help whenever you too are resolved to serve Him with all your heart. I am sickening and failing, so much so that I am led to think that my God will not leave me long in this world. You will keep this writing in memory of me. . . . In whatever place you are serve God, and follow your father. I shall go to my burial content, at whatever hour I am summoned, if I see you in the way to advance His honour. . . . . For the rest, I commend your sisters to you: love them, and let them see by your loving them that you would perhaps also have loved your mother. . . . . Written at Saumur this 25th April, 1595. Your very fond mother,

'CHARLOTTE ARBALESTE.'

The truth and simplicity of these memoirs make them valuable materials for history, and they are well worthy of the care which Madame de Witt, on behalf of the Société de l'Histoire de France, has bestowed upon this new edition. Of their authenticity there has never been a doubt, two manuscript copies of the work having been preserved, one in the Bibliothèque Impériale, and another in the Bibliothèque de l'Université. The variations between these copies are neither many nor important, but such as they are, Madame de Witt has compared them, and given both the readings in her pages, enriching the book at the same time with a collection of letters, and with a few pertinent notes. M. Guizot's introduction to the book is a piece of finished and beautiful writing. The idiom is delicate, the style all that we could expect from the historian of Civilisation, and the temper of it is worthy of Madame du Plessis' own.

It is surely no small praise to give to an author of the period of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, who was a woman, a personal sufferer, and who lived in an age when religious toleration was not to be found in either theory or practice, that her memoirs are devoid of passion. Nay, more than that, they frequently record the good offices of Catholics with gratitude, but at the same time with a simplicity which shows that the writer herself would have been quite ready to render like offices in her turn. Tranquil, equable, and pious, her mind, as it has imaged itself in these pages, affords a pleasant relief from too many of the heroines of that day. Though a warm

politician, Madame du Plessis was not an intriguer or a bigot; she had a fine intellect, but she lived in her affections of wife and mother; it was through these affections that she was wounded, until after the disgrace of her husband, the desertion of their royal master, and the death of her eldest son, she went, as she expressed it, 'to her burial,' more full of sorrows than of years.

The historical narrative in these memoirs first becomes important in 1572, at the date of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, but their domestic interest only begins in 1575, when Philip du Plessis made the acquaintance of the young widow, Madame de Feuquères. Both had incurred the dangers of Paris during that terrible crisis, and both were not only Protestants in spirit, but Philip had lived in intimacy with the leaders of the proscribed party, while Madame de Feuquères was the widow of a man known to be 'well affectioned towards 'the cause.' The future secretary of Henri IV. had his share of dangers, and his future wife ran, if possible, greater risks. She describes them thus:—

'As I was to have left Paris on the Monday after St. Bartholomew, I meant on Sunday to have gone to the Louvre to take leave of the Princesse de Conti, Madame de Bouillon, Madame de Rothelin, and Madame de Dampierre; but before I had risen, a kitchen-maid of mine, who was of the religion, came flying in to me with great fear, telling me that they were all being killed. I am not easily astonished, but getting up and throwing a garment over me, I went to the window, and there saw in the great Rue St. Anthoine, where I lodged, every thing in commotion, and several corps de garde, and everyone with a white cross in his hat. Then I saw it was serious, and fled to my mother, where my brothers were, to know what had happened. Them I found much hampered, because my brothers were all professors of the religion. M. Pierre Chevalier, Bishop of Senlis, my maternal uncle, told me to put up all my valuables, and that he would come presently to fetch me; but as he was about to do so, he found M. Charles Chevalier, Seigneur d'Esprunes, his brother, had been murdered, in the Rue Bétisy, where he lodged to be near the admiral.'

Having waited for him half an hour, and seeing that the tumult increased in the street, the young widow then decided to send her only child, a girl of three years old, to the house of M. de Perrenge, *maître des requêtes*, a faithful relative and friend, who not only protected the infant, but afforded a shelter to the mother. There she heard of the murder of Coligny, and was beginning to realise the magnitude of the destruction which awaited the Huguenots and their cause, when a domiciliary visit was made in M. de Perrenge's house by the servants of the Duke of Guise. The object of this search was herself. Being care-

fully hidden, she escaped with her life, and remained in safety till the Tuesday, when orders were given for a fresh inspection of her host's house. In a hollow space under the roof of an outhouse young Madame de Feuquères passed the next hours, hearing in the streets below 'strange cries of men, women, and 'children who were being massacred, and, not having my child 'with me, I fell into such a perplexity of spirit that I had 'rather have thrown myself from the roof of the house 'than have fallen alive into the hands of such a populace, or 'have seen my child massacred, which I feared more than 'death.'

It next became necessary to disguise this poor lady, and to send her to some other hiding-place. She took refuge with a blacksmith who had married a waiting-maid of her mother's, and there on Tuesday night her mother came to see her, 'more 'dead than alive, and more shaken than I was myself.' On that mother's house a guard was set, and it was no place for Madame de Feuquères, who on Wednesday morning left the blacksmith's with a little boy for her guide, and made her way through the streets to the cloisters of St. Denis, to a family of the name of Morin, with whom she stayed till midnight of Thursday. A threatened visitation of their quarters forced her again into the streets, and thence to the stores of a corn-merchant, where she lay for five days. None of these vicissitudes seem to have shaken the courage of the lady, but there was a ruder trial in store for her faith. Her mother sent to tell her that all her brothers were safe because they had attended mass, and in the name of the child her mother now implored Charlotte to do the same. Lacking linen, light, and almost food, the fugitive returned for answer that to the mass she neither could nor would go, and she began to cast in her mind the plan which she ultimately carried out, for escaping from Paris in a boat. On the eleventh day after the massacre, disguised, but horribly afraid lest a chemise trimmed round the throat with '*point coupé*' should lead to her recognition as a Protestant lady of rank, she embarked in a boat bound for Sens. Professing to be a peasant going to the vintage, she had to sleep between two women, one of whom had already suggested that she might be 'a Huguenot whom they ought to drown,' and her companions by day were monks and soldiers, who boastfully recounted to her the massacres of the last week. She had however one ally on board, a man named Minier, deputed by her friends of the Cloître St. Denis to protect and assist her. Acting on his advice, she landed at Yuri, near Corbeil, walked five leagues to the château of the Chancellor de l'Hôpital, and

there hid in the cottage of his vinedresser. Fifteen weary and uneventful days she passed in that place, uncertain what step to take next, and hearing from her humble entertainer sad stories of the deaths of neighbouring lords, all Huguenots, but of whom the peasants said, 'that there were no such almsgivers left.' At the end of these fifteen days, borrowing an ass from the vinedresser, Madame de Feuquères crossed the river, and arrived at Esprunes, a house belonging to her grandfather. There first, from the reception of the servants, the vinedresser became aware of the rank of the refugee to whom he had given shelter, and he broke forth in excuses for not having given the *damozselle* the best bed in his cottage. He apparently let his illustrious visitor have the donkey for her future use, for a fortnight afterwards, she made another march with the same animal to her brother's house, where she arrived with only fifteen *testons* in her pocket, and from whence, having changed her dress, and collected a small sum of money, she started in a cart for Sedan. The journey was a long one, and her brother was of opinion that it would be hazardous; but apparently to her it seemed tame after so many hair-breadth escapes, for the biographer contents herself with saying that she entered Sedan on All Saint's Day, and that she found many friends there, who placed their means at her disposal.

It was at Sedan that she saw and married Philip du Plessis-Mornay. He too had been among the tumult and the bloodshed of that terrible day in the Paris streets, and escaping thence to the coast had taken refuge for some months in England. He was by this time twenty-three years of age, well-educated, formed by travel, and the author of some political pamphlets. 'I 'took pleasure,' says the young widow, when recording the frequency of his visits to herself through one winter at Sedan, 'I 'took pleasure in his good and polite converse.' With a gentle decorum, not devoid either of humour or of some self-satisfaction, she goes on to say that, it having been her intention to remain a widow, she determined to fathom his intentions and his character. Their tastes suited admirably. Arithmetic, painting, and other studies, she tells us (with a *naïveté* worthy of Lucy Hutchinson's sweet and studious youth) that they shared in common, and the result was that she liked him better than any brother, but had no thoughts of marriage! M. du Plessis had, however, and as this lady was emphatically a *château qui parle*, so she proved a woman to be won as well as wooed, and just as she had made up her mind to a journey that was to break off their habits of intimacy, he told her boldly of his wish to marry her. 'Ce que je reçeus à honneur,' continues the bio-

grapher. The family of M. du Plessis joined their solicitations to his, the family of the lady gave their consent, and by June, 1575, she was convinced 'that God had ordered this union for 'her great good.' The nuptials did not take place immediately, and other and richer brides, as she mentions with pardonable pride, were offered to her lover, but he remained faithful to his choice, and at her request wrote during these months his treatise 'De la Vie et de la Mort.' A curious wedding gift, but not inappropriate to a woman whose first husband had died of a wound, and who had barely escaped with her own life in the massacre of her coreligionists in Paris.

This bride and bridegroom may have been still young in years, but they had already obtained by experience a curious acquaintance both with life and death; and they were as likely as any couple in France not to regard 'life as a toil or a 'pleasure, but as a serious duty, to be carried through with 'honour.' To understand aright the career on which they had entered by this marriage, it will be necessary to give a glance at the state of politics and of the Huguenot cause in France. It had just undergone a crucial trial, and it had also entered on a period of change the magnitude of which it was left to the next two centuries to exhibit. What this change was will appear if we compare the Protestantism of 1575 with the state of the Reformed party thirty years before.

When the treaty of Crespy had put an end, in 1544, to the fourth war of Francis I. with the Emperor Charles V., a new prospect opened for France, one of intellectual progress, internal measures, and doctrinal changes. During ten years the tenets of Calvin had been increasing in popularity among the greatest families of the court and country, and the Vaudois heresy had gained such a head as to provoke the intervention of the State, but still the Reformed doctrines were interesting only as doctrines; the movement was intellectual and moral, not, as in other countries, political or national in its spirit; social reforms, when attempted, were in France only demanded in the interests of morality, and the new studies were felt to be in harmony with the increasing intelligence of the country and of its upper and middle classes when they emerged from the darkness of mediæval ignorance. In France, then, Protestantism might long have continued to wear this peaceable aspect, and to have led only to the formation of a purer and more intellectual type of national character, had not the numbers, as well as the merits of its disciples, attracted to them the attention of both the parties in the State. Catharine de Medicis at one time decidedly affected the Huguenots; she

discovered, or thought that she discovered in them an engine of power and of political support, and when she made Anne de Bourbon lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and released the Prince of Condé from prison, she seemed at once to favour the cause of Protestantism and that of the princes of the blood. To the Guises fell the charge of upholding Catholicism, and it was easy for them to make the feeble princes who, from 1559 to 1589, filled the French throne, see in the adherents of the new faith a source of political weakness, a danger threatening at once the prerogatives of the Church and of the crown.

The first measures taken against Protestants did not come from a religious so much as from a political animus, but by an irony of fate not unexampled in history, these very persecutions drove the Huguenots into exasperated opposition, and gave them at the same time a sense of their own importance. The best, the noblest, the wisest, and the bravest men in the France of that day were Protestants, and revolt and rebellion had been far from their thoughts till persecution taught them fatal lessons at once of vengeance and of their power. Calvinism, when it first penetrated France, had not that democratic character which it assumed in Scotland and in Switzerland; but the Guises, pointing to the rebellious and stubborn insurgents of the Low Countries, argued with the sovereign that all Protestant heretics were enemies of monarchy as well as of order. Thus vexatious decrees came to be fulminated at the Huguenots, and French Protestantism acquired the formidable proportions and was driven into the formidable political attitude which it afterwards assumed. It formed at last a State within the State; it came to have its courts and its camps, and three civil wars had already been the consequence, first of the fickle advances, and then of the cruel prosecutions, of an intriguing court.

Of these wars the last had been but indifferently patched up by the peace of St. Germain en Laye (1570), the one which in that age of nicknames was ironically called '*la paix boiteuse et malassise.*' An amnesty, which granted free exercise of religion, exemption from civil disabilities, and the possession of the four cities of La Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and La Charité to the Huguenots, as well the marriage of Henry of Navarre to the Princess Marguerite of Valois, then came to promise better things. It seemed as if the breach between the two religions was not yet irreparable—as if the estrangement of so large and valuable a body of the king's subjects was not intended by him, and men of peace hoped that a new and perhaps

a happier day had dawned for their country. That day closed, and it closed in the lurid darkness of St. Bartholomew. From that hour all possibility of union was at an end. Henceforward the Huguenots would respond to no royal caresses, and trust to no royal promises; all murdered, outraged, and betrayed as they were, they yet formed a compact and powerful body of men: they would try their strength: and absolved now from any sense of loyalty to a monarch who had plotted their ruin in a wholesale massacre, they were ready for any foreign alliance that might offer itself.

For two hundred years the gulf that opened on that day between the two religions continued to yawn, and the hatred that was fixed between them then has burst out repeatedly into outrages now on this side and now on that. It sent Catholic dragoons to carry fire and sword into Protestant villages and homesteads; it nerved, on the other hand, the fierce insurgents of the Cevennes, and it made the Camisards hail the idea of an English landing at Maguelonne, when they came to prefer treason to their sovereign to treason to their faith, and finally in the massacre of September 1794, it pointed many a sword at many a priestly throat.

It was in the very first heat and flush of the hatred thus engendered (and of which we have here ventured to trace some of the later results), that Philip and Charlotte du Plessis-Mornay married. A fifth civil war broke out after the accession of Henry III., and it may well be believed that the lover-author and his bride ceased not to find and to see around them ample food for reflection on many varieties and emergencies both '*de la vie et de la mort.*' It is not our intention here to follow their biography through all the military and political alternations of that war, closed as it was by the peace called '*la paix de Monsieur*' in 1576. Suffice it to say that while the power of the League increased daily, while the Estates were convoked at Blois, while the arms of Henry of Navarre were suffering those vicissitudes of good fortune and of ill, which Sully describes with such interest and vivacity, while to the war called '*des amoureux*' succeeded an eighth outbreak of hostilities known as the '*guerre des trois Henris,*' while the gallant Béarnais was victorious at Coutras, while the Guises were filling the capital with barricades and bloodshed (1588), and while Henry III. and his cousin were besieging Paris from the height of Montretout, Du Plessis-Mornay shared the anxieties and often the dangers of his Huguenot master.

We do not always behold him, it is true, spurring after the white plumes on fields of battle, or even falling like Sully

hard pressed among the javelins in the ditch of Villefranche of Perigord, but we do see him hurry across hostile provinces to meet his patron at Agen—'where he abode some days,' says Madame Charlotte, 'and where the king desired that hence-'forth M. du Plessis should assist at his councils, and help in 'all his affairs.' His journey to England, and a later mission to Antwerp, show that he was entrusted with the most confidential secrets, and that he was respected by foreigners as the emissary of a great and hopeful prince is evident from the fact that James VI. of Scotland addressed an autograph letter to him from Stirling, and that Maurice, one of the sons of the Prince of Orange, stood godfather to the child that was born to him in Flanders. It must not be thought, however, that the profession of arms was wholly foreign to the secretary; he had his share of it as well as of the forced marches, ambuscades, and the other concomitants of war. Here is the account of an attempt to surprise Toulouse.

'M. du Plessis had formed (*basty*) a design upon Toulouse, and before he would say anything of it to the King of Navarre he would go himself to reconnoitre; wherein he met with many contrary accidents. Arriving in the evening at about a league from the city, and being unarmed, a hamlet through which he passed, called St. Geniz, took alarm, and arming against him made it difficult for him to reach its gate. The house to which he was to repair he found held by the Sieur de Verdall, colonel of the infantry of M. de Joyeuse: so he had to go further. The signal too had been given from St. Geniz, where a flaming barrel had been set up in the belfry, so that the whole district was up, horns sounding in every direction, and all the roads blocked. As he could not make any reconnaissance that night, he went on to Foix, where at the house of M. de Benergue he was well received. . . . . The next day, crossing the Garonne above Toulouse, he pushed on horseback beyond the islands, to the spots which he wished to examine; and he saw these from so near and by so beautiful a moonlight that he was able to report the matter to the king as highly feasible.

The lady who drew this picturesque sketch of the bold rider threading his way through the banks and islands of the moonlit river in the neighbourhood of hostile bands, had herself led a wandering and uneasy life, too often divided, as she complained, from the companionship of her husband by the troubles of the times; now giving birth to a son in Flanders, now burying a babe of three months at Nérac in Gascony. She kept up her courage, however, and made for herself friends wherever she went out of all who were noblest either in birth or in manners; she seems to have been as fond of society as she was of letters, and she never omits to tell us, when she enu-

merates the godparents of her children, that such a one was '*un grand de Hespagne*,' or that another was, better still, '*une femme de grande vertu, et qui mesmes a escrit quelques choses.*'

We come now to the events of 1588. By the death of the Queen Mother, and still more by the murder of the Guises, the complexion of public affairs was greatly altered, but the rigid virtue of Philip du Plessis forbade him to rejoice in any advantage gained by a crime. His master could not take so purely ethical a view of the case; '*c'est trop de sens froid sur une telle nouvelle*,' he exclaimed, when Mornay's letter reached him, and yet so entirely did he trust the devotion of his secretary that in the following April he bestowed on him the governorship of Saumur. To that town on the banks of the Loire Monsieur and Madame du Plessis accordingly repaired in 1589, and there they established themselves, to connect henceforward the city, the square fortress, and the abounding river with the memory of their joint lives, of their great bereavement, and of their still greater reverses. So closely connected did he become with that great Protestant city, that Sully (who never liked him) speaks of him as the 'Roi de Saumur,' and hints that he aspired in his government to a complete independence of the King's authority.

As every tide now seemed to float Henry of Navarre nearer to the hour of his triumphant success, and to the possession of the French throne, so it might have been thought that each trouble shared, each danger passed, was but the more likely to strengthen the bond between him and his faithful secretary. 'I could sooner do without my shirt than without Du Plessis,' declared the King. 'Religion too,' he said, 'was, for those who 'had known what it was, not to be put off like a shirt. It is 'within the heart.' Brave words: and when the future sovereign of France first wrote from the camp before Paris to tell the governor of Saumur of the crime of Jacques Clément and of the death of Henry III., no doubt but he would then have sworn to make them good against all comers and all turns of fortune. Apart, however, from the inconstancy of human friendships, and from the too frequent ingratitude of royal masters, there was a cause at work which was ultimately to break the tie to Du Plessis-Mornay in a way which he would have been the very last to suspect. That new development of French Protestantism to which we have just drawn attention, that double kingdom and that indomitable spirit which ever since the St. Bartholomew it had begun to exhibit, were manifestations which had not, though he had himself been in the vanguard of the movement, escaped the sagacity of the Béarnais.

He saw the road open before him now to the throne of a kingdom in which compactness and unity were essentials. He had proved in his own person how over-ready were foreign powers to make a tool of the Huguenot cause for the disturbance or dismemberment of France, and laying his experience to heart, he determined never to be the stipendiary or auxiliary of any foreign power. Brought up a Protestant, he had also been brought up a student of that ancient history which inculcates patriotism as a virtue, and treats it as in itself a worship.* What Philip Augustus, what Louis IX., and what Louis XI. had done towards the foundation of French unity, he would outdo. He would be the king of the hearts of his people, and such a kingdom he said to himself was surely worth more than a mass. Thus sceptical, or indifferent, or only very wise in his generation, this prince, though living in an age of controversy, piety, and persecution, believed only in the influences of moderation, popularity, and prudence. If he found his kingdom torn and divided, he had a mind to leave his beautiful but distracted France consolidated, peaceful, and great, and if with a view to such an aim he cast a glance on the position of the Gallican Church, that glance sufficed to show him that he must choose to have her either as a friend or as a foe. Now that Church held in her possession 40,000 fiefs or arrière-fiefs of the kingdom. She was a great territorial, aristocratic, and feudal power; but she was more—she was a thoroughly national institution (how national the attitude of Bossuet towards the Holy See was yet to exhibit); she was no effete, or worn-out body, but pregnant with statesmen like Richelieu, prelates like Fenélon, orators like Bossuet, scholars like Pascal, philosophers like Descartes and Malebranche, almoners like St. Vincent de Paul, and saints like the ladies of Port Royal. Such and so many children were yet to spring from her side. A short-sighted politician might have misinterpreted the signs of the times, and augured from them falsely of her future; might have deemed that the great movement of the Reformation, so widespread and so respectable, would sooner or later sap the strength of the Gallican Church; but Henri IV. read with greater discernment; he saw that in a trial of strength between the two elements Catholicism would win, and he determined to reign, to marry, and to die only as a most Catholic king. The decision may have been a politic one; but it is difficult

* A very curious autograph letter of Henry's to Jeanne d'Albret is preserved in the collection of M. Feuillet de Conches. In it he tells her of his studies in Plutarch, and thanks her for having so early and so steadily directed his attention to the '*Lives*.'

to compute the cost of that sacrifice of principle to the permanent interests of France.

Du Plessis-Mornay could not view the subject in this light. To him it was just such a crime as the '*gran rifiuto*' appeared to Dante: it was a preferring of darkness to light; it was treason to the Gospel, and to the manes of thousands of Huguenots dead already in the profession and for the profession of the Reformed faith. It was the eclipse of all his hopes that one day Protestant principles would be as supreme in France as they already were in Holland, Switzerland, and England; and it soon began to appear to him, what it indeed was, so far as he was personally concerned, the beginning of the end.

The rupture between the King and his former secretary did not come all at once. In the arrangements for the Edict called of Nantes, by which religious toleration was secured to the Huguenots, Du Plessis was consulted. His biographer says:—

'The journey which M. du Plessis made in the end of April was by express command of the king, who after several delays having decided on a visit to Lyons, and going by way of Dijon and Troyes, he desired to meet with M. du Plessis before going farther. . . . . His majesty received him with more demonstrations of goodwill and private intimacy than ever; the gentlemen of the court likewise.'

But later the wife's tone changes. Her husband left her in the autumn of 1599, to meet his sovereign:—

'When I pray God to bless him in matters both public and private. . . . . M. du Plessis kissed hands. The king had not seen him since the death of the Duchesse de Beaufort, and it was to be noted that of his regrets he said not a word, though he had been wont to make his plaints to those who came to his court.'

'The little rift within the lute' was certainly there; it only remained that slowly widening it should indeed 'make the 'music mute.' After the conference of Fontainebleau it became wide enough:—'*Fut donc amené M. du Plessis en suite* '*de ci-dessus* (of his publishing a work on the Eucharist) *à la* '*prétendue Conférence de Fontainebleau, au* 4 *mai* 1600, *de* '*laquelle la tenue et procédure sont déduites en un discours exprès* '*que M. du Plessis mesme en fit tost après son retour à Saumur.*' In this brief sentence, of which we have preferred not to alter the dry and rather scornful idiom, lies the whole secret of the rupture.

Philip du Plessis-Mornay, when summoned to this conference to hear and to answer questions on his book, was confronted not only by the Bishop of Evreux and the clergy, but also by the King; and it was no small effort for him to have to show that dearer to him than any smiles of princes and prelates was what

he held to be pure and sovran truth in the face of a superstitious error. The Bishop of Evreux and his compeers, forgetting or overlooking the very different signification once intended by the word '*substance*,' frankly demanded a reception for the doctrine of transubstantiation as taught by the Council of Trent: viz. for the corporeal presence in the Eucharist of the whole substance (matter and form) of the Body of Christ, by virtue of a miraculous power of consecration residing in every celebrant. This the Huguenot denied, since he beheld in the Sacrament only a pious and thankful commemoration of the death of Christ; and in anxiety to get this opinion of his friend's condemned, the King seemed curiously able to forget that he had ever himself been a professor of such a tenet. Perhaps the disputants did not wish to come to terms, or even to modify the expression of their dissidence; certainly no healer of the breach was there to give a less material meaning to the '*substance*' in dispute, or to suggest to Du Plessis that a Divine Presence in the 'creatures of bread and wine' might be spiritually discerned. The King, so far from mediating in any way, rather hurried on an unfavourable verdict; the book was condemned, and the author left the place, dispirited and ill, 'partly,' says his wife, 'from overwork, partly from the 'heart-break (*crêve-cœur*) of seeing himself so treated, but 'above all, that all that he had dreamed of for the instruction 'of the people, and for the edification of many should have 'turned to trouble and scandal, to which he would have pre-'ferred a thousand deaths.'

Sully's account of this disputation is not favourable to Du Plessis, in spite of his own Protestant sympathies and convictions. He had endeavoured, but in vain, to prevent the encounter by the King's authority. Du Perron, the Bishop of Evreux, was no bigot, but he succeeded in showing that Du Plessis had erred in many of his citations, and that he had not thought enough upon the subject. 'La chose se passa ainsi 'qu'un chacun sait: Du Plessis se défendit à faire pitié, et en 'sortit à sa honte.' 'What do you think of your Pope?' said Henry to Sully during the argument, 'for Du Plessis is 'among Protestants what the Pope is to Catholics.' 'I think, 'Sire,' replied the sage Minister, 'that he is more Pope than 'you imagine, for he is at this moment giving a red hat to 'M. d'Evreux. If our religion had no better support than his 'crossed arms and legs, I would quit it instantly.'*

Du Plessis returned to Saumur, to a government once

* 'Mémoires de Sully.' Livre onzième.

bestowed on him by a friendly and grateful master; and there he attended to its affairs, but unluckily not in silence. He published, as Madame Charlotte tells us, an account of the conference, of its sentence, and of its injustice. The King was incensed by this publicity, and himself so long faithless in the spirit, he brought a charge of faithlessness against his secretary, deprived him of the superintendence of the mines, and disgraced him.

The account of M. du Plessis' sufferings both in mind and body is pathetic in the extreme, but our space does not permit us to trace out the consequent reverses of the governor; neither does it allow us to describe either how his great school rose at La Flêche, or how it was ruthlessly destroyed by a king who wished to hand it over to the Jesuits, or yet how he laboured at the formation in Saumur of one of those Protestant academies which then adorned the provincial cities of France. Of this college (as of its contemporaries at Die, Vitré, Castres, Orthez, Sedan, Nismes, and La Rochelle) no trace now remains, and yet this was but one out of the many schools full of vigorous intellectual life which were lost to France by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Of the whole number Montauban alone remains. In Saumur all memory of the academy has faded, though the name of one street in the town certainly points to the presence of a Protestant '*temple*,' and another yet recalls its old Protestant governor, Philip du Plessis-Mornay.

There at Saumur, where he continued to dwell after his disgrace at court, his domestic troubles also greatly increased. In October, 1605, his son Philip, the one for whom Madame Charlotte wrote the memoirs, was killed in battle in Flanders. 'Blessed close of life,' cries the heart-broken mother, 'for one 'born in the Church and brought up in the fear of God to fall 'in action, and in an honourable cause; but for us his parents 'only the beginning of a grief that can but end with our 'lives.' This prediction was soon verified. Madame du Plessis never recovered from the shock; and in a month after the funeral of their heir, her husband found himself in constant attendance at her death-bed. Her pen had been laid aside:—'Reasonable 'it is,' she wrote on the last half page, 'that this my book 'should close with him, since it was only undertaken to de-'scribe to him our pilgrimage through life; and it has pleased 'God that ere this his own should more sweetly and swiftly 'close. Were it not that I dread the grief for M. du Plessis, 'I should be greatly wearied if I also survive him.' She did

not survive him, since she died on the night of Sunday, 14th of May, 1506 :—

'Non, ce n'est point mourir;
C'est courir à la vie,'

her husband said; but then, in spite of this sure and certain hope, his grief broke out again :—

'Âme, pour te chanter il me faut des sirènes,
Âme, pour te pleurer j'ay besoin de fontaines.'

As the years went on his prospects did not brighten, and at last he left Saumur. He bade farewell to the black impregnable castle that stands above the river—to the westering links of Loire as they disappear into the Forest of the Nyd d'Oyseau—to the temple where he had worshipped, and to the narrow streets above whose sombre courtyards the shadow of his historical griefs still seems to hang. He retired to his estates, and to the Castle of La Forêt-sur-Sèvre. There he fell a prey to the triple evils of solitude, sorrow, and ill health; and he was harassed by petty squabbles among the pastors of his church. In his despair he determined to travel, concerned only that, wherever it might fall, some pious stranger should bury his body, and record that the exile had died as true to his convictions as to his king. This last was a needless care, for he never left France. Death came to him there to unriddle the mystery of such an unsuccessful life; and he sickened at home in November, 1623, of what is called 'continued fever.' Preachers and physicians crowded round his pillow. The latter were helpless, and the former were pitiless, harassing his departing spirit with small quarrels and doctrinal niceties. But at last one pastor, more humane than the others, told him that he was dying. 'It is well,' he replied; 'I am content.' He gave his blessing to his children, and to the church that was in Saumur, forgave his enemies, and made himself ready for the end; and then as the grey and cheerless November dawn struggled up above the leafless forest trees, his spirit took its flight to the home of the saintly and the victorious.

The Church for which he had laboured and suffered was just entered on the enjoyment of her hundred years of peace, to be awakened from her repose by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and then to be cast out of France as a thing heretical, unnational, disloyal, and accurst. It was a mistake at which humanity shuddered at the time, and which history has had ever since to deplore. By an act of tardy justice, the legislation of the 18th Germinal (in the tenth year of the Republic) secured to French Protestants equal civil rights

with the rest of their countrymen, and they have ever since been allowed a fair share in the State. What has been the result of a measure which kings so long thought to be either dangerous or impossible? The late war furnishes an answer to the question. Foremost in all works of mercy the Protestants and their pastors have taken their part, or more than their part, in the care of the wounded and the dying, and Protestants of Alsace, forcing their way through lines of watchful Germans and by the defiles of the Vosges, joined the levies of the east of France in sufficient numbers to justify M. Erckmann's boast, that he and his coreligionists are French in spirit and in love. Furthermore, we hope that it is not to trespass too much on private feelings if we venture to recall one fact connected with this new edition of the Memoirs of Madame de Mornay. Since it saw the light in 1869, the accomplished lady who prepared it has herself had to send to the ramparts of Paris all the males of her house, with the single exception of her father, that veteran statesman of eighty-three, who still serves France with his energies, while he represents her in all that the country has of best. To lay down Madame de Witt's volume at this moment is but to turn, we confess, from one sad page of past French history to another only too vividly present. But if in the sixteenth century frantic passions could be calmed, guilty excesses repressed, and internal wounds healed, as we know them to have been by the prudent, powerful, and economical government of Henri IV., surely in the nineteenth century we need not altogether despair. Yet may France venture to borrow a motto from one of her old Huguenot houses, and live to prove what the De la Tremouilles once carved upon the walls of Vitré, '*Resurgam!*'—although in her long and varied history she has not experienced a crisis of disaster and revolution more terrible than that of the present hour.

ART. VIII.—1. *Ierne.* A Tale. By W. STEUART TRENCH, Author of 'Realities of Irish Life.' 2 vols. London: 1871.

2. *Irish Federalism: its Meaning, its Objects, and its Hopes.* By ISAAC BUTT. Dublin: 1870.

IT is generally admitted that about forty years ago there was hardly any country which afforded to the sketcher of human character a more picturesque and original field than Ireland. The social anomalies engendered through the whole frame of

society by unequal laws, gave an unbounded variety of play to the Celtic temperament, and presented to the novelist and poet a greater mixture of lights and shadows than could be found in happier lands or in less turbulent times. To the inspiration of this exciting period we owe all the best Irish novels; for it is more than a generation since we began to be entertained with the graphic and amusing illustrations of Irish life and manners by the Banims, Carleton and Griffin, the Munster legends of Croker, and the traits and stories of Barrington, Otway, and Lover; and we must go back still further to the romantic tales of Lady Morgan and the unsurpassed Irish pictures of Miss Edgeworth. The conditions of Irish novel-writing have since become less favourable; for English law, by reducing to order a most formidable scene of confusion, and introducing vast changes and ameliorations which have touched every nerve of Irish social life, has put an end to the more startling contrasts, and all but destroyed that sort of picturesqueness in which, as Sydney Smith observed, utility and order are the last ingredients. Besides, a great change has come over the temper of the Irish people during the last thirty years. It was always considered strange that a race existing for ages under conditions that might well darken the lot and sour the temper of any people, should have possessed a temperament so lively and mirthful—'*Miraris, tam exhilaratam esse nostram servitutem?*'—yet there are indications that the thoughtless and warm-hearted gaiety, which the weight of adversity could not crush, has yielded to other influences, and that, to use the words of an Irish novelist, 'the 'native humour of the people is not so rich and racy as in 'days of yore.' Whether we may trace this change to the famine, or to emigration, or to political and religious causes, the fact is undoubted that the Irishman has become more bitter and more sad than his ancestors of former generations. It would be all but impossible to find now in the south of Ireland—and certainly not in any modern Irish novel—the peasant of Sir Jonah Barrington, so full of sportive eccentricities, irascible but good-natured, furious without revenge, and violent without animosity, using a language replete with the keenest humour and the rarest idiom of equivocation. Englishmen, with their scanty knowledge of Irish character, too fondly anticipated that, after the liberal legislation of forty years, we should reap an ample harvest of gratitude and confidence, that the strenuous old impulse of opposition would disappear, and that feelings of resentment and distrust would die out under the many proofs of English anxiety to do justice.

After all our practical and well-sustained efforts to conciliate Celtic good-will, we certainly were not prepared to find the masses of the people still so unreasonably and ferociously bitter in their hatred, though it only illustrates the truth that real grievances are often borne without complaint where imaginary ones are intolerable. We can make allowance for a certain lingering touch of ancient perversity, but the case of the Irishman seems to be peculiar beyond all precedent. He argues that because the English persecuted and dispossessed Irish Catholics generations ago, when English Catholics were also more or less exposed to persecution, and when liberal opinions had scarcely any control over imperial legislation, therefore England is still the implacable foe of Ireland, scarred with the wounds of her long martyrdom and still clanking her chains. Mr. Gladstone probably imagined, especially after the sweeping legislation of the last two years, that he had reached the close of one painful chapter in our political history, and that he had totally set at rest the questions that had divided England and Ireland for centuries; but we now find that instead of hailing with joy the termination of ancestral disputes, our Irish neighbours and fellow-countrymen deem it necessary as well as patriotic to invent or discover topics and pretexts for keeping alive at least a semblance of the old antagonism.

These facts indicate an undoubted change in the temper of the Irishman which cannot but affect the work of the novelist, and affect it unfavourably. All the more recent Irish productions of this class are equally remarkable for their deficiency in humour, raciness, and invention. There is no Banim or Carleton now springing from the ranks of the peasantry to throw light upon the modern aspirations of the mobile Celt; there is no writer possessing the vigour of touch, the vividness of colouring, and the graphic faithfulness of these novelists, whose chief excellence lay in the fact that their portraits of Irish character were evidently drawn on the spot. But there are indications that we are threatened with a class of novels which are simply disguised pamphlets, broken into chapters, and interspersed with dialogues, designed specially for the inculcation of some theory in politics or social life. Some of these novels seem expressly written to keep alive in Irish memories the story of the penal laws, in the interests of the Catholic religion; others rake up and misrepresent the records of departed centuries with apparently no other purpose than that of acting on the sensibilities of an imaginative people; and others set themselves to the foolish and mischievous task of convincing

the Celt that he can never be prosperous or happy till the restoration of his old Brehons, and chieftains, and tanists, and harpers, and imagine they have accomplished a patriotic task in attempting to perpetuate two codes of opinion, two irreconcilable societies in one kingdom.

The work which we have placed at the head of this article is a tale from the pen of Mr. Walter Steuart Trench, an Irish Protestant land-agent, whose former volume on 'The 'Realities of Irish Life,' noticed in the pages of this Review, proved his intimate familiarity with many of the more curious and savage phases of Irish existence. We can hardly understand the design of the present work, for although the author has evidently no sympathy with National politics, his book can hardly fail to inflame the national feeling by presenting a series of discursive dialogues upon the history of Irish wrongs in which he allows nearly all the advantage to the side of the passionate Celt. We question the wisdom of publishing works of fiction which, whatever their design, seem only fitted to stimulate that morbid discontent that is ready, like a chronic sore, to break out upon all occasions. Mr. Trench would have been better employed in exposing the delusions and falsehoods by which the Irish masses are daily misled, and the errors into which they are betrayed by a host of malignant writers; for there is nothing they so much need as a literature that will be at once a corrective of social evils and a sedative to political disquiet. The object of 'Ierne' is to describe the faith of the Irish peasantry in their indefeasible ownership of the land, and their protest against landed property as defined and protected by tradition and law. Mr. Trench has written an interesting novel on this theme, presenting us with its various elements in an animated succession of illustrative scenes, touched with considerable force of description. We are bound to give him credit for fidelity in the description of manners, with which he is well acquainted; and we must suppose that the wild and improbable incidents he has strung together without much art, are not of impossible occurrence in the South of Ireland. But we must say that such a state of manners—such treachery, pugnacity, superstition, and cruelty—is more characteristic of the savage tribes of America or Asia than of a Christian people in Western Europe; and that in no other part of Europe could such incidents have occurred without calling down upon their authors prompt and condign punishment. It would be more agreeable to suppose that Mr. Trench has done his countrymen injustice; but certainly if his book is

intended to convey to us a picture of what the Irish conceive to be unpardonable wrongs, it does not present us with an attractive picture of the Irish character.

The scene of the story lies principally in the south-west of Ireland, at a romantic spot in Kerry not far from Kenmare. Derreen, at the head of the harbour of Kilmakilloge, is the picturesque residence of Donald O'Sulivan, an Irish chieftain of moderate means, who is descended from the great O'Sulivan Beare, once the owner of the Castle of Dunboy and a million of acres around it. The story opens about ten years ago. Young O'Sulivan attends a midnight assembly of the Phœnix Society, in company with Teague O'Hanlon, his foster-brother, on the summit of the Priest's Leap Mountains, on the boundary between Kerry and Cork. When he demands to know the purpose of the meeting, he is promptly answered, 'They were met to put all tyrants 'down, and to get back the lands of Ireland again to them 'that owns them by ancient right.' O'Sulivan questions the wisdom of any immediate attempt to cross swords with England, on account of the backwardness of American sympathy and the opposition of the priests to any revolutionary movement. But his auditors resent such cautious counsels and charge him with treachery to the national cause. A fight ensues, and O'Sulivan escapes with difficulty to his home. We are then introduced to the O'Sulivan household, which consists of two brothers, Donald and Redmond, and two sisters, Kathleen and Ierne, who are, of course, highly patriotic in their sentiments, having from their youth imbibed the passions and the creed of the population around them, brooding over the ancient confiscations, and looking wistfully, but with little hope, for some turn of fortune that may reinstate them in their ancient possessions. Ierne, the heroine of the tale, is handsome and seventeen, carrying, as we suspect young Irish ladies are seldom in the habit of doing, a highly-wrought dagger in her girdle, along with a tiny revolver, and a pea-rifle slung gracefully over her shoulder. She goes out to the mountains with her dogs, and meets with a young English sportsman, who is attracted by her beauty and charmed by her vivacity. He accepts an invitation to Derreen for the night, and his stay is pleasantly prolonged for a number of weeks, during which he mingles in the amusements of the place, takes his share in a number of boating adventures along the Kerry coast, visits many interesting scenes in the company of the young ladies, and receives a large amount of instruction from both sisters and brothers on the iniquity of the past relations

of England and Ireland. As he has come to Ireland to make himself acquainted with the ways of the people, he attends the faction-fight of Kilmakilloge, and 'wrastles a fall' with the leader of the O'Gallivans. Soon after he fights a duel with young O'Dempsey, an admirer of Ierne, who is evidently jealous of his presence at Derreen, and the wound he receives puts him for some weeks longer under her gentle care. The result is that the young Englishman falls deeply in love with the young Celtic beauty. About this period, Teague O'Hanlon, who had been arrested some time before for his connexion with the Phœnix Society, is put on his trial in Tralee; and, observing the Englishman in court, he makes a touching appeal from the dock for the benefit of the Englishman's evidence. This unexpected summons obliges the stranger to drop his incognito and announce himself in court as the Earl of Killarney, well known as one of the largest English landowners in the country. But his evidence is of little account, and the prisoner is convicted of conspiracy. Then an extraordinary scene occurs in court. Owing to the masterly contrivance of James Stephens, the Fenian plotter, who is the *Deus ex machinâ* of the hour, Teague, at the moment of receiving sentence, escapes by springing out of the dock, passing rapidly through a lane formed by his friends, and gets off to sea with Stephens in a boat. Shortly after, he finds his way to the house of his cousin, Murtagh O'Brien, in Tipperary, where he passes several months 'on his keeping.' The scene now changes to Tipperary. Lord Killarney leaves Derreen to visit his Tipperary estates. The Ribbon Lodge, which sits in Murtagh O'Brien's house, immediately holds a meeting. Alarming reports have got abroad that the new landlord is 'mad for building and draining and all sorts of 'improvements'; but the Ribbonmen are resolved to prevent all changes whatever, on the ground that they tend to obliterate the old landmarks that serve to identify the ancient properties, and would make it difficult, when the time comes for expelling the Saxon, to fix the ancient race exactly in their old lots. The agent, Mr. Snugg, tries to dissuade his lordship from any attempt at improvements; but the young peer is fully resolved to spend four thousand a year in draining, and building, and improving the land. A placard announcing this intention is posted up over the estate, but is immediately torn down. The Ribbonmen send a threatening letter to Tom Duffy, the bailiff, who has undertaken to carry out the improvements; the winter comes; the bailiff is shot dead at his own door; Lord Killarney chases the murderers across the country on horseback, and at

last confronts the principal, Black Hugh M'Shane, in a wood, but only to be felled to the ground by a blow from the butt-end of the ruffian's pistol. The culprits escape, and the Ribbonmen now determine to shoot the landlord. Teague O'Hanlon hears of the design, and escapes back to Kerry to tell Ierne. Three armed Ribbonmen are lying under the shelter of a wall, in a plantation, prepared to shoot Lord Killarney on his way home from the Sessions; but the sight of two white figures—one of whom is Ierne—passing through the wood in the gloaming of evening, terrifies the superstitious peasants; while a picket of armed policemen surrounds the wood and closes in upon the gang. Black Hugh M'Shane is shot dead, and Lord Killarney escapes. We next meet his lordship in London, where he accidentally meets with Ierne, who declines to marry him on account of his religion. Five years pass away; Lord Killarney is on foreign travel; he visits Australia, where he once more meets Ierne with her brother; and as she has since changed her religion, there is no further obstacle to her becoming the Countess of Killarney.

The political interest of Mr. Trench's work turns upon the eager longing of the Irish for the recovery of the forfeited estates. 'This,' says one of the leading characters, 'is our real grievance; this is the root and origin of all 'our sorrow; the people have set their hearts upon it, and 'would fight for it to the last drop of their blood.' There can hardly be a doubt that the great bulk of the peasantry do regard the whole system of landed property in Ireland as an alien institution, and all its rights as only enforced by conquest and maintained by a foreign Power. For the old Brehon law is still deep in the hearts of the Celtic people. They know that it recognised no absolute property or fee-simple in land; as the land virtually belonged in ancient times to the entire sept, the chief being little more than managing member of the association. Strange as it may seem, it is only by a long career of agrarian outrage that the life of this ancient law has been preserved in the country. The doctrine of the Irish peasant as to land differs not materially from that which has been revived by the late M. Proudhom in revolutionary France, under the celebrated aphorism, '*La propriété, c'est le vol.*' He conceives that the property of one man is the robbery of all other men. But he forgets that all he himself possesses, and the right of property itself, is the creation of law, in his eagerness to resist and overthrow the laws which protect the property of other people. He is sawing at the branch on which he sits; and he does not perceive that when the right of property is

destroyed he must himself share the fate he is preparing for the rest of society. For with singular inconsistency, whilst he denies the right of property in the landlord, sanctioned by a prescription of at least two centuries, he is peculiarly tenacious of the right of occupation in the tenant, as against the rest of the world.

This notion of recovering the forfeited estates is, after all, a mere sentimental delusion, which has been studiously inflamed by Irish national writers. The crime of the old confiscations has always been laid at the door of England; but national writers ought to have had the fairness to explain that they mostly sprang out of the treachery of the Irish chieftains themselves. When O'Neill and O'Donnell accepted their patents from the English king, they were fully aware that they were thus conveying the whole tribal lands out of the dominion of Brehon law, and constituting themselves the absolute possessors of all, in the sense of modern English landlordism. Their object, as well as that of the Crown, was to introduce the English law of inheritance in their own favour. Then, as soon as they took up arms against England, the confiscations became perfectly legal, and the lands of the Celtic tribes passed into foreign hands. No doubt the title of the present owners is, in many cases, based on forfeiture; but do national writers ever consider on what the title of the claimants—the whole Irish people—is based? What individual Irishman can now prove that he had, through his ancestors, any right, however long dormant, to any particular estate or piece of land? The thing is impossible. On the contrary, occupation is the basis of the claim of the Irish tenants, which is the reverse of a dormant proprietary right.

Nor can this question be settled by considerations of race; for the great bulk of the modern Irish are sons of the Saxon of the third and fourth generation. It is an undoubted fact that, through almost the whole country, the blood of the British settlers predominates.* National writers cry 'Ireland 'for the Irish:' but they do not decide who were the first occupiers of the island. It may have been that parricidal Greek, from whom some Irishmen, glorying in antiquity of race, would fain be descended; perhaps the adventurers from the shores of the Euxine who succeeded and subdued the Greeks; perhaps the Spanish king and his sons who took their turn of

* In Sir John Davis's time, one-half of the Irish people were of English descent; but in that of Molyneux's, not one in a thousand, as he tells us, was of Irish blood.

conquest. But this uncertainty is not allowed to extend to modern times; for, according to national authorities, everything is illegal that has happened within the last two hundred years, and the present proprietors have no legal right to the soil. Here the advantage of not inquiring too curiously into historical antiquities becomes apparent; because, as it is clear that the present owners are not the legal proprietors, and as it is uncertain who the legal proprietors really are, it is only common honesty in the Irish tenant, following the advice of Nugent's Almanacs and Repeal journals, to keep the rent in his pocket till the rightful owner turns up. This radically false notion of property and possession is believed by Mr. Trench to lie at the bottom of all the agrarian murders; and these crimes have sometimes been represented by Irish writers as a species of warfare carried on by *Francs tireurs* against the invader, though more frequently the victims are of the same blood as the murderers. It has been said that 'crime has less depravity and murder more of suavity' in Ireland than elsewhere; and it is urged that shooting a landlord becomes a less odious crime when the perpetrator has learned to believe that the landlord is an usurper without legal right to the soil. It is evident from the very effective description which Mr. Trench gives of the agrarian tribunals of Tipperary both in this work and in his former work, that they are intended to administer a sanguinary custom not entirely wanting in principle or in consistent application. They remind us of the terrible Vehmgericht of Westphalia, pursuing their career in silence and executing their awards with fearful promptitude and certainty; and Mr. Trench would have us believe that all this is done with the simple object of checking the obliteration of the ancient landmarks, by which properties might be identified at the restoration of the estates. We are not convinced of the truth of this horrible theory; but there are a thousand proofs that men will not recoil from the crime of murder, and will even murder very innocent persons, when their detestable actions serve a purpose or gratify a passion, *provided they can be committed with impunity.* Whatever may have been the original incentive to these crimes, it is their *impunity* which is the actual cause of them. Probably as many crimes would be committed elsewhere, if bad men found they had as fair a chance as they have in Ireland, of escaping punishment. That is the opprobrium of the Government and the curse of the country; and we are happy to perceive that Lord Hartington appears to have entered on his office as Irish Secretary with a strong sense of the duties he has to per-

form. The Land Act has conferred great benefits and rights on the tenant-farmers of Ireland. If those benefits and rights could be suspended or abrogated in localities tainted by recent murders, the authors of which remain undiscovered by the connivance of the peasantry, or if that guilty connivance or harbouring of criminals entailed a forfeiture of the rights of occupation, the whole population would be interested in rooting out such offences, and it is the belief of persons intimately acquainted with Ireland that these crimes would cease.

Mr. Trench believes that the delusive expectations and criminal conspiracies of the ignorant masses will yield eventually to legislative remedies. The words he puts in the mouth of Redmond O'Sulivan evidently express his own deliberate opinion:—

'If once a land bill is passed on the principles above alluded to, no matter how liberally and generously the tenant may be dealt with, or with what bonds the landlord may be controlled, a seal is set for ever on the present settlement of Ireland. The Williamite settlement, the Cromwellian settlement, the Elizabethan settlement, and the Strongbowian settlement of the land is established for ever against the hapless Celtic population. Their dream is gone, and the forfeited estates are for ever handed over to the Saxon whom we can no longer call a stranger.'

Undoubtedly the large concessions made by the Land Act of last Session to the tenants in Ireland, do give the law a hold over them which it did not possess before, since they themselves must appeal to it for security and compensation. Hence it may be inferred that recent land legislation will gradually but surely destroy the very life of the old Celtic system, through its masterly conciliation of the multifarious and conflicting interests which attach to the possession of Irish land. But the effects of this legislation must have time to work, and time is exactly the very element which, judging by the indefatigable zeal which sustains Irish agitation, will not be allowed to the development of its just and statesman-like principles.

It may seem at first sight a matter of little consequence to us, whether the Irish masses do or do not cherish this sentimental delusion concerning the land. But unhappily every agitation in Ireland brings to the surface certain irrepressible ideas, which in turn have the effect of sustaining and cherishing the agitation. The nationalist motto has always been, 'The re-conquest of our liberties and the re-conquest of the 'land;' and the one as necessarily involving the other. In 1848 the motto was, 'The soil of Ireland for the people of 'Ireland;' and one of their organs gave expression at the time

to this Celtic aspiration: 'A mightier passion nerves old Ire-
'land to-day than that of merely repealing the Act of Union:
'not the constitution that Tone died to abolish, but the con-
'stitution that Tone died to obtain—the soil of Ireland for the
'people of Ireland.' Every one of the national journals in 1848 taught that landed property should be taken from the present proprietors. Now, when we remember that the only reply Ireland has yet given to the Church Bill and Land Bill —both of which were denounced in unmeasured terms by the national press—is a new agitation for home-government or a repeal of the Union, and that the masses do not seem to care any longer for the redress of particular grievances, but seem rather to say, as one of their literary representatives has said: 'They would rather have bad laws of their own making, than 'good ones of ours; that they would rather be badly governed 'by themselves than well governed by us;' and further demand, as the price of their allegiance and tranquillity, concessions which are simply and obviously impossible, as well as pernicious and suicidal; we cannot regard their prejudices or delusions as of little practical moment. If there be any truth in Mr. Trench's account of Celtic aspirations, 'the re-conquest 'of their liberties' might lead, in some moment of English weakness or confusion, to 'the re-conquest of the land.'

The inauguration of this new agitation is disappointing to English statesmen. It seems to say that the policy of equal justice without bribery or favouritism is insufficient to disarm disaffection, and that England, after all, might have been as well employed if she had never taken a single step to redress real and undeniable grievances, or had met Irish complaints with insults and menaces. But we must comfort ourselves with the thought of M. de Tocqueville, that 'it 'is not always by going from bad to worse that a country 'falls into revolution;' for it often happens that a nation which had endured the most crushing laws with seeming insensibility throws them off with violence as soon as the burden begins to be diminished. This new agitation for a home government to effect what the Imperial Government is either unable or unwilling to accomplish, would be of no practical consequence whatever but for the adhesion of a section of the Irish Protestant party. We are informed by Mr. Isaac Butt, who favours a federal union of the Empire, that all that is demanded is a local House to deal with purely domestic affairs,—'the present state 'of feeling in Ireland offering to Irish patriots at least a hope 'of uniting all classes and creeds of Irishmen in a national effort

'to win self-government for their country.' It appears that more than four hundred gentlemen, including landed proprietors and mercantile men of high standing, Protestant and Catholic clergymen, and men of political opinions generally supposed to be irreconcilable, have formed themselves into a committee to achieve this great national object. The plan proposed by Mr. Butt is that while the present Irish members of Parliament are to continue to attend at Westminster, three hundred other Irish members are to dispose of all purely Irish business by themselves in Dublin. The system of federalism is to be extended to England and Scotland if these countries should so desire.

We believe we are correct in stating that this movement had its origin in the wounded pride and sour discontent of a knot of Irish Tories who cannot forgive the disestablishment of the Irish Church. Their tergiversation is certainly one of the worst modern instances of political immorality. Very recent, indeed, has been their conversion to the principles of Irish home-government. We can easily understand changes of opinion that are grounded on new experience and wider knowledge, and so justified by the purest motives and the clearest necessity that we must regard them as indisputable instances of honest conviction and patriotic virtue; but there are other changes so audacious, so sudden, so unfounded in additional facts, and so distinctly traceable to the one circumstance of altered position, that it is impossible for the largest charity to regard them with indulgence or approval. The Irish Tories were always the most forward to oppose the Repealers, on the ground of the benefits derived from a connexion which, by identifying the Irish people with a great and powerful nation, had imparted to them the full benefit of wise and equal laws, and secured them at once against the evils of domestic anarchy and foreign subjugation. They were usually very anxious to show that whatever sacrifice such a connexion might have originally involved, it had been already made, while time, wisdom, and conciliation were only wanting to develope its blessings. But even before the Union, when the old Tory oligarchy of Ireland was a really foreign Government, ruling in the name and sustained by the power of England on the theory that it was the sole security for the connexion between the two countries, the effort of these Tories was always to prevent any large measure of policy for the benefit of the whole nation as tending to take the country out of their hands. And so long as they were specially favoured by the English Government since the Union, they always tried to intercept every good thing

which they could not render profitable to themselves. But it is only now since the course of ancient legislation has been reversed, that their eyes have at last been opened to the evils of foreign government, and they enrol themselves in the ranks of Irish patriots. Well may a 'Protestant Celt' remark that the Irish Church Establishment 'stood for years as a great 'boulder in the middle of the stream of public opinion dividing 'it in twain.' But the position of the Orangemen is still more extraordinary and perplexing. They had always boasted themselves as the stoutest supports of the British connexion, and had armed themselves in 1848—at least rumour said so—to crush the Repeal insurrection; but now that—to use their own expression—they are basely betrayed and shamefully deserted by the English Government, they need no further arguments to convince them that a connexion with England is no longer desirable. At a meeting of the Grand Orange Lodge in February last, an attempt was made to repeal a fundamental law of the society which prohibits the advocacy of Repeal. The question was discussed with great earnestness, and resulted in a majority of twenty-one to eighteen votes in favour of the repeal of the law, but as a clear majority of two-thirds was necessary to its legal abrogation, the matter was allowed to drop. As there is no more deadly passion in the human heart than that which springs from slighted love, it might not be difficult for cunning politicians to work upon the discontent wrought by 'wounded loyalty and ill-requited allegiance,' and carry over the great zeal and energy of the Orange party into a project of complete separation from England. But we cannot bring ourselves to believe in the permanence of an alliance between Orangemen and Nationalists, if indeed we can believe in such an alliance at all, for the development of the ultimate policy of both parties must eventually drive them back upon their old historic positions.

The idea of a home-government to deal with purely local interests seems at first sight seductively simple and natural, as tending to secure greater effectiveness to local reforms, and to lighten the pressure of Imperial legislation. But the promoters of the new agitation must not shut their eyes to the fact that there are serious difficulties in the way. The federal plan of Mr. Butt does not allow the home-parliament to meddle with Imperial questions at all: 'it will leave to the Imperial 'Parliament all its present control over everything that affected 'the Imperial Crown—its dominions, its colonies, and its de-'pendencies; over the foreign relations of the Empire, and all 'questions of peace and war.' The home-parliament will

have control 'over our railways, our post-office, our public 'works, courts of justice, corporations, systems of education, 'manufactures, and commerce.' Now, the first difficulty here will be to settle exactly what questions are local and what are Imperial, for the number of what are called Irish questions which do not involve, or may not be made to touch, Imperial interests, is exceedingly small; and there is nothing to prevent a new agitation arising in the home-parliament, seconded by a powerful agitation out of doors, to shift particular questions from time to time from the Imperial to the local side. That is the inherent difficulty and weakness of all Confederations; and certainly the tendency of modern politics in America, in Germany, and in Switzerland, is not to divide the central power, but to strengthen it by union. Is the United Kingdom to prove an exception? For even suppose that the respective limits assigned to the powers of the two Parliaments should be fixed with the utmost exactness, what security can we obtain that the Irish Parliament will always rigidly and honestly respect these limits? If it is to consist of three hundred members chosen by household suffrage, we may expect that it will be a very popular assembly, faithfully reflecting every prejudice, every passion, every delusion, and every degree of knowledge and ignorance. It has always been the tendency of such assemblies to step beyond their appropriate and allotted province, either ignorant or regardless of the nature of their duties, or the limits of their powers. Mr. Butt says that the home-parliament will manage and control all taxation applicable to purely Irish purposes. Now suppose the British Government to declare war against America or some continental Power which the Irish had always regarded with sympathy and affection, the home-parliament would no doubt be constitutionally debarred from discussing the propriety or justice of the war, as involving purely Imperial considerations; but it could not be compelled to subscribe a farthing towards its proportion of the war expenses. Mr. Butt, in referring to the old Irish Parliament of 1782, supposes such a case; for he says, 'The 'only control, if it can be called control, which Ireland could 'exercise, would have been by refusing to contribute any share 'of the expenses of the armaments of the war—armaments 'that might be, that most probably would be, necessary for her 'own defence against the foe.' And, again, he remarks, 'They 'had established nearly in its most perfect form their right to 'control the appropriation of the Irish supplies, and they had 'extorted from the Crown the admission that in time of peace 'a standing army could not be legally maintained in Ireland.'

It is true that Mr. Butt recommends that the power of voting the armaments and raising the necessary supplies should rest with the Imperial Parliament for the sake of greater unity and effect. But how long would an Irish Parliament, in the habit of managing its own taxation and discussing its own affairs, allow its millions to be expended in the prosecution of a war in which its sympathies were all on the side of England's enemies? And if, in the case supposed, there should be a refusal to grant supplies, would not the discussion of such a question range over the whole length and breadth of Imperial policy? Now does Mr. Butt imagine that England would run the frightful risk of divided counsels, transferring to a popular assembly in Ireland the power, or at least the opportunity, of controlling the sinews of war, at a crisis demanding the greatest unity of purpose? We all remember how the theory of Ireland's legislative independence was likely to have produced the greatest inconvenience in the reign of George III., when, during the period of his illness, different views were taken by the two legislatures on the question of the Regency; and this alarming incident led the more powerful nation to save itself by the Union from the recurrence of an embarrassment that went to the root of the monarchical principle. If that peril arose from the action of a Parliament exclusively Protestant, how much more difficult it would be for her Majesty's Ministers to maintain the integrity and unity of the Empire with a parliament sitting in College Green largely impregnated with ultramontane or republican ideas? England and Ireland could have no common foreign policy; for that of the Irish, judging by past experience, would be ultramontane and reactionary, and that of England favourable to liberty all over the world. The British Government must always take care that the principles which are to guide its policy should be so thoroughly decided that its influence should not be impaired by weakness or vacillation. Difficulties would also arise on the question of tariffs. Notwithstanding the assurance of home-government orators, we cannot believe that this will be conceded as a purely Imperial question, with which the home-parliament must not meddle. For Mr. John Martin, M.P. for Meath, who has spoken more than once on the platform of the Association, deliberately said—'There may be 'also some meaner bigots, those of the free-trade religion, who 'fear that independent Ireland might be tempted to sin against 'their divinity by creating and establishing native industry in 'the same way in which that has always been done by every

'independent nation.'* Another orator of the Association has pointed clearly in the same direction. What security can we have that a home-government in the hands of federalists and repealers would not immediately inaugurate an agitation for the establishment of differential duties, and the restoration of the protectionist system? We could hardly expect so much good sense or good feeling in such an assembly as would prevent such suicidal hostility. Looking at the question, then, in a popular way, we cannot see that the plan of Mr. Butt would do anything but create a federation as discordant as that which paralyses the strength of Austria, and give to the British Empire a miserable legacy of weakness and disorder.

But a mere federal union would never satisfy Ireland. It would only be a step to repeal of the Union, and then another step would bring about a complete separation. For we are to remember that the advocates of home-government represent a coalition of parties—federalists like Mr. Butt, repealers who would retain the old dynastic link, and republicans who would only take repeal as an instalment of their ultimate demands; not to speak of the various Tory or Liberal elements of the Association. Can we suppose for a moment that the Union would not in course of time receive many a shock from the discussions of such a body? that a powerful agitation out of doors would not spring up with the old cry of O'Connell—'Ireland must be a nation again, and not a province'? and that separation of interest would not speedily lead to a separation of connexion to the manifest and permanent injury of both countries? England could never allow such a separation, for she sought the Union in the case of Ireland, as well as Scotland, as a great political necessity and a great political simplification, and either federalism or repeal would only multiply her vulnerable points, and lead to a dispersion of force. It is possible to conceive that, through foreign intervention, Ireland might succeed in wresting her independence. But in that case the two countries would be a standing menace to each other, their interests and policy coming into constant collision. The Irish taxpayer would be crushed by the effort to maintain an independent army and navy. The continental alliances of Ireland would probably embroil her with England; while her domestic dissensions, which the want of skill in the new rulers, as well as the state of her finances, would aggravate into universal disorder, would be used by England, acting in

* Letters on the Irish National Question. By John Martin, p. 15.

unison with a British party in Ulster, to crush Irish independence.

But to look more carefully into this home-government proposal, we ought to consider the various elements of opinion at work in Irish society, with the view of discovering whether independent legislation would, under existing circumstances, be beneficial to the country itself, conducive to its harmony and prosperity, and prove likely to restore a kindlier relationship between England and Ireland. We must, therefore, try to ascertain not only what kind of representatives the Irish masses would send to the home-parliament, but also the character and tendency of the instruction these masses are now daily receiving from various quarters to fit them for the responsible task of selecting wise and patriotic representatives.

The two strongest powers in the country—at least, in their influence over the masses—are Nationalism and Ultramontanism. It has been sometimes taken for granted, on a superficial view of Irish politics, that these two powers are naturally and necessarily opposed to each other, and that outside the circle of Ultramontanism, and dashing against it with all the power of speedy overthrow, is Nationalism with its daring theories, driving the masses onward to revolution. This is an entire mistake. On the Continent we may find them in deadly opposition; but even there, as Dr. Manning has remarked, revolution and religion mutually borrow from each other, the one contributing breadth, the other intensity of action. The remark may be applied with even more justice to the complications of Irish Catholic opinion. We know, on the one hand, that a clergy dependent in any measure on the masses for support can never for any length of time be indifferent to popular feeling, or free from popular prejudice. Though the Irish priesthood may have been perfectly sincere in condemning Fenianism, they were known by the people to sympathise with many of the ulterior ends that Fenianism had in view, while the very discontent to which the bishops themselves gave voice in their pastorals had a tendency to keep alive in the peasantry the feelings on which the Fenians or Nationalists relied for support. We have at this moment before us the pastoral letter of Dr. Nullty, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Meath, to the clergy and laity of his diocese, of which '*a considerable portion*' (these are the Bishop's own words) '*is devoted to a defence of the Ribbonmen of former times from the obloquy and infamy with which*,' in his lordship's opinion, '*it* (sic) *has been branded.*' The Bishop, it is true, condemns the modern practice of Ribbonism with great apparent severity; but he

does not scruple to justify the origin of these murderous combinations, and he denounces the means employed 'by a weak 'and pusillanimous Executive' for the prevention, detection, and punishment of crime with the same vehemence of language which he applies to crime itself. Such pastorals partake of the incendiary character of the nationalist press, and are certainly not calculated to allay the evils they profess to deplore.

It is also a significant fact that in 1868 a manifesto was issued by a body of Roman Catholic priests, with the Dean of Limerick at their head, in which they declared that 'the only means of tranquillising Ireland was by the restora-'tion of her nationality;' and Father Lavelle said in February last, on the platform of the Home-Government Association, that 'nine-tenths of the clergy on the other side of the 'Shannon were as warm on the side of home-government as 'any man in that room, and that there were temporary reasons 'why they should not declare themselves; but before six 'months were elapsed, the west of Ireland would speak with a 'voice of thunder.' It would be wrong, on the other hand, to suppose that the masses of the Irish people are not earnest Catholics, remarkably submissive to clerical direction or dictation. They are no hungry democratic reformers like the Socialists of France or Germany, revelling in crude ideas of government, cherishing a wild and fanatical faith in human perfectibility, and expecting to hang the last king with the entrails of the last priest. There is no fight in Ireland between the sons of crusaders and the sons of Voltaire; for the Irish are perfectly obedient to their clergy, though they do occasionally resent their intrusion in politics. Nationalism and Ultramontanism are not mutually destructive powers, but are actually engaged at this moment, with certain well-understood reservations, in influencing to a powerful degree their mutual interests, and, for the present, their common cause. The election of two Protestants like Martin and Mitchell Henry for Meath and Galway, two Roman Catholic constituencies, reveals no antagonism; for both these representatives will be prepared to serve the interests of the Ultramontane party in Parliament.*

The question then arises—What would be the probable con-

* The Rev. Thaddeus O'Malley, in a speech upon the effect of their election on the prospects of an education measure, such as the Ultramontane clergy demand, says:—'Will not John Martin give as safe a 'vote for a good Irish education measure as Mr. Plunket? Mitchell 'Henry, a safe and much safer vote than the Viscount Burke?' (Freeman's Journal, March 2, 1871.)

stitution of an Irish Parliament elected by Ultramontanes and Nationalists? It is perfectly certain that it would reflect almost exclusively the opinions of these two parties, who would thus have the destinies of the country completely in their hands. We sympathise with a 'Protestant Celt' when he 'desires to 'see something of a vigorous, healthy, united lay public 'opinion kindled in Ireland;' but where are there the slightest indications of an independent lay opinion? Where is there even the nucleus at present of a middle party, to act with mediating force in Irish politics? Where are the men of moderate views who will have power to impose terms upon extreme sides? Where is the calm tribunal of public opinion that will allow moderate men to get even a hearing in Ireland? There can be no satisfactory answer to these questions. In our opinion, the middle-class Catholic party of moderate views, to whom we should look for help in this emergency, are less worthy of respect than almost any political sect in these countries; for, though in private they profess to be as liberal and tolerant of others as they are appreciative of the truly just and catholic policy pursued towards them by England, and condemn the exclusive and irrational policy of their clergy in matters political, they have never yet had the courage to venture upon public remonstrance or opposition. One of their number, a lawyer of liberal views, has attempted to vindicate or excuse this purely passive attitude, by saying that the Catholic gentry and the moneyed classes are a mere handful compared with the priest-led masses; that they would be powerless in any Catholic movement opposed to the priests; that if they want seats in Parliament they must obtain them by the licence of the bishops; and that so small a class cannot produce within its own limits anything like the requisite amount of thinking power or acquire the learning necessary for such a conflict. But why should they not *try* to extricate themselves and their country out of such a humiliating position? This liberal writer is apparently conscious of the essential unworthiness of their position, for he says: 'If they could all be inspired with sufficient enthusiasm 'to make a stand shoulder to shoulder, they could do great 'service to religion and their country.' The laity, then, are evidently no check upon Ultramontane aspirations, and we may be pardoned for believing that a thoroughly Ultramontane Ireland might become as troublesome to England as a thoroughly Fenian Ireland.

And here we would interpose an observation mainly, but not exclusively, applicable to Ireland. A Bill for the introduction of Vote by Ballot has been brought into Parliament

by a very able member of the present Government. Have the authors and supporters of that Bill—have English members generally—considered the question, how will Vote by Ballot work in Ireland? We will endeavour to tell them. The two chief governing powers of Ireland are the Secret Societies and the Confessional. Those are the seats of nationalist and ultramontane power. These occult forces, freed from the control of law and of public opinion, place the mind and soul of the voter at the command of his spiritual or political master. Secret voting is precisely the device required to give unlimited and unopposed scope and influence to these forces. It will leave the ascendency of the Ribbon Association and the Priest unimpaired; nay, it will throw over it a friendly and impenetrable veil, and there is this peculiarity about this species of influence, that the man who is enthralled by it does not desire to cast it off; he is not only a slave, but a voluntary slave, to what he regards as an awful and irresistible power. With the assistance of the Ballot we have not the slightest doubt that the influence of these powers—both fiercely hostile to England—will be absolutely paramount in nine-tenths of the elections of Ireland. Independence of election is no part of the character of the Irish peasantry. If they cease to follow their landlord, they will follow their head-conspirator or their priest. The result will be that about ninety Irish members will probably be sent by Secret Voting to the House of Commons, differing materially from the great majority of those gentlemen who have heretofore represented Ireland, differing still more from the opinions of their British colleagues; and as these members will be able, if they hold together, to exercise a decisive control over every important party vote, the time may possibly come when regret will be felt even on this side of the water, that the severance of the two representative bodies is so extremely difficult and perilous.

We are already in a position to understand not only the probable constitution of the Parliament which is to legislate in purely Irish affairs, but also the probable course that home-statesmanship would take on a number of highly important questions. It is to be presumed, for example, that no attempt would be made to re-establish or re-endow any one or all of the existing Churches of Ireland. Religious equality is the great principle which the Imperial Legislature has just established in the settlement of the ecclesiastical difficulties of the country. We destroyed the privileges of the minority, but without any design of handing them over to the majority; and those who

were the foremost allies of the Roman Catholics in obtaining religious equality will be the very first to oppose any attempt to establish a Roman Catholic ascendency. Now Mr. Butt has evidently some suspicion that there might be an attempt made to re-endow religion in Ireland, for he throws out the suggestion that 'few persons would object to a provision that 'no Act of Parliament affecting any question of a religious 'establishment should be passed except with the sanction of 'the Imperial Parliament.' We confess, however, to a grave apprehension that one of the very first measures that would be introduced would be one of concurrent endowment in another form. For Mr. Butt expressly includes 'systems of edu-'cation' among the local as distinguished from the Imperial interests, and therefore committed to the guidance of the home-parliament. Can we not readily understand how quickly and effectively the Catholic University would be chartered and endowed, and the denominational system established in the primary and intermediate schools of the country by the overwhelming Catholic vote? The State has hitherto acted on the principle of limiting its support to an education in which all can share; but since the disendowment of religion has been effected, it is felt that there is no difference of principle between supporting a clergy and supporting a schoolmaster to teach religion. It would be a false and insidious policy to allow a return to religious endowment, under the form of a denominational system of education. Under a home-parliament, we should witness, though on a far wider scale, a repetition of the scandalous appropriation of public monies which the Irish Catholic vote in New York has secured year by year for a host of schools, orphanages, and charities of various kinds in the hands of the Roman Catholic clergy.* 'Putnam's 'Magazine,' of New York, in a recent article with the curious title, 'Our American Established Church,' says: 'In no Euro-'pean country, we say it with some confidence, has the clergy 'of a Catholic Establishment its hands more nearly closed 'upon the whole system of public education than here in New

* We find undoubted evidence of a disposition to restore taxation for Irish ecclesiastical purposes in a Bill introduced into the Imperial Parliament during the present session by Mr. M'Mahon, M.P. for New Ross, who is anxious to facilitate local legislation affecting Irish interests so as to abridge the labour and expense of Imperial legislation. The enumeration of the various classes of works comprehended within the range of his Bill positively contains one for 'church or chapel 'building, enlarging, repairing, or maintaining.' The title of the Bill is 'Local Legislation (Ireland).'

'York;' and another journal states that, during the year 1866, the Legislature of New York State appropriated 50,800 dollars for churches, schools, asylums, and hospitals; and of this sum 45,674 dollars were received by Roman Catholics; and, in addition, made a special donation of 78,500 dollars in 1866, and 80,005 dollars in 1867, to the Society for the Protection of Destitute Roman Catholic Orphan Children. In the city of New York, the Common Council about the same time appropriated 97,522 dollars to sectarian purposes, and all, with the exception of 5,522 dollars, for the benefit of Roman Catholics. The whole matter is easily explained: the politicians flatter the Catholics for their votes, and the clergy behind the scenes know how to hold the balance of power in a democracy. Now we ask the Tory Protestants of the Home-Government Association, What is there to prevent — not an endowment of churches, though even that might be dexterously managed in some disguised form, but—the endowment of a host of orphanages and charities, including monastic and conventual establishments for the education of the young? They might live to see the day when the curses of heaven and earth might be vowed against the policy which asserts the ascendency of the State —indeed of the lay element—above the clerical in all matters of national interest. And what influence could they expect to exercise in an assembly of Ultramontanes and Nationalists? They would soon be made to learn that to govern Ireland according to Irish ideas is to follow the ideas of the mere Celtic and Catholic majority, and that Ultramontanism would become the dominant spirit of the whole country. The success of their scheme would only lead to their own political destruction, and might eventually bring on an internecine struggle which, in some great ecclesiastical crisis, might revive the horrors of civil war.

But another question of some consequence is, How far a home-government would secure more kindly relations between England and Ireland? It is affirmed with confidence by Mr. Butt that the restoration of Irish nationality would not only pacify the country, but make Ireland a tower of strength to England. This would certainly be a very desirable result; but it must, after all, greatly depend upon the disposition of the parliamentary representatives, of the masses who elect them, and of the press which instructs the masses. It has always been our belief that the studious misrepresentation of English politics, English society, and English character by the Irish press is the chief obstacle to the complete political fusion of the two peoples; and we have no language to express our

contempt and abhorrence of a patriotism which aims at keeping Ireland irreconcilable that she may be a perpetual thorn in the side of England. Certainly, if the relation between the two countries is to be changed for the better, there is greater need that mutual esteem and community of sentiment should be cultivated on both sides. But what security can Mr. Butt give us that the national press will change its instincts and habits, on the day that England consents to establish a federation? Some of its writers may be sincere and are to be pitied for their ignorance and despised for their violence; but others, we fear, drive a vile trade in sedition, and seek a sordid gain in exciting the worst passions of human nature. Despicable as they mostly are in a literary point of view, they are still more so on moral grounds. There never was anything grosser than the fabrication of French victories all through the late war, yet, strange to say, though neither date nor authority was assigned for most of them, they imposed upon the ignorant masses throughout Ireland and were devoured with unfailing voracity. Imagine the capacity of a people for self-government who receive all their instruction from such journals. The Irish, in fact, are mere children in political affairs; and their literary guides never allow them to hear the words of political truth and soberness. We cannot believe that any English concessions whatever, if we may judge by their comments on the amnesty to the Fenian prisoners, can ever conciliate the good-will of these national newspapers; for they are written as well as read on the assumption that the English Government is tyrannical as well as anti-national, and to allow that any act of England challenged the gratitude of Ireland would convict themselves of injustice and undermine their trade. If a home-parliament were conceded to-morrow, there would be an immediate agitation set on foot by these wretched prints for complete independence, with visions of land-confiscation, pillage, and revenge, held out to the ignorant expectations of an impulsive peasantry. On the whole, then, when we think of the malignant distrust of England which is kept alive by this press, the calumnies that are spread, and the hopes that are raised without the slightest prospect of their realisation, we are thoroughly convinced that Ireland would not be more tranquil under a home-parliament, or exhibit a more pacific or friendly disposition to England.

We are sorry to say, however, that it is not the national journals alone which foster the delusions and passions of an excitable people. If anyone will take the trouble to read the evidence of Father Grace, of the order of Christian Brothers,

before the late Royal Commission on Primary Education in Ireland,* he will understand something of the process by which some 23,000 Irish boys while at school are prepared for understanding and appreciating the lively invectives of the national press. Master Brooke, of the Irish Court of Chancery, one of the Royal Commissioners, pointed the reverend Father's attention to the Fourth Book of Reading used in the schools of the brotherhood, which contained no less than twenty-three passages describing the cruelty, the tyranny, and the oppression of England, as well as the sufferings and wrongs of Ireland, India, and North America under English rule. One of these passages, in alluding to the extinction of the old Irish Parliament by the Union, said, 'its history showed 'that its existence was essential to the greatness, the dignity, 'the prosperity, and the happiness of Ireland.' Master Brooke asked whether it was the custom of the Christian Brothers to make any comments upon such passages by way of softening them down; but Father Grace merely answered, 'I only re-'gret we haven't it' (the Irish Parliament); and being further pressed, he remarked: 'That is the general opinion; and it 'would be difficult to convince the great majority of the Irish 'people to the contrary.' No wonder Master Brooke exclaimed on the spot, that 'the books of the Christian Brothers were 'the most direct training for Fenianism that he could possibly 'imagine!' Dr. Keane, Bishop of Cloyne, promised that if the Christian Brothers' schools were made denominational and taken under the National Board, the bishops would take care to correct anything objectionable in the books; whereupon Master Brooke very pertinently replied: 'But the bishops 'have full authority at this moment over the Christian Bro-'thers, and yet nothing has been done in the way of correc-'tion.'† Now when we consider that all these school-books, as anti-English in their poetry as in their prose, have received episcopal sanction, as Father Grace himself admitted, we cannot acquit the highest authorities of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland of a grave offence in instilling into the youthful mind an education which is calculated to develope only the bad passions and nurture hatreds of very difficult eradication.

We do not believe, however, apart from all these considerations, that Ireland possesses the elements for building up an

* Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), vol. iii. pp. 376–378.

† Ibid., pp. 679, 15621.

independent national life; for she has no historical basis of the least solidity, no definite public opinion such as supplies a check and guard to other communities, and none of the tolerance or habits essential to self-government. We believe that her true interest lies in the maintenance of the Union. That great measure gave her Parliamentary Reform, Catholic Emancipation, a great system of education, a reform of the corporations, a Poor-law system, perfect freedom of trade with Great Britain, a reform of the land system, complete religious equality, together with the full benefit of wise and equal laws, and the fullest access on the part of her children to every place of honour, usefulness, and power in the gift of the Sovereign. Irishmen seem sometimes to forget what a large place they have hitherto filled in the public service of England, both at home and abroad. When we see Irish judges, Irish bishops, and Irish statesmen amongst us, and the whole Civil Service of the Crown open to Irish competition; while our large towns have thousands upon thousands of an Irish population, uniting their own industry to British capital and organisation, we may well ask, what would become of Ireland if all her sons were compelled to seek their fortune at home, and were to forfeit their rights of citizenship throughout the other parts of the Empire.

The Federalists have many complaints to make against the Union. They complain of the tardiness of Imperial legislation; but they forget that one chief cause of the long delay in the redress of grievances was the fact that the Irish members themselves were never agreed upon the fundamental principles of any single measure, the Tories of the north and the Liberals of the south being in constant conflict upon every question of home policy. But whatever may have been the tardiness of past legislation, the complaint is now perfectly irrelevant, for the march of reforms within the last three years has become rapid and effective beyond all calculation or precedent.

It has been strongly urged that nothing but a home-parliament can restore the manufactures which the Union destroyed, and that the over-taxed condition of the country is such that it needs all the fostering care of a local Legislature to restore it to its proper strength and vitality. It would be hard to prove 'that the Union had destroyed native industry,' when we know that the flourishing manufactures of Ulster have only grown up since the Union. The revival of the linen trade dates, in fact, from the period—1830—when that system of bounties and protective duties which some Irish patriots seem anxious to restore was abolished by the Legislature. Particular trades

have, indeed, died out in other parts of Ireland, but they owe their extinction to the insane and suicidal leagues and strikes of the workmen, and it is exceedingly doubtful whether, if the Union were repealed to-morrow, and a code of protective duties enacted for the revival of local manufactures, every farthing of the burden thus levied would not be exacted by the combinations of the workmen. But the present condition of Irish manufactures has been totally misrepresented. It is gratifying to find that the total number of flax-spinning and weaving factories in Ireland was 143 last year against 100 in 1862; that the cotton trade had 9 factories in operation in 1862, and 13 in 1868, and that the woollen trade had made satisfactory progress is proved by the fact that it employed 10,555 hands in 1868 against 1,037 in 1862. If England has 5,698 factories of all kinds, and Scotland 507, Ireland, which cannot boast of their stores of coal and iron, can count her 198 factories, though six years ago she had only 158.* Within the last two years, two of the largest ocean steamers in the world have been built at Belfast. There is no way in which a home-parliament can restore manufactures but by a system of protection, which the Imperial Legislature will be slow to allow. A return to tariffs would injure Ireland more than England, if free-trade principles be sound; but there are many short-sighted economists there, like the person of whom Dean Swift tells us, who said that Ireland would never be happy till a law were passed for burning everything that came from England but its people and its coals.

It is further alleged that the over-taxed condition of Ireland can only be grappled with by a home-Legislature. We cannot afford to enter into this large question, which was specially examined by a Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1865. It was admitted by the Committee that Ireland's proportionate contribution to the Imperial expenditure as fixed by the Treaty of Union was higher than her resources justified; but then Ireland had never in any single year contributed according to that proportion. Irish patriots ought to ponder these words:—'It has not been shown your Com-'mittee that there is any tax now in operation in Ireland 'which materially interferes with the development of her in-'dustry, unless it be the excise duty on spirits.' But the assertion has been boldly made: 'At present England takes 'all and gives nothing.' So far from this being the case, as

* Ireland, Industrial, Political, and Social. By John Nicholas Murphy. London, 1870.

Dr. Hancock* shows, the expenditure fairly chargeable to Ireland in 1861 was greater than the contribution of Ireland to the expenses of the empire by 1,002,938*l.*, according to one calculation, and 691,355*l.* by another. There has been some change since that period in the proportions of revenue and expenditure, less favourable to Ireland; but do Irish patriots ever think of comparing the revenue and expenditure of Scotland and Ireland respectively? The facts are very striking. According to a return of the House of Commons made in 1868, on the motion of Mr. M'Laren, M.P. for Edinburgh, the revenue of Scotland in 1867 was 8,289,242*l.*, and of Ireland, 6,317,121*l.*; while the amount received from Government during the same year by Ireland for local purposes was 2,230,593*l.*, and that received by Scotland was only 552,808*l.*! There has been much complaint concerning the recent increase in Irish taxation. The income-tax was extended to Ireland in 1853; but Mr. Gladstone at that period remitted four millions sterling of Consolidated Annuities. Besides, the sum raised by this tax, 733,484*l.* in 1861, 356,431*l.* in 1867, levied on the wealthier classes of the community, is a mere trifle compared with the indirect taxation of the same year, 6,108,606*l.*, which is levied on all classes, and, on the other hand, the Irish pay no assessed taxes.

In drawing these observations to a close, we have only to express the belief that the long delay of the Union was the chief grievance of Ireland. Her case, indeed, closely resembled that of Scotland. Provincial government had degraded that country, for even the union of the two crowns, with still distinct governments, did not protect the Northern kingdom from misgovernment and oppression. The real union came at length in 1707 and emancipated us. Scotland at that time differed from England by a thousand years of tradition, laws, and institutions; there could hardly be two types of national character, intellectually and morally, more unlike than those of the Englishman and the Scotchman of the seventeenth century; and the smaller country might well have hesitated to accept a union which was likely to rob it of a glorious independence, and turn it into a mere English province. This was the feeling of Scotland at the time. Lord Belhaven and the patriotic party denounced the union as fratricide in much the

* Those who desire to understand the whole question of taxation as between the two countries should read Dr. W. Neilson Hancock's 'Report of the State of Public Accounts between Great Britain and 'Ireland.' Dublin, 1864.

same terms as Curran and Grattan condemned the Irish Union. The similarity extends even further; for Scotland, like Ireland, consisted then of two great divisions, inhabited by two different races, the Lowlanders and the Highlanders, who had but little sympathy with each other. Yet when the Union incorporated two countries that nature had joined together, the flood of improvement that followed swept away the old barriers, and the two races became one homogeneous community. If the Irish complain that their Union was carried by bribery against the sentiments of the nation, we in Scotland had a similar complaint, for a sum of twenty thousand pounds, which passed at the time in an unaccountable manner from England north of Tweed, was believed to have carried the Union. If Ireland has had her rebellions, Scotland had two of them shortly after the Union; and if Ireland has had her agitations for repeal, it is well known, that when Scotland found herself treated after the Union like a conquered country, and English principles were applied to Scottish society with an unbending rigidity, a Bill was actually introduced into the Imperial Parliament to sever the connexion, which was only lost by three votes and three proxies. We all know now the happy effects of this measure: increased order, increased liberty, increased civilisation, the growth of agriculture, the rapid rise of Scotch commerce and manufactures, and the progress of the towns in wealth and comfort at a rate beyond all precedent. If the Union with Ireland had taken place after the battle of the Boyne instead of a century later, she would now have had a calmer and happier history; local oppressions and national animosities would have been merely historical; for through her contact with the freer institutions and larger society of England, she would have become as tenacious of civil rule and liberty as the country with which her fortunes were henceforth to be inseparably linked.

We submit, then, that it would be a clear surrender of empire and duty on our part to dissolve the existing Union. We are prepared to do the completest justice to Ireland, not merely because it is our clear policy to thin the ranks of our adversaries by removing all justifiable causes of misunderstanding, but because we are bound honestly and sincerely to help her to receive the full benefits of the Union. We see no objection to give her even a royal residence, if she desires it. though it is absurd for Mr. Trench to imagine that this would be any panacea for Irish ills: perhaps it might have a slight restorative effect, as combining an appeal to the imaginative disposition of the nation with a concession to certain obvious commercial interests. But after we have done what is wise

and right, we can on no account swerve from our course in the hope of purchasing loyalty by folly or wrong; for though adherence to duty may bring us neither gratitude nor reward, we are certain that the desertion of it will never fail, at least in public affairs, to bring its own punishment in the end. Beyond all question, the time is fully come for crushing Irish lawlessness of every description. No Government worthy of the name can any longer tolerate the scandal of agrarian murders. The Assassins of Persia, the Thugs of India, and the brigands of Southern Italy have been suppressed without mercy; and no pedantic veneration for forms ought for a moment to stand in the way of all necessary measures being taken for the extinction of Ribbonism. But we are not for fighting the authors of these crimes with any weapons but those of reason, unless they bring themselves under the arm of the law by some overt act of outrage, or set the example of some still more daring hostility. We hope, however, the revolution has spent itself in Ireland. The principal revolutionary influence we have now to encounter is unscrupulous misrepresentation. But facts are working for us, and must continue to work. Statistics show that the country is improving, and needs nothing but time, repose, and steadiness to regain her tone and strength. We cannot despair of a people whose bank savings have increased by a steady progression from sixteen millions sterling in 1864 to twenty-three millions in 1869, and this with diminished numbers. Let Irishmen give up their dreams. They can never be realised. There have been times when the feeblest faction could rise into a dangerous importance, and the wildest project acquire a formidable chance of temporary triumph: but these times are not likely soon to return. Why should Ireland not remember the famous query of her own Berkeley: 'Is it 'not the true interest of both nations to become one people? 'And are either sufficiently aware of this?' What is there in an incorporate union to prevent each of the three nations forming the United Kingdom from following out its own inherent tendencies, and developing its own special powers? The feelings of race may still exist, but the three nations must know that they are complementary to each other, and designed to work together as a great organic whole. Can the Irish people, after all, do better than cast in their lot and work out their destiny in a cordial partnership with their fellow-subjects. Of this at least we are sure, that although the dissolution of the Union might be inconvenient and even dangerous to Great Britain, it would be incalculably more disastrous and destructive to Ireland herself and to the Irish people.

ART. IX.—*Ancient Classics for English Readers. Horace.* By THEODORE MARTIN. Edinburgh and London: 1870.

AT a time when it is debated with some reason and a little zeal, whether it might not be well to discard from our schools and universities the study of Greek and Latin, and to supply the place they have so long occupied by modern languages, the success of 'Ancient Classics for English 'Readers' is among the curiosities, if not the inconsistencies of the day. That success is doubtless in the first instance due to the signal ability with which the series is, and promises to be, conducted. Yet its merits alone will not quite account for the welcome it has received. Readers of the original authors, so agreeably treated of in these little volumes, unless they are engaged in tuition or contending for school prizes and college-fellowships, are becoming every year fewer in number, and are often regarded by a busy world as the fossils of a period in literature that has passed away. 'Why,' it is asked, by many anxious parents and guardians, as well as by some who have won their spurs as classical scholars, do we, in Milton's words, 'spend seven or eight years in scraping 'together so much miserable Latin and Greek?' Is not Porson reported to have said that if he 'had a son, he would 'have him taught to read Racine and not Euripides'? It is indeed no new cry that is now raised by educational reformers. There was, indeed, very lately reason for thinking that 'such 'as' Ausonius 'is will Virgil be;' that Livy and Tacitus will soon repose on the shelf with 'Baker's Chronicle;' and Horace's Satires slumber beside those of Hall, Marston, and Donne. It seems, however, as if the Iö Pæan of disendowment has been sounded prematurely; and that it is even now possible to revive an interest in the prince of epic poets, in the father of history, in the second father of the Athenian stage, in the Mantuan bard, in the note-book of Rome's greatest soldier, and in the works of a poet who for centuries has been the favourite of philosophers and men of the world, no less than of scholars.

To say the truth, in spite of this pretended indifference of the age to classical studies, and these attempts to set them aside for more practical subjects of instruction, we question whether English scholarship has in any former age been more active, more intelligent, or more complete. Not a few of the greatest and best literary works of our time have been based on the study of antiquity. Grote, Thirlwall, Lewis, and Merivale

have reconstructed Greek and Roman history on broad and solid foundations. The last contribution to our libraries is Professor Jowett's long expected and highly valued translation of Plato. Innumerable translations of Homer and the Latin poets issue in rapid succession from the press; and even the more artificial process of transfusing our own poets into Greek and Latin is carried on with unceasing interest. In ancient topography we can boast of such works as Mr. Burns' 'Rome and its Campagna,' which is a mine of careful reading and observation, as learned as Bunsen and as graphic as Ampère. And the most original and profound of the Latin poets has at last found a worthy editor in Mr. Munro. The consequence of the direction, which has been given of late years to classical studies, is that we take a broader view of the *life* of antiquity. Men care less for the grammatical forms of classical literature, but infinitely more for the opinions, the tastes, the manners of those races of men, who are at once so remote from our age and so near to our nature. The pedantry of classical learning is gone out of fashion; but that which makes classical literature imperishable—its truth, its reality, its perfection of form—has retained all its power, and, we think, increased it.

The publication of these little volumes is a proof of it. They are designed to bring some knowledge of the ancient classics within reach of those who do not even know the ancient languages; and the first step towards this object, is to represent the ancients, not as figments of bronze or marble, but as men and women like ourselves, surrounded by the bustle of life, and animated by identically the same tastes and passions. The real value of the classics is that they form an essential part of the general culture of mankind. We can no more afford to lose their immense contributions to the literary traditions of society than we could afford to lose Shakspeare; and book for book, Horace is as much one of our nearest friends and associates as Lafontaine or Molière.

To Mr. Theodore Martin the volume devoted to Horace in this collection was assigned by an almost prescriptive right. No one, either now or formerly, whether as commentator or translator, has entered more thoroughly than he does into the sense, the spirit, the humour, and the character of the Augustan poet. No one by his felicitous command of English measures was more competent than he is to represent the various and often complicated metres of Horace. In other fields than in those of Latin poetry he has shown his gifts as an interpreter. His versions of some of Dante's and Goëthe's works are as serviceable

and pleasant to the reader as his translation of Catullus published a few years ago. And now, as the biographer of one whom Byron mourned that he could not read with pleasure, because of the 'drilled dull lessons' of his own school days, Mr. Martin brings home to us in a narrative at once learned, lively, and graceful, the character of the poet and his times; shows how he became 'ex humili potens,' how the freedman's son was content in either fortune, long before Petrarca had preached the duty of being so; how he grew into favour, honourably and honestly, with the great; how he accepted gifts from Cæsar's prime minister, and declined promotion offered by Cæsar himself; how he chastised the foibles and encouraged the virtues of his contemporaries, added to, or rather created for, Rome a new branch of literature, practised as well as preached moderation to an age given over to excess, and was a fellow-worker with Virgil in recommending to his countrymen the hardy qualities and simple pleasures of their Latin and Sabine forefathers.

A great magician of uncertain date—we are not sure he was not a father of the Church, who may have been no conjuror—was compelled, in order to keep a devil out of mischief, to set him to work upon some arduous, and, if it might be so, endless task. So he commanded him to make ropes from sea-sand. Doubtless this was a difficult thing to do; and yet, perhaps, not much more so than it is to abridge Mr. Martin's account of Horace, his contemporaries and his works, without injuring it. Every page is so german to the matter that we perpetually pause to consider whether to take one and leave another with least damage to the whole. We find no crevices in his mail; he never falls short of or goes beyond his subject; we wish after closing his book to be able to read it again for the first time; it is suited to every occasion; a pleasant travelling companion; welcome in the library where Horace himself may be consulted; welcome also in the intervals of business, or when leisure is abundant. Since it is possible, however, that this Journal may come into the hands of readers not yet acquainted with the 'Ancient Classics for English Readers,' we will take the part of gentleman-usher, and introduce them, as best we can, to this number of the series. There are, indeed, no omissions to supply; but as some questions connected with Horace were either not consistent with the plan, or not compatible with the space allowed to the author, it may be possible to add, without presuming too much, a few illustrations of the subject, though 'the words of Mercury be harsh' among 'the songs of Apollo.'

Of Horace we really know more than we do of Shakspeare. We cannot, indeed, enter the house in which he was born, the school-room in which a 'plagosus Orbilius' gave him such lessons in the accidence as scandalised Mrs. Quickly, or the church wherein he is buried. Neither can we walk into his garden, or conjecture where his bowling-green was, or where the 'pleached alley' and the, in those days indispensable, summer-house. Of Horace there is no portrait by a Martin Droeshout, nor bust taken from his living or dead face. We may guess from his writings at his 'wit-combats' with Virgil and Varius, but there was no Thomas Fuller to put them on record. Yet, thanks to what he has told, hinted, or insinuated of himself, in satire, ode, epode, and epistle, he is to us, at a distance of nearly nineteen centuries, as palpable to sight as Shakspeare at an interval of three. Horace, it is almost a truism to write, at least for anyone acquainted with his works, is his own biographer.

Nor is he merely the chronicler of himself, he is also indirectly that of his times as well. We doubt, had the last decade of Livy been preserved, whether it would have conveyed so just and lively a picture of Roman life in the eighth century of the city as that which is contained in the poems of Horace. They, in their author's lighter as well as graver moods, are stamped with the impress of the age in which they were written. Roman society, as it passed under the lyrist's or the satirist's eyes, was little if at all less disorganised by 'domestic fury and 'fierce civil war' than France after her revolution in the last century. The very elements of the Italian and city population had been changed. 'In Tibrim defluxit Orontes.' Sulla and the mighty Julius had each of them turned a people which had once been composed of at least Italian races into a hybrid populace—the one by inundating the peninsula and its capital with Greek and Asiatic captives in war, the other by admitting into the senate, and even to the consular chair, Spaniards and Gauls. The long reign of Augustus scarcely sufficed to reconcile such jarring elements. Neither rank nor wealth was untouched by these infusions of new, and far from always healthy, blood. The lofty had been cast down; the lowly had been lifted up. The places of the ancient nobility, Latin, Umbrian, or Sabellian, were supplied by men who may never have heard of their grandfathers, nor sometimes even that of their sires. To Lucullan or Cornelian palaces, whose owners were in exile or had been slain in war or by proscription, these doubtful sons brought the habits and manners of rude soldiers or supple slaves. They came from barracks or cabins into

lordly mansions; their fish ponds were stocked with carp that Hortensius may have fed with his own hands; their woods and aviaries may have been planned by Varro or even the elder Cato; in their cellars were stowed Falernian and Cecuban wines that escaped the bands of Spartacus, or were sealed down when Caius Marius was still trailing a pike. Among such a chaos of race, station, and condition there cannot but have been much coarseness, much excess, and a good deal of eccentricity in speech, dress, and manners. To a young satirist here was abundant provision for both eye and pen. The 'broken bank-'rupt' turned preacher of prudence; the cumbrous and costly dinners of Nasidienus; a Menas whose white robes hid the marks of the hangman's scourge; misers who poured rancid oil on their cabbage; misers' sons who gave a handful of gold for a turbot or a peacock; slovens whose 'feet swam in capacious 'shoes,' and whose gown swept the pavement—and dandies, 'sweet puss gentlemen, all perfume,' were 'meat and drink' to students of life such as Horace was, even as 'to see a clown 'was meat and drink' to Touchstone. The sly and shrewd comments of the elder Flaccus upon the Nomentani and Pantolabi of the period cherished, if they did not actually create, the satiric genius of the younger one, and perhaps the observant pair might supply Mr. Galton with one more instance of 'hereditary genius.'

Had Donatus thought fit to write Horace's Life, as well as Virgil's, certain gaps in that of the former might not now have existed. But 'grammatico carent;' for the brief account of him appended to the Cæsars of Suetonius is merely a thing of shreds and patches. Horace is computed to have passed four years at the least in Athens. That they were not idly spent we have partly his own word and partly the evidence in his writings of careful study of Greek poetry and philosophy. But what company did he keep there? Young Marcus Cicero was at that university at the same time, since he, as well as Horace, took service under Brutus. Did he read, mark, and govern himself by his father's treatise on '*Duties*;' or was he even then addicted to wassail and revelry? We would fain know whether young Messala, and young Bibulus, who were certainly at Athens with Cicero junior, were among Horace's 'sodales.' Mr. Martin records without comment that he held a commission under Brutus, and there is no doubt of the fact, or of his being among the fugitives from Philippi, since we have the poet's own warrant for it. Considering, however, that he was then twenty-three years old at most, we incline to think with Dr. Merivale that he was little more than

nominally tribune of a legion, and that some grim and grey-haired centurion was set to watch over so young a colonel. With all his abilities, Horace was scarcely a Körner to ride to battle with a lyre in one hand and a sabre in the other; nor, like another youthful soldier, had he devoted himself to mathematical and military studies at either a Greek or Roman Brienne. Next, we wish that some Donatus had told how, after he had laid down arms for ever, he contrived to live at Rome upon nothing or next to it. The Venusian farm, never worth much, was no longer his. Some booted and bearded soldier was in possession, who, if the late owner had asked him for even a corner of it, would have sworn at the short and dark-eyed suppliant, as terribly as our armies swore in Flanders, even if he did not employ a rougher mode of ejection. By and by Horace purchases a small government office—a clerkship in the treasury. Who found the money for it? His own purse, like Catullus's, was full of cobwebs. And was his salary paid regularly at a time when every sesterce was wanted by government for its vast and often mutinous army? Did his pen help him? We know that after Horace had become a fashionable poet, the brothers Sosii were *his* fathers of the Row; yet at a time when Sextus Pompeius might any day sail up the Tiber, and the intentions of Marcus Antonius were dubious, poetry can hardly have been much in request at Rome, especially if the writer of it were obscure and poor. For all this and more ignorance, on the subject of Horace, we have to thank the silence of Donatus. That painstaking commentator might indeed reply:—'Friend, you mistake 'the matter: the age I lived in was much too barbarous for 'the writings of Horace to be popular or even generally 'known. Virgil and Terence were quite a different matter. 'The one had a story to tell, and moreover was beginning to 'be accounted a wizard, which added greatly to his fame; and 'as for Terence, if laymen did not greatly care for his plays, 'they were always much prized by the clergy. Horace may 'have been all very well in polite and peaceable times; but 'his songs were above our comprehension, and his satires 'were, we thought, not half biting enough.'

Some motive besides filial piety may have led Horace to dwell emphatically upon the social *status* of his father:—

> 'Now to myself, the freedman's son, come I,
> Whom all the mob of gaping fools decry,
> Because, forsooth, I am a freedman's son.'

In the first place, the Roman poets of the pre-Augustan and

Augustan eras, as well as their successors in the reigns of Nero and Domitian, were 'gentlemen born.' Calvus and Catullus came of good families. Virgil was the son of a Roman citizen of property; Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid were all of equestrian rank. Among writers of nearly the same generation, one alone, Phædrus, was by birth a slave; but with this exception, Horace, in respect of family, stood lowest in the social scale. When accordingly he began to be known or felt as a writer of satires, the victims of his censure very probably cast in his teeth—not, we may be sure, forgetting his republican politics—his low origin. In the next place, even in Horace's youth, freedmen and their sons were not in good odour either at Rome or in Italy. They were not, indeed, as yet the full-blown upstarts that, fifty years later, misguided Claudius and encouraged the vices of Nero. Yet old men would descant on Sulla's proud and grasping freedman, Chrysogonus; middle-aged men remembered well Demetrius, outvying his emancipator Cneius Pompeius by his chariots and his horsemen, his trains of slaves and gorgeous attire. Nor were pomps and vanities the only grounds for dislike of Libertini. Slowly, yet surely, they were climbing to the height that at no very distant day would be reached by Pallas and Narcissus. Even before the Augustan period, a middle-class of citizens had nearly vanished from Rome, and the void was being filled by these sons of nobody. The better sort of them were found useful in public or private business; the worse were not less serviceable as contrivers and purveyors of pleasures for their patrons or their dupes. The 'freedman's son' was thus exposed to a double battery of abuse. Either he was regarded as an intruder into matters too high for him, or, as the satellite of great and wealthy houses, he was ranked among the 'viscera magnarum domuum dominique futuri.' This social change would not be unmarked by the younger Flaccus; and both to shield himself from unjust obloquy and to vindicate the memory of a revered and beloved father, he proclaimed without a blush the obscurity of his birth:—

> 'Now I know,
> More earnest thanks and loftier praise I owe.
> Reason must fail me, ere I cease to own
> With pride, that I have such a father known.
> Nor shall I stoop my birth to vindicate
> By charging, like the herd, the wrong on Fate,
> That I was not of noble lineage sprung,
> Far other creed inspires my heart and tongue;
> For now should Nature bid all living men
> Retrace their years, and live them o'er again,

Each culling, as his inclination bent,
His parents for himself, with mine content,
I would not choose whom men endow as great
With the insignia and the seats of state.'

We leave to Mr. Martin, greatly to our readers' advantage, the story of Horace's rise in the world. He believes that he 'had not been long in Rome, after his return from Greece, 'before he made himself a name.' His most valued friends were also the most serviceable to him. Virgil made him known to Mæcenas; Varius, already celebrated as a writer of epic poetry, and author of a tragedy applauded by Quintilian, seconded the recommendation, and after a delay of a few months—a probationary period not to be complained of by one who had fought on the side of opposition at Philippi—Horace was admitted to the great minister's inner circle of friends. Thenceforward his lines were set in pleasant places; the forfeited Venusian farm was replaced by far more than an equivalent for it in the Sabine territory, and the proceeds of his books added to his official salary, would enable him when tired with the country to hire a lodging in the capital. The story of his first preferment is, Mr. Martin observes, 'told with admirable brevity and good feeling in a satire addressed to his 'patron,' and in verse as admirably translated by the poet's best biographer:—

'Lucky I will not call myself, as though
Thy friendship I to mere good fortune owe.
No chance it was secured me thy regards,
But Virgil first, that best of men and bards,
And then kind Varius mentioned what I was.
Before you brought, with many a faltering pause,
Dropping some few brief words (for bashfulness
Robbed me of utterance), I did not profess
That I was sprung of lineage old and great,
Or used to canter round my own estate
On Satureian barb, but what and who
I was as plainly told. As usual, you
Brief answer make me. I retire, and then,
Some nine months after, summoning me again,
You bid me 'mongst your friends assume a place;
And proud I feel that thus I won your grace,
Not by an ancestry long known to fame,
But by my life, and heart devoid of blame.'

In one respect, Caius Cilnius Mæcenas was wiser in his generation than England's great statesman, the elder Pitt. The nation, who so loved, so honoured the great Commoner,

never quite forgave him for accepting a peer's coronet, although none denied that he had earned it well. Perhaps the regal blood in the Etruscan Chatham's veins rendered him indifferent to any honour that Rome could bestow; perhaps he had seen too much of the Roman House of Lords at that period to covet equality with the 'splendidi, spectabiles, illustres,' who sat on its benches. To one content with the name and estate of a knight, the moderate wishes of Horace would be a recommendation as potent as Virgil's or Varius's good word; and his respect for his young favourite would increase when he found that, having attained a comfortable independence, Horace neither craved nor would accept of broader acres or of such guerdon or remuneration, as if Donatus speak truly, were not refused by Virgil. The character of Mæcenas and his public position in Rome are so well and fully drawn by Mr. Martin, that to be admired his account of them needs only to be read.

On the Satires of Horace both in themselves, their drift, their form, or the easy felicitous verse in which censure or ridicule is conveyed, and in their relation to the best modern imitators, we have the following discriminate judgment:—

'The name Satires does not truly indicate the name of this series' (that is the First Book); 'they are rather didactic poems, couched in a more or less dramatic form, and carried on in an easy conversational tone, without for the most part any definite purpose, often diverging into such collateral topics as suggest themselves by the way, with all the ease and buoyancy of agreeable talk, and getting back or not, as it may happen, into the main line of idea with which they set out. Some of them are conceived in a vein of fine irony throughout. Others, like "The Journey to Brundusium," are mere narratives, relieved by humorous illustrations. But we do not find in them the epigrammatic force, the sternness of moral rebuke, or the scathing spirit of sarcasm, which are commonly associated with the idea of satire. Literary display appears never to be aimed at. The plainest phrases, the homeliest illustrations, the most every day topics—if they come in the way—are made use of for the purpose of insinuating or enforcing some useful truth. Point and epigram are the last things thought of; and therefore it is that Pope's translations, admirable as in themselves they are, fail to give an idea of the lightness of touch, the shifting lights and shades, the carelessness alternating with force, the artless natural manner, which distinguish these charming essays. "The terseness of Horace's language "in his satires," it has been well said, "is that of a proverb, neat because "homely; while the terseness of Pope is that of an epigram, which will "only become homely in time, because it is neat."

'These hints of life and manners' (in another page writes Mr. Martin, whose sketches from Horace it is grievous to abridge, and yet impossible for us to transcribe at full,) 'might be infinitely extended, and a ramble in the streets of Rome in the present day is consequently

fuller of vivid interest to a man who has these pages at his fingers ends than it can possibly be to any other person. Horace is so associated with all the localities, that one would think it the most natural thing in the world to come upon him at any turning. His old familiar haunts rise up about us out of the dust of centuries. We see a short thick-set man come sauntering along, "more fat than bard be-" seems." As he passes, lost in reverie, many turn round and look at him. Some point him out to their companions, and by what they say, we learn that this is Horace, the favourite of Mæcenas, the frequent visitor at the unpretending palace of Augustus, the self-made and famous poet.'

A day with Horace had been agreeably as well as learnedly described by that excellent scholar the late James Tate; but his sketch is better suited to classical students than to 'English 'Readers.' Mr. Martin's picture of an 'Horatian day,' accompanied as it is by his own translations, affords a striking instance of the possibility, where a scholar and a poet undertakes the task, of rendering, even at this eleventh and gainsaying hour, the great writers of antiquity pleasant as well as profitable companions. Schoolmasters and commentators, for the most part, have much to answer for, not on Horace's account only, but that of ancient classics generally. Their anxiety for the letter has too frequently quenched the spirit of writers, and combined their names with painful associations of 'lessons 'forced down word by word.' The chief merit of Mr. Martin's biography and translations is that he altogether throws off these pedantic traditions, and Horace is restored to his true shape, a man of the world, and the author of the most perfect *vers de société* or social lyrics that were ever composed.

'It is one of the many charms of Horace's didactic writings, that he takes us into the very heart of the life of Rome. We lounge with its loungers along the Via Sacra; we stroll into the Campus Martius, where young Hebrus with his noble horsemanship is witching the blushing Neobulè, already too much enamoured of the handsome Liparian; and the men of the old school are getting up an appetite by games of tennis, bowls, or quoits; while the young Grecianised fops, lisping feeble jokes, saunter by with a listless contempt for such vulgar gymnastics. We are in the Via Appia. Bariné sweeps along in her chariot in superb toilette, shooting glances from her sleepy cruel eyes. The young fellows are all agaze. Here comes Barrus—as ugly a dog as any in Rome—dressed to death, and smiling Malvolio smiles of self-complacency. The girls titter and exchange glances as he passes; Barrus swaggers on, feeling himself an inch taller in the conviction that he is slaughtering the hearts of the dear creatures by the score. A mule, with a dead boar thrown across it, now winds its way among the chariots and litters. A little ahead of it stalks Gargilius, attended by a strong force of retainers armed with spears and nets, enough to thin the game of the Hercynian forest. Little does the mighty hunter dream

that all his friends, who congratulate him on his success, are asking themselves and each other where he bought the boar, and for how much. Have we never encountered a piscatory Gargilius near the Spey or the Tweed? We wander back into the city and its narrow streets. In one we are jammed into a doorway by a train of builders' waggons laden with huge blocks of stone, or massive logs of timber. Escaping these, we run against a line of undertakers' men "performing" a voluminous and expensive funeral, to the discomfort of everybody and the impoverishment of the dead man's kindred. In the next street we run the risk of being crushed by some huge piece of masonry in the act of being swung by a crane into its place; and while calculating the chances of its fall with upturned eye, we find ourselves landed in the gutter by an unclean pig, which had darted between our legs at some attractive garbage beyond. This peril over, we encounter at the next turning a mad dog, who makes a passing snap at our toga as he darts into a neighbouring blind alley, whither we do not care to follow his vagaries among a covey of young Roman street Arabs. Before we reach home a mumping beggar drops before us as we turn the corner, in a well-simulated fit of epilepsy or of helpless lameness. "Quære pe-" regrinum"—"Try that game on country cousins"—we mutter in our beard, and retreat to our lodgings on the third floor, encountering probably on the stair some half-tipsy artisan or slave, who is descending from the attics for another cup of fiery wine at the nearest wine-shop.'

In this description of life in Rome, culled from many scattered passages, there is the minuteness of Tom Brown—not the excellent chronicler of Rugby school under Dr. Arnold, but a Thomas old enough, though not of kin, to be that Honourable Member's greatgrandsire—and the humour of Steele writing a number of the 'Tatler,' in a happy moment, when he had been taking neither more nor less burgundy than was good for him Besides the keen observation of the one and the genial spirit of the other of these English worthies, Horace possessed the delicate wit of Addison, and many of his satires and epistles are conceived and composed in the very best vein of the 'Spectator.'

That the Latin poets borrowed, indeed 'conveyed' freely, from the Greeks, is known 'lippis tonsoribusque atque.' Virgil was, like Milton, 'a rich robber' who transmuted the silver of the Rhodian Apollonius into the sterling gold of the Æneid. It was the ambition of Propertius to be called the Roman Philetas and Callimachus, and although Tibullus's models are less known to us, his tender and melancholy muse savours more of Samos or Smyrna than of Italy. But it was not from Alexandrian types that Horace derived his laws for lyrical composition. Night and day he turned over the page of authors that even to him were ancient classics. Like Catullus he drank

at the fountain-head, but he quaffed more deeply than the poet of Verona did from the celestial spring. The great masters of Æolian song were his exemplars. And not only was he careful in his choice and sedulous in his study of them, but he distinguished between those who would bear transplantation into Italian soil and those that would refuse to take root in it. Wisely and well did he decline to borrow Pindarian wings.

'He who'd rival Pindar's fame,
On waxen wings doth sweep
The Empyréan steep,
To fall like Icarus, and with his name
Endue the glassy deep.

'I, like the tiny bee, that sips
The fragrant thyme, and strays
Humming through leafy ways,
By Tibur's sedgy banks, with trembling lips
Fashion my toilsome lays.'

And no less wisely did he perceive that the Alexandrian poets, with the exception of Theocritus, belonging to a period of decadence, were unfit types for one aspiring to become for Latium, 'princeps Æolii carminis.' Had he *pindarised*, it would indeed have been in very different fashion from that of Abraham Cowley's 'dancing words and speaking strings.' Yet, keeping in view the age, the country, and the language he had to deal with, he would have fallen far short of the felicity displayed by him in catching the form and spirit of Alcæus and Sappho had he aspired to the heights of Ode Isthmian or Nemean. In his adaptations of the Greek lyrists Horace did for Roman poetry what Cicero had done for Roman philosophy. He presented it to his countrymen under forms the best suited to their practical and rhetorical, rather than sensitive or imaginative character.

But for the lyrical poetry of Horace, in all its stages—and between the first book of his odes and the fourth there is a very perceptible difference—a progress that can only be measured by attentive study of his works—we must refer to Mr. Martin's volume. In nothing as a translator has he shown himself more judicious than in the very various measures employed by him in transferring his original from one language to another. So far as the Latian muse can be transferred in its spirit to English verse, it is so in his version. He 'treads a 'measure' lightly when it is light and joyous in Horace: he can draw the trumpet-stop too when it is demanded: he can mourn with the poet, and convey the various accents of his *amours volages*, and of his *very* few entanglements with a serious

passion such as perhaps as was that for Cinara. We have space only for the following caution to the credulous as to the numbers of the Horatian Hareem:—

'It may be that among Horace's Odes some were directly inspired by the ladies to whom they are addressed; but it is time that modern criticism should brush away all the elaborate nonsense which has been written to demonstrate that Pyrrha, Chloe, Lalage, Lydia, Lydè, Leuconoë, Tyndaris, Glycera, and Barinè, not to mention others, were real personages, to whom the poet was attached. At this rate his occupations must have rather been those of a Don Giovanni than of a man of studious habits and feeble health, who found it hard enough to keep pace with the milder dissipations of the social circle. We are absolutely without any information as to those ladies whose liquid and beautiful names are almost poems in themselves; nevertheless, the most wonderful romances have been spun about them out of the inner consciousness of the commentators. Who would venture to deal in this way with the Eleanore and "rare pale Margaret," and Cousin Amy of Mr. Tennyson? The ancients, as Buttmann has well observed, had the skill to construct such poems, so that each speech tells us by whom it is spoken; but we let the editors treat us all our lives as school-boys, and interline such dialogues as we do our plays, with the names. Even in an English poem we should be offended at seeing Collins by the side of Phillis.'

In Horace, Rome had her Montaigne, her Lafontaine, and her Elia; and if a comedy of manners had at the time been possible, she might have had her second Terence also, and perhaps no *dimidiatus Menander*, as Cæsar termed the first. For in his epistles we have the humour and pathos of the English essayist, the strong common sense and shrewdness of the French one, and a gift of condensed, yet complete narrative like that of the great modern fabulist. Lamb and Lafontaine are as felicitous in their several manner as the Roman poet, and if Montaigne be at times less careful and polished in his diction than they were, his careless inimitable beauties entitle him to a place in the Horatian tribe.

And besides being the censor of manners he was the critic of literature, and with such success as to inculcate his precepts on ages long after to be born. Horatian canons guide Julius Scaliger no less than the Daciers and Voltaire, Dryden and Pope. Niebuhr, indeed, is wroth with Horace for his low estimation of the early Roman poets, and especially for his insensibility to the great merits of Plautus. But he does not take into account that satire, such as that of Horace, was indigenous in Italy, that Greece afforded no example of it, and that consequently the language in which satirical verse was couched was an off-shoot from Lucilius, and not from Archilocus, and

that the Latin of Lucilius was too archaic in its tone for the Augustan writer. The lyrical poems of Catullus may breathe a freer atmosphere than that in which the Horatian odes expanded and flourished; yet the perfect form of Alcaic or Sapphic measure demanded for its reception in a western land, not merely a severe discipline of the Latin tongue, but almost its reconstruction. Lines from Ennius might find a place in Lucretian poems, or in the Æneid; but they were too rough for the delicacy of the lighter muse; and Horace, in a scarcely less degree than Dante or Milton, was the creator of the language needed for Latin lyric song.

Of the second epistle of the second book, and the Epistle to the Pisos, generally known as the *Ars Poetica*, Mr. Martin says:—

'The dignity of literature was never better vindicated than in these epistles. In Horace's estimation it was a thing always to be approached with reverence. Mediocrity in it was intolerable. Genius is much, but genius without art will not win immortality; "for a good poet 's "made, as well as born." There must be a working up to the highest models—a resolute intolerance of anything slight or slovenly—a fixed purpose to put what the writer has to express into forms at once the most beautiful, suggestive, and compact. The mere trick of literary composition Horace holds exceedingly cheap. Brilliant nonsense finds no allowance from him. Truth—truth in feeling and in thought—must be present, if the work is to have any value. "*Scribendi recte* "*sapere est et principium et fons:*"—

> "Of writing well, be sure the secret lies
> In wisdom, therefore study to be wise."

Whatever the form of composition—heroic, didactic, lyric, or dramatic—it must be pervaded by unity of feeling and design; and no style is good, or illustration endurable, which either overlays or does not harmonise with the subject in hand.'

'Soon after this poem' (the Epistle to the Pisos) 'was written, the great palace on the Esquiline lost its master. He died in the middle of the year 8 B.C., bequeathing his poet-friend to the care of Augustus, in the words "Horâti Flacci, ut mei, este memor." But the legacy was not long upon the emperor's hands. Seventeen years before, Horace had written:—

> "Think not that I have sworn a bootless oath:
> Yes, we shall go, shall go,
> Hand linked in hand, where'er thou leadest, both
> The last sad road below."

The lines must have run in the poet's ears like a sad refrain. The Digentia lost its charm; he could not see its crystal waters for the shadows of Charon's rueful stream. The prattle of his loved Bandusian spring could not wean his thoughts from the vision of his other self wandering unaccompanied along that "last sad road." We may fancy

that Horace was thenceforth little seen in his accustomed haunts. He who had so often soothed the sorrows of other bereaved hearts, answered with a wistful smile to the friendly consolations of the many that loved him. His work was done. It was time to go away. Not all the skill of Orpheus could recall him whom he had lost. The welcome end came sharply and suddenly; and one day, when the bleak November wind was whirling down the oak-leaves on his well-loved brook, the servants of his Sabine farm heard that they should no more see the good, cheery master, whose pleasant smile and kindly word had so often made their labours light. There was many a sad heart too, we may be sure, in Rome, when the wit who never wounded, the poet who ever charmed, the friend who never failed, was laid in a corner of the Esquiline, close to the tomb of his "dear knight Mæcenas." He died on the 27th of November, B.C. 8, the kindly, lonely man leaving to Augustus what little he possessed. One would fain trust his own words were inscribed upon his tomb, as in the supreme hour the faith they expressed was of a surety strong within his heart—

"NON OMNIS MORIAR."'

Virgil, in his last moments, desired his friends to commit to the flames the epic poem on which he had spent so many studious hours, bestowed so much archaic lore, and which he clad in measures so majestic and mellifluous. Did he pronounce this sentence because he regarded the labour of years as still an imperfect work? or because, at the solemn period of final self-examination, he repented of the praise he had lavished on one whose hands had been so deeply stained with Roman blood, whose rule was incompatible with Roman liberty? Ovid had good reason to regret that he had blotted so little, even if one at least of his poems were not among the causes of his long and hopeless exile. The other elegiac poets of that time probably thought that if their soft and 'amorous ditties' pleased a polite and not very scrupulous audience, it was enough: yet Propertius may have lamented, if he lived long enough to see the success of Ovid's Fasti, that he did not persevere in his own work on the Roman legends and calendar. But such retrospect touched not Horace. In all his writings, even in those which the more scrupulous taste of modern times regards with a sigh or a blush, he had enforced the duties of moderation and manly virtue, held up to a selfish generation the great examples of Regulus and Cato, and laboured to show, both by precept and example, the superiority of simple and inexpensive pleasures to prodigality and excess. Like Shakspeare, he left no heirs of his genius. No lyric poet after him is endurable; after *his*, the alcaics and sapphics of Statius, in other respects a genuine poet—read like a school-boy's exercise, and that not of the

best kind. No epistles in verse succeeded the Horatian; and if satire, in Juvenal's hands, reached at times a higher mode, yet the *sermones* of the earlier poet exhibit a refinement and grace denied to the censor of Aquinum. Horace was perhaps the severest critic of his own writings. He weighed maturely his powers: no unhealthy lust for applause seduced him from the course he laid down for himself. Urged to celebrate Cæsar's glory in war, he declined: such high themes suited stronger or more ambitious bards. And his 'exceeding great 'reward' is to be the poet of ages, instead of one period and one people; to be read in lands never overshadowed by the Roman eagles; and to be cherished, by the descendants of races whom he accounted barbarous, as a sage instructor, a genial companion, and, wherever the ancient classics exist—'a 'possession for all time.'

ART. X.—1. *A Tactical Retrospect.* Translated from the German by Colonel OUVRY, C.B. 2nd edition. London: 1870.

2. *Rapports de M. le Baron Stoffel, adressés au Gouvernement français.* Paris: 1871.

3. *The Organisation of the Prussian Army.* By Lieut. GERALD TALBOT, 2nd Prussian Dragoon Guards. Berlin: 1870.

4. *Des Causes qui ont amené la Capitulation de Sédan.* Par un Officier de l'État-Major [Napoleon III.]. Bruxelles: 1870.

5. *Der Krieg um die Rheingrenze*, 1870. Von W. RÜSTOW. 1ste, 2te und 3tte Abtheilung. Zürich: 1870–71.

6. *Der deutsch-französische Krieg.* Von Oberst BORBSTAEDT. 1ste Lieferung. Berlin: 1871.

WHEN the battle of Waterloo was fought and won, astonishing the victors themselves with the magnitude of its results; when they saw the army which had been the terror of Europe broken, and the Empire which it had created destroyed, it was natural that in the completeness of so great a triumph imperfections of detail should be forgotten and individual errors condoned. Mistakes of judgment—and there were many—were purposely passed over; errors in conduct—and of such there were not a few—were tacitly forgiven; and the allied armies pressed on to finish their work in the restoration

of the Bourbons, content to let the world for the time believe that their achievements in the four days' campaign had been marked by no doubt or blemish. The first hasty narratives which appeared convey the impression of the time accurately enough, breathing patriotism, confidence, and triumph over the defeated enemy, with unmixed admiration of the allied generals and their troops. They show little appreciation of the gigantic conception with which the exiled Emperor had opened his campaign, or of the fine conduct of those who followed him to his ruin. It was reserved for the critics of later years—some guided by national or personal sentiment, some by the higher spirit of truth—to do justice to the fallen, and to show to the world those weaknesses of his adversaries on which Napoleon had vainly reckoned for success.

Thus, too, it is now in a measure with those who would review at this early date the late war on the Continent. We are as unable to criticise it fully and fairly as to forecast the political results which Europe has yet to see developed. The Germans have shown such a marvellous superiority to their ancient enemies alike in organisation, strategy, and tactics, that attempts to compare the two seem to run naturally into blind adulation of the victors. Their conquest of Gaul has been as unbroken and complete as Cæsar's ancient triumphs over its divided tribes. When we look back to compare this with former wars between the same nations, we are almost driven, in despair of better explanation, to adopt the easy theory of the complete degeneracy of the people of France, and to believe that those who now fill that land are no true children of the warriors that sixty years since gave law to Europe, but a mean and debased progeny, unfit to bear arms, or to boast of their country's greatness. Yet from Solferino to Sedan is but a small space in the life of a man. It is but ten years since, as we not long ago pointed out,* that a Prussian prince, high in his country's service, found his comrades gravely anxious as to the possible results of a collision with the French flushed with their Italian triumphs. Casting his thoughts into burning words for the benefit of his country, he gave the keynote to that regeneration of the national army which has made the vision of German unity a reality, and buried German democracy, at least for a while, in the new empire of the sword. Not that all that has been done since 1850 for the success of Prussian arms is the fruit of Prince Frederic Charles's labours, or the result of his teaching. But he was the first to

* Edin. Rev. October, 1870.

point the way to the glories since won by the army in which he serves; he filled the national want of his time by showing Prussia how to meet the threatened danger, and to draw from the adversary's example the means of safety and of victory. If his profession be, as we write, the most prominent in this age of arms, and his own service the highest example of its perfection, the credit which is due to one who can both think and work, who can draw practical lessons from events studied though not witnessed, is surely his in the highest degree. Let those, however, who have forgotten in the glare of the recent victories of Germany her adversary's former renown, turn back to the Prince's historic pamphlet to know what was thought of the French but ten years since by one of the chief soldiers of Prussia. Confidence he had even then in the qualities of his comrades; but his confidence was conditional on their coming change of system, amd was unmixed with one thought of contempt for the armies or the generals of France.

On the other hand, France, as we before briefly showed, had no such guiding spirit among her soldiers; and if she found in their ranks a critic so keen and honest as General Trochu, it was but to misjudge him as a traducer of her traditional renown and to leave him in obscurity, whilst sycophants were promoted to high offices. So the army that had overthrown Austrian domination in Italy reposed on its laurels, and retrograded in efficiency with each advancing year: whilst Prussia, on the other hand, reformed and strengthened her system from year to year, and braced herself to action under the stirring pressure of two victorious campaigns. Had the rough school of constant war been open to the French, had their army been once more traversing Europe in successive campaigns under a Napoleon, the wants now so patent in its organisation would have been met by the pressure of circumstances, personal qualifications would have produced an efficient staff by the process of selection, and the national quickness of perception, brought out by practical training, might have compensated in the mass for the lack of high professional teaching. But even Algeria had ceased to be of use as a school. After the surrender of Abd-el-Kader the operations there became limited, infrequent, and partial. Their Mexican experience was the chief lesson any of the French received, and the too easy success gained over the Republican levies of Juares, only misled those who shared it as to what an European war would mean in these days of improved weapons and diligent training. Even Niel, the most far-sighted of the Imperialist generals,

mistook the signs of the times in 1866, and devoted his efforts to gaining breech-loaders for the army and increasing its reserves, overlooking the high discipline and diligent practice, which no less than their needle-gun and organisation, carried the young troops of Prussia to the unhoped-for triumph of Sadowa. Moreover, such as Niel's reforms were, they came altogether too late for their purpose if war was to be made last summer.

At that date, as we now know well, the numbers the French could put into the field were hopelessly inferior to those mustered against them. The new system of reserves was still incomplete. The Mobiles were untrained. The ex-Emperor tells us himself, in his Apology, that he reckoned on beginning the campaign with no more than 250,000 men in first line, and a reserve of 50,000 at Chalons, against at least half a million of Germans. That he should have entered it on such terms of disparity seems to show that a monarch whose judgment in such matters was once highly esteemed, overrated vastly the individual worth of his own troops. Yet he had seen them fully tested in the field. At their head he had out-manœuvred the Austrians by superior skill on ground of their own choice, and beaten an equal army in fair fight in one of the greatest actions of the world. It needs no argument to show that the Imperialism which won such successes in 1859, though deeply responsible, cannot of itself altogether account for the defeats of 1870. But there are two special causes, in addition to the corruption already noticed, which go far to explain the difference in the actual quality of the armies that met in the east of France last August. The long-standing malady of the French service —the want of discipline inherited from the Revolution, and noticed so plainly by De Fezensac sixty years since—had become a festering sore, destroying the vitals of the military system. The French encountered enemies who had not only profited by their own teaching as to freedom of manœuvre, but had far surpassed them. On the latter of these points it will be necessary to speak in some detail: but for those who would understand one special cause of recent Prussian successes, it will, we trust, be thought no waste of time to follow us.

Being at Vienna not long after the campaign of 1859, we had opportunities of observing the diligence with which the Austrians were labouring to overtake their late adversaries. Their infantry were trained to perform all their movements at a rapid run. They manœuvred as quickly as the best Chasseurs or Zouaves have ever done; and being under far stricter dis-

cipline than the French troops whom they imitated, their manœuvring left them in much better order when they rallied or halted. Indeed they seemed to an impartial observer to have attained the utmost limits of method combined with rapidity. Their own officers, including some of the best practical soldiers then in Europe, appreciated the change so highly that they longed for an opportunity of testing it on their late conquerors. Thus when Benedek, not long afterwards, found himself instead of these opposed to the Prussians, and to that formidable needle-gun, of which some of his most trusted officers had a reasonable dread, he went cheerfully to the shock, exhorting his troops by their dash and quickness to make amends for their inferior weapon, and believing fully that against a supposed phlegmatic and solid enemy their newly-acquired activity would prevail.

No one who reads Benedek's orders to his army issued in the spring of 1866, will fail to perceive that he was well acquainted with the Prussian 'Tactical Instructions,' and that he was misled by that portion of them which lays special stress on the value of the breech-loader for receiving an attack, into the belief that his enemy would as a rule so stand to await it. He had not discovered the astounding elasticity and quickness which the development of *the use of the company as a unit for manœuvring* has given to the Prussian infantry. It was owing to this reform, of which we are about to speak, that despite the celerity of the Austrians, their battalions were repeatedly outflanked unexpectedly in the first affairs of 1866, a manœuvre which, when carried out by troops armed with so superior a weapon as the Prussian, was almost invariably decisive.

The separate manœuvring by companies dates from the Prussian Drill Regulations of 1847, the instructions of which provide for the breaking up at a single word of a battalion of four companies drawn up in line three deep, into four small columns, each composed of three *zugs* or subdivisions of only two ranks deep; for the third or skirmish rank of each company, when it is thus formed into a column, is changed by a simple movement into a *zug* of two ranks, and takes its place in rear of the rest of the column. The company then becomes practically a small and very handy battalion of three divisions, each about forty strong on the peace strength, but eighty when on a war footing. It remains a distinct battalion, manœuvred as such by its captain, himself mounted for the purpose of such independent command, until recalled by the field officer at his discretion. Provision is similarly made for working two companies together in such columns, and they become then in practice a battalion

of 250 or 500 men, according as the footing is that of peace or war. When it is further added that all movements in company column are to be performed without keeping step, and that it is to be discretionary at all times whether the third or 'skirmish' rank be used for skirmishing, it becomes apparent that the foundation of the lightness and mobility of the movements of the present day was laid when these instructions were prepared, and that no modern army has ever before felt its way to tactics so light and handy. A battalion of a thousand men, manœuvred as such, is far more cumbrous and more difficult for a single leader to handle than one of two hundred and fifty, which, when thrown into column, brings every man under the immediate eye of a quick-sighted commander. But to move four of the latter independently, keeping a general direction for the whole, and preserving the distances only roughly, is as easy as to move one, when the battalion commander chooses to delegate his authority for the details to the captains. It has been often said that these Drill Regulations (which, with few alterations, remain the text-book to the present day) are wonderfully elastic. It would be more correct to say that in permitting this wide divergence at a single word from the old notion of the battalion formation, and leaving the adoption of the company system optional with every higher officer who should deem it expedient, the framer of the instructions prepared an actual revolution in the use of infantry. This revolution when it came proved only secondary in importance to the introduction of the art of skirmishing, by which, when fully developed, the system Frederic the Great had framed with such toil was in an hour undone, and the old prestige of the Prussian infantry ruined for half a century. With it, moreover, came the use of the breech-loader, making the fire of the single large company as telling as that of the old battalion had been, and thus completing the effect of the new system.

The revolution, however, was long in accomplishment. The years that followed were years of peace, and the battalions and companies rarely mustered with more than half the strength credited them in war, the latter therefore being small, and the former not unwieldy as individual units. The change from the old drill to the new was left in the hands of the senior officers, inclined by feeling and custom to the belief that to manœuvre by battalions was the natural formation of infantry, and that none but very exceptional circumstances could justify that complete delegation of the commanding officer's powers into the hands of his captains, which the simple words

'Form company columns' carried with them. In short, the reform which appears to have been aimed at tentatively in 1847, was left to be worked out chiefly by those who felt it as a loss to their own authority; and except as a mere experiment, the notion of systematically handling each battalion of a line by fragments instead of as a unit, would probably have slumbered on hidden in the drill book for any number of years that peace endured. The practical test of war was needed to cause the old routine to be felt as a hindrance, and show the merits of the newer method. Even those who served in 1866 do not appear to have understood that the so-called elasticity of the drill instructions was in fact the result of putting together into one set of rules two systems of manœuvring vitally opposed to each other, nor that the one of these would, when by repeated use its value was established in practice, cause the other to be laid aside, at least in the field, as cumbrous and obsolete.

In the now famous essay known as the 'Tactical Retro-'spect,' briefly noticed by us last October, the gallant author* of which has fallen but recently on the field of battle, the struggle between the opposed systems at last assumed definite proportions. The Prussian army learnt from an able and severe review of its own proceedings, that the Bohemian operations which had seemed in the gross so perfect, were full of imperfections in detail. The infantry in particular discovered that the mode of fighting which had carried them round the flanks of their enemies on so many occasions, and, combined with their quicker fire, had given them an easy victory, was in reality the adoption as a rule of the hitherto exceptional company column, forced by circumstances on those hitherto averse to owning its practical superiority. A single extract from Colonel Ouvry's translation will suffice to show how the change had come about:—

'Let anyone compare the state of a single battle of 1866, with regard to the positions of every division of the army after the troops had been well engaged, and the old-fashioned order of battle. It would however be very rash to conclude that all this was a great series of error; far better would it be to ascertain how far these new phenomena are legitimate and reasonable.

'The mounted officers are obliged to dismount, which makes the supervision and direction impossible, which is so easy in peace-time manœuvres. Frequently the dismounted field-officer, somewhat unaccustomed to quick marching over stock and stone, is scarcely able to

* Indisputable evidence has been placed in our hands as we write, that this celebrated pamphlet was the work of Captain May, late of the Prussian 44th Regiment, who fell in Goeben's winter campaign in the north of France.

keep up with his battalion; thus the breaking up into columns of companies is for him a solution of his difficulty. He thinks that certainly the four officers commanding the companies will know what to do, so he attaches himself to a company. The original commanding officers of lines are in the same predicament; their lines are broken up and scattered in all parts of the battle; thus they are obliged to give up all idea of commanding them, and attach themselves to the first company of infantry that offers, and, in order to do something, command that. It thus happens that some companies, favoured by chance, have besides their own captain, a major, a colonel, and a general as well; the company will not perhaps be better commanded, but those officers will at least have done all that remained in their power. They are all in the first line. . . . The whole line of battle has thus become nothing more than a fight between a number of company leaders and the opposing enemy. This manner of fighting exclusively by columns of companies, and their employment on all occasions, is a momentum which has peculiarly developed itself in the Prussian army.'

Clear as this writer is, it must be remembered that he wrote for Prussian officers, who knew by practice both of the forms used by their infantry, and were trained to think of each as part of the same drill. Even he himself seems hardly to have been fully conscious that the battalion under a mounted officer, manœuvring three deep in line or in a heavy column, with its skirmishers formed of part of its third rank; and the battalion broken into four companies moving in light columns of two-deep formation, each led by its captain on foot, and preserving merely a general direction and distance from one another; were two essentially different systems of drill. To us it seems plain that the test of war carried on in the face of rifled weapons, was instinctively causing that to be adopted which was suited to the circumstances of the age, by a sort of natural selection from among the forms allowed.

It was precisely by such a process that the French had arrived at their use of columns and skirmishers before the beginning of this century. This form, to which they universally came in their revolutionary wars, was one provided by their drill book for special circumstances, viz., the advance against a village through enclosures. They proved its general convenience, and learned to hold to what suited their half-disciplined battalions: and so the rest of the book fell into disuse: we believe indeed it was never formally abrogated. Thus too it has been with the Prussians in their late wars. There have been many struggles against the change. General Steinmetz, it is understood, never went beyond halfway to admitting the value of company columns, and manœuvred his corps through its gallant exploits on the way to Koeniggratz

in the alternative form of half-battalions admitted by the drill instructions, keeping two companies constantly together. In several of the greater actions of the late war, at Woerth especially, and Gravelotte, whole brigades were formed in certain instances into columns by battalions, for decisive attacks on positions shaken by the constant fire of concentrated batteries. On the other hand, wherever the fighting has been of the most close and desperate character, or wherever great rapidity of movement has been desired, the company column has asserted its natural advantage. Official details are generally silent as yet upon this point, but in private letters we have abundant testimony to the superiority of the newer form. We find the company column constantly employed in detached affairs of the Mecklenburg corps in Brittany, the companies here manœuvring with more than the independence hitherto permitted to battalions. Company columns were used in the sharp counter-attacks made after French sorties from Paris to recover the investing lines. In like manner, when Faidherbe's troops became confused in their defensive battle before St. Quentin, Goeben's left pushing forward with some companies wholly resolved into skirmishers, and some with the usual reserve in support, overthrew the French right, and turned confusion into hopeless disaster. With company columns the feeble efforts of the Garibaldian irregulars before Dijon were beaten off by vastly inferior numbers; for the German troops were trained to rapidity of movement that no irregulars could surpass, and maintained withal the cohesion that irregulars never know. But the most striking instance as yet made known of the value of the new formation was its adaptation to the attack on the heights of Spicheren at the very beginning of the campaign—a marvellous military feat, of which we would speak in detail.

The hill that Frossard was posted on has been compared to the well-known plateau of Cæsar's camp which dominates the practice-grounds of Aldershot. It falls so steeply towards the German frontier-line, near Saarbrueck, which it overlooks, that it was impossible for the Prussian skirmishers, as they mounted the slope, to use their weapons. Nevertheless, Kameke, encouraged by the evident signs of retreat which he saw on arriving at Saarbrueck, did not hesitate to attack the position boldly. Frossard, under orders contradicting others received a little earlier, had been drawing off his troops to co-operate in an attempt on Saarlouis, which was designed to balance the ill news from Weissenburg. On the alarm he sent instructions to his front to arrest the movement of retreat, and to line the hill against the threatening mass below. Although this was promptly

done, and although Kameke's left brigade lost its commander, Francois (a general whose brevet was but a week old), and failed to gain footing on the heights, yet the skirmishers of the right brigade pushed their way to the brow of the hill—sheltered partly by its extreme steepness—and lodged themselves, followed almost without interval by their separate supports, in the wood on the French left about Stiring. They were mere knots of men, these supports, and the skirmishers in front of them often enough parts of other companies; but the thin scattered line which had thus carried the hill was never attacked by any reserve strong enough to break it. It held the crest of the plateau resolutely for full two hours, during which Kameke, having pushed every man of his infantry forward, was in the precarious position of a general absolutely without reserves. But Frossard, who—whilst confused by the opposing orders received that morning within a few hours—had been attacked wholly unexpectedly, had no reserve formed, or had not the judgment to use it boldly. At 5 P.M. his chance had slipped away, for a regiment hurried up by Goeben had come in on Kameke's exhausted left, Alvensleben was pressing on the van of the IIIrd corps to the same side of the battle, the advance-guard of Glümer's division (of the same VIIth corps as Kameke's) was appearing beyond the French left; whilst Bazaine's divisions expected by Frossard were not yet heard of. The fight was now decisively against the French. With Alvensleben's support, their right, which had hitherto resisted the attack, was carried by Kameke's and Goeben's troops. The counter-attack ordered by Frossard on his left was repulsed. And soon the German batteries, finding their way up the plateau, drove the French southward in confusion, which only did not become worse than a disorderly retreat because darkness had already fallen on the victors. A line of infantry, part of an army hitherto thought invincible, planted in a position whose steepness seemed to defy assault, had been driven from it fairly by the attacks of numerous light columns, strong enough to hold unitedly the vantage-ground they won bit by bit, and yet so light as to be able to follow the movements of their skirmishers up the broken steep, and to avail themselves of each irregularity in its surface for cover on the way. This is a single but striking instance of the advantage of a system under which advance becomes so easy that the difficulty is, as the 'Retrospect' shows, to prevent the second line from rushing on instinctively to take its place with the first, and the whole from breaking into skirmishing order. Only those firm relations on the men's side of confidence in the commander, and

on the officers of the power of enforcing perfect compliance with their orders, which a strict and steady discipline inspires, can enable troops to venture on so loose a system. 'Should 'foreign armies,' wrote Captain May, 'think of imitating our 'company-column fights, they must take into consideration 'how it stands with them with regard to the fundamental 'principle—that is, the relations between their officers and 'men. They will otherwise adopt the disadvantages without 'gaining the benefit.'

Nor is the education of the private a mean element in this calculated freedom, which approaches the ideal of 'an army of 'skirmishers,' first conceived by the genius of the Prussian author Bülow, when fresh from watching the contests of the American revolution. 'An army,' says the national critic we have hitherto followed, 'which cannot venture to trust in the 'individual worth of its soldiers so far as to let them fight in 'this manner, cannot reckon on the advantages to be derived 'from the operation of the breech-loader.'

Doubtless the gallant author of the 'Retrospect' carried his theories somewhat too far. When he declared in his later work, 'The Prussian Infantry in 1869,' that 'to employ the 'column formation for the battles of the next war would be to 'take the consequences of enormous losses and defeat,' and desired that 'the companies should fight under the orders and 'direction of the field officer of the battalion, but never under 'his word of command,' he laid himself open to sharp rebuke from high authority, as we noticed six months since,* and to the still sharper rebuke of the logic of facts. For at Woerth and Gravelotte, as before briefly mentioned, heavy columns of Prussian troops were advanced, despite his prophecies, with heroic courage and perfect success, against the enemy's position. But then it must be added that the position had in each case been already searched out and weakened by the German artillery.

It is at this point, where the controversy passes from drill to tactics, that the bold critic of his own army's successes seems to be at one with those who have answered him severely. In the 'Retrospect' he points out that 'the future mission of 'artillery on the offensive is to make it the principal object to 'play on the infantry of the enemy; for an attack can only be 'thought of when this is weakened'—in short, to study to do by rule what Napoleon did by a sort of instinct, when he had created officers capable of carrying out his brilliant conceptions.

* Edin. Rev. October 1870.

Nor does his adversary, Colonel Bronsart, whether writing wholly or only partly from Count Von Moltke's ideas, pretend that he is wrong, but rather evades the point by asking 'Is it 'to be supposed that that side would conquer which had the 'best artillery and the worst infantry?'—a question which few would be so bold as to answer in the affirmative. Certainly in the cases we have mentioned no one will assert that the attacking infantry was not fully equal to that against which it advanced. But the latter were not so inferior that columns of brigades, or rather brigades massed in columns of battalion, could have been advanced against the far-ranging chassepôt without destruction, had not the long and concentrated fire of the German guns prepared the way.

Such instances seem, however, to have been exceptional during this war. On the other hand, the handy company column adapted itself to every emergency, from the general advance of a whole division at Forbach down to the pettiest skirmish in Brittany, and everywhere proved its superiority to the closer formations of the French. Eyewitnesses assure us that in the early actions of the war, in the first hours of the battle of Woerth especially, the opposing forces, when closing, seemed on either side confounded in a mass of skirmishers. But studying the same accounts still further, we learn that the Germans, if temporarily retiring, invariably retained their cohesion, whilst the French, in similar circumstances, lost all power of rallying. Nor was this due entirely, as has been supposed, to the moral difference between the contending parties. Rather it was that the French, imitating their Algerian light troops, had trained their whole infantry to move in a looser method than of old, and one therefore which all the more demanded as an essential element the discipline and habits of subordination by which alone masses of men thrown out as skirmishers can be linked and interchanged freely with their supports. The Germans, moving quite as loosely, and in bodies of much more mobile size, were trained to such an intelligent obedience that, as the 'Retrospect' has it, writing of the Bohemian campaign, their leaders 'could, without too 'much risk, venture on a greater division and intermixture of 'their companies than others.' For if, in retreating, the skirmishers of one company became mixed with another, the mixture implied no confusion, nor any tendency to insubordination on the part of soldiers taught to pay equal respect and obedience to all officers of the army. Perhaps at no time in modern French history, since social equality became the ruling passion of the nation, certainly not since extreme looseness of

order became the national method of fighting, could French soldiers, separated from their regiments and falling hastily back, have been safely relied on to obey any chance officer who rallied them. And of late years the Emperor's failing grasp of military affairs had left the charge of his army to men who held chiefly to the form and show identified with their own rank, and neglected utterly the moral elements of the service. Such discipline as had been known in the first half of his reign, when the favoured troops who sustained the Imperialism dear to the traditions of the French soldier had an old reputation to revive, became changed into the gilded show of prætorian cohorts, defenders of a rotting Empire, when the army learnt to repose in fancied invincibility on Crimean and Italian laurels. Thus the disintegrating effect of the freedom and carelessness of movement imitated from the Chasseurs d'Afrique and the Zouave, was counteracted by no spirit of method such as pervaded the Prussian system, and no habit of obedience like that of the North German soldier. In real action it became simply irregularity, which no word or effort of the leaders could prevent from passing quickly into disorder upon any reverse.

The process of deterioration was aided by the fatal error long since denounced by General Trochu, under which the ordinary French regiment of the line has been made a mere field of selection for other services. Stripped of its élite, first to fill up a huge corps of Guards, and next to supply vacancies in other favoured services, the best of the remaining men of each battalion were drawn into the two flank companies,* and the bulk left composed of that most fatal element, men who were held to be fit for nothing else. Officers of spirit and ambition naturally avoided service in the line under these conditions, or spent their lives in trying to escape from it into one of the many corps d'élite, leaving the regular battalion to be led by a residuum of the grumblers, the slothful, the worn-out and disheartened—men to whom so many days' duty meant merely so many days' pay earned by a round of duties performed with undisguised weariness, and whose only notion of discipline was the exercise of that petty authority dear to the martinet in time of peace, which disappears at once in the test of field-service. The Prussians too have their corps of Guards; but this is recruited from the whole kingdom, independently of the pro-

* A grenadier and a light company. This same system was maintained in our own line battalions until the present Commander-in-Chief, in view of its plainly injurious action, had the courage to abolish it.

vincial organisation, not chosen out of the contingents first taken for other services. The custom is time-honoured, and maintained by the conservative force of prescription; but it has not been allowed with them to take such a form as to prey on the vitals of the service.

On the whole, then, it will be seen that the German nation had advanced in its infantry tactics an important step beyond that taken by them in imitation of the French half a century before. The French, without altering their system of keeping the battalion as the unit for manœuvring, had made their method of employing it more free. But their want of discipline created from every advance in this direction a more dangerous tendency to disorder; whilst its maintenance among their adversaries, aided by the intelligence of the educated soldiers of Germany, enabled the latter to gain the full advantage due to the breech-loader, by combining its careful use with the rapidity of movement necessary to bring it as speedily as possible to bear. The old theoretical rule, enforced unsparingly by the Prussian commanders, had been to throw out as few skirmishers as possible. The exact reverse, as the 'Retrospect' informs us, proved the necessary and right practice in 1866; for every soldier sought to give full effect to his trusted weapon, and the companies on the slightest proper opportunity dissolved themselves spontaneously into a cloud of skirmishers, 'not so much at the word of command, for amid the 'noise the leader could perhaps hardly hear himself, but as the 'natural consequence of the positions in which they were 'placed.' Still, amid this apparent disorder, they retained the cohesion and steadiness of aim due to their careful training. 'The virtuous indignation with which every miss has been put 'to the losing side of the account by the instructor was repaid 'with interest.' And the officers retained their hold over those around them, 'looking,' according to the national critic, 'to 'the spirit of these apparently irregular practices, and not 'allowing themselves to be disconcerted by them.' Far different was it with their adversaries in the late war. The panic flight of MacMahon's right from Woerth in a mass of fugitives mixed from every regiment on the way, showed that on the French side the power of rallying under fire the loose formation, with which it was easy enough to advance, had been lost by their officers. Their infantry was prepared to be victorious; it had no power of facing defeat. Let anyone compare the accounts of the conduct of MacMahon's troops with those of the Austrian right wing, which was no less completely outmanœuvred and overwhelmed at Koeniggratz, and he will

form conclusions to the last degree unfavourable to the army of the Second Empire.

We have spoken of the tactics of infantry, for our subject has led us naturally beyond the narrow ground of drill. But the word tactics undoubtedly is more fitly applied to the higher combination of three arms in the field of battle. Infantry tactics, scientifically considered, are almost an abstraction; so dependent are the infantry for their full effect on the operation of the other arms. If the superiority in the war of 1866 was due in great part to the direct and moral effects of the breech-loader, which made the generals instinctively look for success upon the troops that used it, and brought the action of the most important arm into constant pre-eminence, this was certainly not the case in the war which has just closed. If we may trust German testimony, there is one point on which there can be no dispute, and that is that the favourite weapon of Prussia found more than its match—viewed simply as a means of quick and far-ranging fire—in the chassepôt with which the enemy was armed. That this disadvantage was more than counterbalanced in action by the combined mobility and steadiness of the German infantry, has been already shown. But there is a striking contrast between the battles of 1866 and those of 1870 as to the proportion of the work done by infantry. It is a mistake indeed to suppose, as some have done, that the latter were in any real sense actions of artillery. The details of Forbach, Woerth, and Gravelotte alike show that it was the advance of whole divisions of infantry on important points in the enemy's position which decided the fate of the day. The artillery of the Germans was in quality somewhat better than the French, as Colonel Stoffel (whose reports to the French government read in the light of recent events like a prophecy) stated distinctly beforehand. Their batteries, however, were not more numerous than those of the French in proportion to the numbers engaged; and it is a delusion to fancy that a small difference of calibre and range, or even the efficiency of the percussion fuze, ever varying according to the circumstances of its use, could possibly make a decisive difference like that of the needle-gun in 1866. The Prussian artillery recently employed was in great part the same which, as against the Austrians four years before, had been generally considered a failure. The real difference has been in its proper tactical application. And here the 'Retrospect' did hardly less service to a special arm than Prince Frederic Charles's pamphlet seven years before had done to the Prussian army at large. Although not belonging to this branch, the gifted author fully

recognised its immense influence in modern warfare, and unhesitatingly wrote in 1867: 'In the next war that side will obtain 'the absolute preponderance in tactics which knows best how 'to use its artillery, and does not put off this practice till war 'commences; in short, the side whose artillery has had the 'best tactical training.' 'In future,' he elsewhere adds, with more justice than in the too theoretical judgment on columns in his subsequent essay, 'it will be only possible for infantry to 'storm a position when aided by a powerful artillery.' He then goes on to show in brilliant language, though hardly in sufficient detail for anyone but an educated soldier to follow him, that it is not at all necessary, in these days of long-ranging field-guns, to crowd the centre with a mass of batteries, which would be impeded by, and would themselves impede the action of the attacking columns of, their infantry. They may be dispersed far along the flanks with this object. They should learn to act independently of the infantry, and never be forced to rely for protection on a heavy escort, which would prevent their getting up quickly to the required points of the front line. He wrote more wisely then than when three years later he condemned, being just then disheartened by some blunders personally witnessed, the useless unreality of the Prussian peace manœuvres; for it was in such practices that their artillery—unconsciously, it may be, what master-mind they were following—worked out his theories into practice.

A study of the three battles so often before mentioned, and of the desperate combat at Mars-la-Tour on the 16th of August, will show us the finished lesson. The most striking feature in these actions is the bold and ready way in which the German artillery was brought to bear on the decisive points. Thus, when Kameke's infantry had all been launched forward at the Spicheren heights, their attack was covered by the whole of the artillery of the division planted on the Galgenberg from which the French had retired before the attack. They covered the right brigade as it clung to the crest so boldly won. And long before the reinforcements came up on the left of Francois' sheltered regiments, which decided the fight for the plateau, Kameke's guns had been strengthened by batteries from Goeben's corps, hurried up by that general, and had beaten off the opposing artillery of Frossard's centre. So also at Woerth, General Kirchbach concentrated the fire of 84 guns of the Vth corps against the French position about the village which gave its name to the battle, and kept them constantly served from 10 to 11 A.M. The advance of the infantry followed on this occa-

sion the concentrated fire which had prepared the way for it: it was made, as before stated, in masses of battalion columns, covered by a large show of skirmishers, and the French front line at once gave way and fell back on the villages of Froschweiler and Elsasshausen, from which it had advanced. These were not carried until the XIth corps combined somewhat later in a decisive and overwhelming attack, the artillery of the nearest division of this corps uniting with that of Kirchbach in opening the way for the infantry. Lartigue's guns, which had been advanced to prevent this attack, were beaten off by the superior force thus brought against them before it was commenced. So rapidly did the batteries follow up and support the onslaught of their infantry on the villages, that it is asserted that when the desperate counter-attack was made on the Germans, as they passed beyond the shelter of these, by Michel's cuirassiers, the fire which almost annihilated the two unfortunate regiments of armed horsemen came partly from the artillery firing at easy range.

Passing from the 6th August onward to the events before Metz, the mind rests naturally on the murderous fight of Mars-la-Tour, which proved so fatal to the French hopes of retreat from the Moselle. We ask how it came about that the IIIrd corps of Alvensleben, fighting single-handed in the first part of the battle against Frossard and Canrobert, was not utterly crushed when Lebœuf, who had been marching along the Etain road, north of that on which the combatants were, turned suddenly southward, true to the old Napoleonic principle, *marcher au canon*, at the noise of the engagement, and appeared on the German flank: and the reason is thus to be given. The Xth corps was being hurried up by Prince Charles's orders to Alvensleben's support. It marched, however, that day from Pont-à-Mousson, and its leading division could not possibly be on the ground before 4 P.M. But the reserve artillery was advanced independently at a trot, and pressing, with much energetic exertion, past the columns, got forward to the scene of action just in time to take up ground a little north of the road between Mars-la-Tour and Vionville, towards which Lebœuf advanced. So bold was their action, and so formidable the show they made, that Lebœuf's advanced troops were brought to a standstill, and time afforded for the leading brigade of the same corps, under General Wedell, to come up and prevent the German left from being altogether turned. This time and the courage of the German horse, which arrived soon after, saved the day from ending against the Prince.

Perhaps a more remarkable instance of the use of artillery

even than this, occurred two days later at the grander and more decisive action of Gravelotte. We may assume that the French position is generally known in its larger features, and will here only say that St. Privat, the extreme right and the narrowest point of the plateau, owed its strength* not to any such steep ascent as that of the Spicheren heights, but to the fact, which all who have studied the subject of artillery will thoroughly appreciate, that from the hill on which the village stood there was a long steady unbroken slope downwards of over a mile, up which attacking troops must advance without a patch of cover, exposed to the worst effects of modern arms. Ladmirault's corps held the hill, supported to its left and rear by Canrobert's; and their guns were carefully posted. On their side the Germans prepared to attack with the IXth, Guard, and XIIth (or Saxon) corps. But the latter had a very long march to make before they could gain their destined post on the north flank of Bazaine, quite beyond the hill; and the Guards, who were also marching in a curve to attack from the west in Ladmirault's front, had much further to go than Manstein's IXth, which came direct to its appointed post, south-west of Ladmirault. No time was lost by this difference however; for Manstein understood the importance of his task, and upon arriving on his ground proceeded to develope his attack in force, and especially to engage the French guns. These were not slack in replying, and were so well handled that before the Guards got fairly into action on his left, fifteen of his pieces were dismounted or made unserviceable. But their work had been so far done that the French batteries about St. Privat were no longer able to oppose with any hope of equality the eighty-four cannon which Prince Hohenlohe, Chief of the Artillery Guard, ranged against them. So markedly did they suffer from the fire of these that Prince Augustus of Wirtemberg, Commander of the Guard corps, determined to throw forward his infantry without waiting for the co-operation of the Saxons. This proved, however, too bold an enterprise even for the choicest troops of the first army of the world. The Guards recoiled before the withering fire of the chassepôt and the still unsubdued though damaged batteries with which Ladmirault held his position; and thus another pause in the action took place. Then seeing what the crisis meant, General Von Moltke sent to the Prince's aid the reserve artillery of

* We owe this description to the kindness of a distinguished officer of engineers who has been recently visiting these sites on a professional mission from the War Office.

the Xth corps, which formed part of the second line; and whilst these added to Hohenlohe's poured a storm of shell on all the west front of the French right, the Saxons, just before dark, opened the fire of their batteries from the north, and prepared to advance in support of the fresh attack of the Guards which was now ordered. The French artillerymen, already completely outnumbered by the enemy's superiority, were now growing short of ammunition; and a rumour of this fatal truth spreading, Ladmirault's men began to retreat along the plateau, without attempting to close with the enemy, and Canrobert's with them. It was then growing dark, and although Bazaine ordered a counter-advance to regain the position, it was impossible to execute it. Von Moltke, seeing the fight secured on that side, had just before this thrown a mass of reserves on the French left, and carried the village of Gravelotte, though the attempt to advance beyond it failed, and its repulse is said to have caused a dangerous panic. The battle, however, was completely won which in the end decided Bazaine's fate. It was won partly owing, it is true, to the superior numbers which enabled the Germans to turn their enemy's open flank with a whole corps; but partly beyond question to the ready skill with which their artillery had performed their mission, and even at the risk of lost guns prepared the way for the success of the infantry. Nor would this account be complete without stating that as the French retreated, and the IXth corps, following the movement, lodged itself on the broken top of the plateau south of St. Privat, the movements of the infantry were made in the light columns so favourable for rapid action, and were supported at every point by batteries or sections of artillery dashing on between them, and co-operating, but never interfering with the action of the more decisive arm, which is still the mainstay of battle.

The events of Sedan have been often appealed to as a striking instance of the increasing power of artillery for decisive action; and in truth the ideal battle of cannon was never so nearly approached as on that day so fatal to France, which closed in the unconditional surrender of her Sovereign and his army. It is beyond all doubt that the German batteries on this occasion outstripped in their eagerness all the ordinary rules of caution, left escorts and columns alike behind them, flew with lightning-like speed from one point of vantage to another, and actually turned and cut off, unsupported, the retreating masses of French infantry. But merely to narrate such facts is sufficient, if well weighed, to refute the theory that some have sought to found upon them. Considering

them, we are more than ever reminded of the force of Napoleon's profound saying—a saying the truth of which his own early campaigns furnish the most memorable examples—that 'in war the moral force is to the physical as three to one.' The explanation of the singular events of the 1st of September is to be found in those which had gone before: in the marchings and counter-marchings on the way from Rheims, which (as one of MacMahon's staff has since described them in writing from his captivity to an English friend) 'would make a most sin-'gular figure if one should draw them upon the map:' in the shameful surprise of De Failly's corps, caught encamped without outposts in the act of cooking near Beaumont on the 30th August: in the hurried retreat which succeeded, many of the Frenchmen being even without their arms, his regiments were forced almost at a run mile after mile, until evening closed in upon such a mob of fugitives that one of the division generals emphatically said he had not any two of his battalions left together: in the want of resolution which made the army, as it concentrated in the fatal hollow round Sedan, with no retreat open save through neutral territory, feel that it was hopelessly entrapped by an enemy as superior in numbers as in knowledge of his craft. All these things, and the general indecision which seems to have infected all around the Emperor, made the ill-discipline already so prevalent in MacMahon's force become thorough demoralisation. It was because he divined this state of things, that very late on the 31st Von Moltke changed his first design of allowing a rest to his concentrated armies the next day, and determined to hurry on the battle before his adversaries should have had breathing time. The impulse was just that which pervaded our own chiefs when in crushing the Mutiny twelve years since, they gave their officers the simple and effective order, 'Keep the enemy constantly 'moving.'

The event fully justified what might have otherwise seemed like undue want of caution, for Moltke's reserves were not up when the attack began next day. But as soon as the German batteries began fairly to play; as soon as it was seen that their percussion shells were being used under the most favourable of conditions—being fired downwards, so that each exploded with full effect among the enemy below, instead of passing over him harmless, as they had often done when fired upwards at the hill of Gravelotte—the panic of the French began. It was eagerly taken advantage of by the excited assailants, who felt their complete superiority. Their artillery rushed on recklessly by individual batteries, as has been described,

and the shameful spectacle was witnessed of thousands of men in more places than one throwing down their arms on seeing a few guns approach their flank, not because they were in any real sense cut off, but because their heart for fighting had already left them, and they were ready to purchase immediate safety on any condition. There has been in this whole war no single fact that to a military critic so damages the French reputation, as the capture by the Germans of full 20,000 unwounded prisoners in the mere act of pressing the French back to their last position close to the works of Sedan, in which they finally surrendered. But this story rightly viewed affords no basis on which to build any special theory of tactics. It serves only as a new illustration that any mode of fighting will tell against troops that are ready to run away, and that the more bold it is the more complete will the success probably be. It proves, in short, how well Napoleon knew human nature in the soldier—though not better, perhaps, than the Prussian Bülow, who has emphatically declared that in all armies the proportion of men who are constitutionally above the dread of death is very small; of those whom a sense of duty nerves against it much larger; but that in the mass the natural sentiment of fear would prevail but for the countercheck of the fear of disgrace and punishment.

There will be some ready, we doubt not, to deny that the wonderful advance in tactical efficiency made between 1866 and 1870 by the Prussian batteries was due in any degree to the advice of an unknown captain of infantry. They will say that others had noticed the defects which the 'Retrospect' so freely brought to light, and that others had the will and power to remedy them. Anonymous criticism is never popular, and its influence, though often powerfully felt, is seldom plainly acknowledged. Yet we may at least assert that Captain May was the first to put the thoughts of many into a distinct shape, and to clothe the ideas of the necessary reforms in language so keen and brilliant as to attract the attention of all Europe. Nowhere was the 'Retrospect' more commented on than at Paris. Its criticisms formed the groundwork of several of the *Conférences Régimentaires*, the well-known course of professional lectures by which Marshal Niel sought to raise the knowledge and zeal of the French staff. But the blind belief of even the better-instructed officers in the traditions of their service hardened them against the conviction that the Prussians were learning to surpass them in those very advantages of quickness and dash hitherto held to be special characteristics of French soldiers. The descriptions in the 'Retrospect' of the loose

order by which the Bohemian actions had been won, were quoted mainly to prove that the new forms of Prussian infantry manœuvring had passed the bounds of reason, and become merely the efforts of a mob of well-armed individuals—as indeed, without Prussian discipline, would have been almost certainly true of them. The defects shown in the handling of the batteries were adverted to chiefly to show that the superiority in that favourite arm of the French would still hold with the successors of those who had conquered under the eye of the great Corsican artillerist. As to the cavalry, the sharp comments of the 'Retrospect' on its failure in Bohemia were quoted by one party to prove that the day for that arm had gone for ever, by another to show that the slow and methodical Prussians could never hope to gain the dash given by the *furia Francese*, for which the cavaliers of France had for centuries been famous.

Of all the arms of the Prussians, none probably has owed more to the anonymous critic than that of which he wrote, 'if our cavalry should think that their prowess in the cam-'paign of 1866 was the highest they are capable of, they may 'prepare to sing their own funeral dirge.' After commencing his criticisms thus severely, he pointed out that the masses of reserve cavalry should have been moving at the head of the army from the first. 'To mass cavalry together out of the 'fight is no security for its combined action in the fight.' Cavalry so massed in 1866 did not, he declares, go beyond the limits of the service proper to the lesser detachments that worked with the divisions. They did not carry out the reconnaissances which were urgently needed when the Prussian armies, entering Bohemia from opposite points, drew near to each other and to the enemy concentrated at Koeniggratz. Nor when Benedek was driven from his chosen position before that fortress, did they follow up his traces, and observe or embarrass his movements. In short, throughout the struggle with the Austrian army, they came short of their chief duties. Nevertheless, he added, the conduct of the divisional cavalry showed on several occasions that the proper material was there. But for great efforts on the field of battle, such as were done in the days of the Great Frederic, the spirit of a Seidlitz must be present. It need not be supposed that its opportunity has gone from this arm; 'so long as rapidity, boldness, and dash 'are active agents in war, cavalry will retain its importance.' A lighter cavalry is required, however, in these days of far-reaching weapons. The grand rule for its use is that the proper place of mounted soldiers should be considerably in advance of the movements of the column, where they should be distributed

to gain information, keep up communication with the neighbouring corps, and give cohesion and security to the whole army.

We have been thus particular in following these remarks for a reason that will be obvious to many of our readers. The part played by the German cavalry in 1870 has been exactly the advice of the 'Retrospect' translated into action. With one exception, the want of this arm before and after the battles of Woerth and Forbach, the principles above laid down were so completely followed out that the very words of the pamphleteer might have been printed as the text-book for the officers of the favourite old Prussian arm. Who does not know how the advance of the Crown Prince through the Vosges into Lorraine was covered and facilitated by the restless activity of his two cavalry reserve divisions? Who has not heard how the still more rapid movements of the First and Second Armies from Saarbrueck to the Meuse were screened by those attached to them? Napoleon III. has told us, and a dozen minor pamphleteers of the Army of the Rhine confirm his narrative, that a great part of the fatal indecision which kept Bazaine's force loitering near Metz when it should have been far on its way westward, arose from the absolute ignorance caused by the bold Uhlans* who held every cross-road east and south of the fated fortress, and were feeling the passages of the Moselle before the Marshal and his master had made up their minds to quit it. Cavalry broke in first upon Frossard's flank, as his corps vainly straggled along the way to Verdun in the too long deferred attempt to escape from the danger of being cut off from MacMahon and from Paris. Cavalry cleared the difficult way through the Ardennes for the Crown Prince when his army turned northward from its movement on Chalons at the news of MacMahon's fatal flank march. Cavalry brought him word of the dispersed and straggling state of the French columns which were soon afterwards surprised so shamefully, as before stated, by his Bavarians at Beaumont on the 30th August. The Prince of Saxony's cavalry not only connected him with the same movement, and enabled him to bring his army up along the left bank of the Meuse, into the same action, within two hours of the other; but being in part detached to guard the other bank of the river, they headed off and checked, aided

* It may be necessary to warn our readers that the Uhlan regiments formed only a moderate portion of the six cavalry divisions which led the advance of the armies. The generic name has been given to the whole by a mere trick or blunder of the French press, which has misled other writers who should have been better informed or more careful.

only by their horse artillery, the march of Lebrun towards Montmedy; and, following up his retreat on Sedan, cut off his stores and captured his trains from the hands of their infantry escorts. With such boldness was this done that elaborate reports from the Belgian frontier placed the mass of the Germans there already, when not a footsoldier of the combined armies had as yet crossed the river! The rest of the campaign is only less a record of the services of this arm, because less severe work remained for it to do; but its ubiquitous activity in the invaded districts of France has become a European proverb.

Nor were the deeds of a Seidlitz altogether absent on the field of battle, though the mass of sabres used was on no one occasion equal to the traditional twenty-five squadrons with which he and Ziethen were wont to reap the harvest of their Great King's victorious tactics.

The hard-fought action of Mars-la-Tour, to which we have already referred in speaking of artillery, affords a more fruitful study than any other battle of the war, and is especially interesting in its relation to the difficult subjects of the use of cavalry in open field. For although Alvensleben's left was for a while covered, as before related, by the reserve artillery and Wedell's brigade, sent on from the Xth corps, the French of Lebœuf, discovering these not to be supported, pressed on again about 5 P.M., and forced them back, threatening once more to turn the German line. Prince Frederic Charles had here no reserve in hand but horse; and these before this crisis of the battle had been sorely diminished by a deed of arms only excelled in daring by the Balaclava charge. For during the earlier pressure of the French on Alvensleben's other flank, that general, finding his line sorely handled by a French battery which had just come up fresh from near Rezonville, and was enfilading his right, urged General Bredow, who was near him with half the Vth cavalry division, to do something for his relief, since no other support was near. At the word Bredow advanced from behind the wood that had screened him, and led his three regiments gallantly on against the guns. Despite a crushing volley which tore through their ranks, the Dragoons reached the battery before it could limber up, cut down the gunners at their pieces, and, wild with excitement, galloped on to charge a supporting body of infantry beyond; but turned about again shattered into a mere wreck by the withering fire of the chassepôt. They had done their first work, however, so effectually as to dismantle the battery which had threatened to drive Alvensleben from his position.

Henceforth the sacrifice of our Light Brigade in the Balaclava valley may stand excused by the devotion which imitated its apparent rashness, and preserved the Verdun road to the Prussians in the hard fight of the 16th August.

Bredow, however, had in doing this so spent his brigade that Rheinbaben, his superior, could count upon but half his division when Lebœuf's final effort, before referred to, was made, supported by the cavalry of the Imperial Guard. Near Rheinbaben were two regiments of the Prussian Guard cavalry, the 1st and 2nd Dragoons, which, forming the advance of their corps, had crossed the Moselle on the 15th, and had hurried on at the sound of the firing. Yet another sacrifice was necessary to save the German left, more devoted still than that upon the right had been. Rheinbaben, charging unhesitatingly against the hostile cavalry, drove them back, receiving a terrible fire of bullets from Lebœuf's infantry on his flank. But the Guard Dragoons had ridden straight against the more advanced of the French columns, cut down their skirmishers, and plunged at a gallop on the supports; and though they suffered fearfully, the 1st regiment mustering next day not one half its officers and scarcely two thirds of its men, yet their dauntless attack had checked the French for the time, and before Lebœuf again advanced, strong reinforcements had joined Prince Frederic Charles on his right, and enabled him to detach infantry to the threatened flank in sufficient force to maintain his position until darkness came on, leaving the road, the prize of the bloodiest action of the war, in German hands. The exhaustion of the cavalry in their efforts this day—efforts which decided the failure of Bazaine's attempt to march on Verdun—may account in part for the small share this arm displayed in the vaster, but far less hard-fought action of Gravelotte two days later. A single daring charge was made by a Uhlan regiment of the 1st cavalry division in support of the advance of Zastrow's VIIth corps just before dark beyond Gravelotte; but it led only to the bold horsemen being so severely handled by the fire of a body of French infantry reserve, that a hasty retreat ensued, producing a panic in the second line which, earlier in the day, might have considerably affected the German success. That the breech-loader, when held by steady hands, is more than a match for the charge of any cavalry, was proved here no less than against the desperate assault of Michel's Cuirassiers on the Vth corps at Woerth, when the gallant regiments that rode up to the muzzle of the needle-gun were swept away in absolute destruction. Yet the successful charge of the 1st Guard Dragoons seems to show

that, under very special circumstances, a general may still be justified in using his horse for such a purpose. It is at the least certain from our study of the campaign of last year, that the 'Retro-'spect' is fully justified in its estimate of the signal importance which cavalry well handled will still on the whole maintain.

The war we are reviewing gives us no actual examples from which to follow out the well-known theory of Marmont that mounted infantry should play a striking part in the warfare of the future. It is well known that Count von Moltke has openly rejected the notion that European armies can profit by studying the lessons of the American Civil War, among which the foremost is that action of large bodies of mounted riflemen, which, under Kilpatrick, Sheridan, and Wilson, helped to decide the contest between South and North. On the other hand, we have before us the notorious fact that the German cavalry would have found their movements in the interior of France paralysed by the hostility of the armed bands which lurked in every covert, had they not fallen upon the device of assisting the action of each brigade by a detachment of riflemen attached to it for the special purpose of clearing the way of secret enemies. It would take us far beyond our limits were we to transcribe the details which lie before us on this subject. It is enough here to say that the clearing and occupation of the country south of Paris, which was accomplished soon after the investment had been formed, is shown in the official reports to have been effected mainly by the aid of the Bavarian riflemen who were employed with the IVth and VIth cavalry divisions; and to add that, when Manteuffel advanced from Metz after its fall to occupy the north of France with the First Army, his flank and front were kept clear by the Ist division under Groeben, who carried similar small parties of riflemen with each of his brigades, and used them constantly in his occupation of villages and other enclosed posts. Such infantry, however active, would of necessity have been a heavy clog upon the movements of the horse, but for the device which was repeatedly had recourse to of hurrying them forward in country carts or other wheeled carriages. But there are obvious objections to this plan, which in truth was merely a rude substitute, devised on the emergency, for a fitter means of treating a phase of the war for which the Germans were not prepared. Those who have seen how prompt their military administration has been to seize every desirable improvement, will not doubt that, had the events of 1870 been fully foreseen, the difficulty would have been provided for by some such expedient as raising bodies of mounted riflemen for the express

purpose of clearing the way of advanced guards from lurking *Francs-tireurs*. If we are not greatly misinformed, there is the highest living authority—the authority of the most successful of the generals who have used this modified form of cavalry on a great scale—for an assertion that had the French early in this war trained up a mass of horsemen of the type of those that followed Sheridan, instead of devoting their whole means to the collection of masses of raw infantry and artillerymen, they might have so threatened the priceless line of railroad which fed the German host before Paris as to render a continued investment impossible. If this be an over-statement, few will doubt that at least such a body acting upon the communications of the Germans, would have done more to hinder the conquest of the country than tenfold their numbers sent on foot to be fresh food for the enemy's powder under Bourbaki, Chanzy, or Faidherbe.

We cannot pass from this consideration of the three chief arms of the Prussian service, and of the development of their combined action for which this war has been so remarkable, without a word on the fourth—the engineer service—which has had so conspicuous a share in many of the events of 1870–71. It is well known that the war of 1866 afforded no opportunity for testing the skill of the Prussian engineers in siege-works. But there is another side of their art in active warfare, connected with field operations, and to their conduct of this branch in Bohemia, a chapter of the 'Retrospect' devotes some of the severest criticisms of that famous essay. To those who have not studied the curious coincidences of thought and action which the same professional leanings develope among nations of very different habits, it may be well to learn that the very charges made against the military engineers in 1866 might have been written, in great part word for word, of our own. Very properly the critic dismisses the excuse made for his comrades of the scientific arm that, 'The rapid offensive movements 'of the campaign afforded neither time nor opportunity for their 'co-operation, which must be essentially defensive.' The facts of almost every battle, as was sufficiently illustrated by details from those of Trautenau and Koeniggratz, disprove this notion, which rests on such mistaken ideas of engineers' duties in the field as caused a battalion of this branch on one occasion to be left behind as a baggage-guard. The reason of their frequent non-employment was not all their own fault, nor entirely that of the staff under which they served. But with them too often the soldier had been subordinated to the constructor. Moreover, they had lived so far aloof from the rest of the

army that, when with it, their services were not appreciated, however willing they might have been to take their part. 'Yet 'an engineer will always be serviceable who is a good soldier, 'though he may be an indifferent architect—though his work 'may fail in an artistic point of view.' 'For,' it is added—a most valuable maxim for others than military engineers to note—'an indifferent construction at the right place is better 'than an artistic work in the wrong one.' To the end that this isolation and misdirection of a valuable arm should cease, the essayist adds that the chief engineer should be ever at the side of the commanding general, surveying the whole strategic and tactical position, and seizing every opportunity for the co-operation of his own branch of the service. In justice to our own army we may add, that this adoption of an engineer as one of the personal staff of a commander in the field, has been the recognised rule with us since the days of Wellington, and has been adopted in practice for each general of a division, who has invariably a special officer of engineers attached to him, a custom in which we have the advantage of the Prussians, who seem to have missed or not used this necessary link of connexion between science and arms. Whilst pointing out the defective conduct of the Prussian Engineers in 1866, the 'Retrospect' speaks confidently of the future adoption of the remedies, prophesying that the next campaign would 'show 'this fourth arm acting in rivalry with the others.' Let us 'see how far we can trace the fulfilment of this bold prediction.

It is related that at Woerth, when Michel's desperate charge was made to recover the lost centre of MacMahon's line, the Prussian infantry were inclined to bend before the storm of cuirassier horsemen that approached them, and that the first steps to panic were checked by a bold lieutenant of engineers, who, rallying his party, which were close to the line of skirmishers, opened a fire on the advancing enemy, which the rest of the brigade near him at once took up. But even if this be literally true, it does not speak of the professional value of the engineer as such. That is attested rather by the fact that the detachment of which this service was recorded had followed the advance of the infantry so closely as to be already at the village of Elsasshausen, just captured, preparing to make it tenable against any attempt to recover it. Thus, too, Gravelotte was taken by Zastrow's corps not long before dark on the 18th August; and though the French that night held their second position not far beyond, its recapture would have been a serious task next day, even had circumstances elsewhere favoured

them; for the Prussian engineers were at work from early dawn, improving the hold of their troops upon the village by every resource their art affords. On the other hand, the strength of the French position, on which the first attacks of the Prussian army were that day shattered, is known to have been created mainly by the use of rifle-pits and light intrenchments copied from the American model. That these were not adopted at Woerth was due more to the carelessness of MacMahon's staff than to want of time, though there is no reason to believe that any mere temporary works could have enabled him to beat off the vastly larger army with which he so rashly engaged. How little such works avail unless placed in accordance with the strategical object in view, is well shown by the fact that the hill above Forbach was carefully strengthened by Frossard in this manner, only to be abandoned before the Prussians approached for the Spicheren heights, where the attack fell upon him without time being given for such preparations. How useless they are when the tactical purpose is not rightly studied, is illustrated by those which, under General Douay's directions, were thrown up on the hill above Floing the day before the battle of Sedan; for whilst this was being done, the Prussians were already preparing to turn the whole right wing of the French army so completely as to nullify this use of artificial precautions. This instance repeated the error of the Austrians in 1866, when the work at Chlum was left open and useless by Benedek's miscalculation of the direction from which the decisive attack upon his position would come.

There is another branch of field engineering of constant service in modern warfare, though little noticed in the English military text-books for want of practical experience of its use in our army. But in the Prussian service the very name of 'pioneers,' given to the engineer battalion of each army corps, points to the duty laid upon this arm of clearing the way for the rest. Accordingly, each division has its separate company of engineers, which, following the prescription of the 'Tactical 'Instructions,' is, on the march, with the advance guard, so as to remove or bridge over obstacles that might delay the main body. The dexterity of this arm in improvising passages across streams, drew special notice from English observers during the peace manœuvres of last year. Nor was such field practice on their part thrown away. Enough has already reached us of the rapidity with which Prince Frederic Charles conducted his advance on Le Mans over roads blocked up and broken up in fifty places, to show that the engineers were as prompt and ready at their work as the 'Retrospect' had prophesied.

How important this work was strategically, appears plainly enough when we remember that it was the rapidity with which his columns moved independently forward, continually outflanking the French at every turn, that forced the latter back on Le Mans in so disheartened a condition as to be incapable of holding the strongest position. Had military correspondents accompanied the armies that crushed MacMahon, we should have heard similar details of the rapid march of the Prince of Saxony's army from the Moselle westward across the Meuse, and of the Crown Prince's through the Ardennes. As it is, we find the pontoons of the latter, which formed part of his field engineer train, so well forward after the battle of Beaumont, as to be brought to the Meuse at Donchéry, far below Sedan, on the day following, thus preparing the wide-sweeping movement by which the Prince turned Douay's position, and hemmed the French completely in from all hope of escape.

When we search the records of the war for a study of those better known duties of the engineer which make this arm so prominent at every siege, we find less to note than many readers will expect. Sieges proper there have been but three in 1870–71, even if we include that of Paris, which, though partaking of this character for the last few weeks, can hardly be said to have more than commenced when the city was forced to capitulate for lack of bread. Belfort, strong in the natural abrupt elevation of its citadel, was found, like all places so favoured, very difficult of approach by regular siege; and after three months spent in capturing some of the outworks, it was surrendered as a diplomatic concession. Strasburg remains, the single example offered us by recent wars of the siege of a fortress in due form, carried on until the breach was nearly practicable, and then surrendered. There is, however, here no lesson of importance to be gleaned from either side. The attack was methodical in the extreme, following without important variations the traditions handed down from the era of Vauban and Cohorn. The defence was fairly enough conducted until the real danger of an assault had to be faced, when the governor found it hopeless to trust any longer to his motley garrison, refugees in great part from the fatal field of Woerth, and so gave up the place at once. The facts that he had still a very wide ditch before the breach, which the Germans would have had to cross by artificial means to the assault; that he had made none of those efforts to retrench or isolate the threatened part by fresh works within, for which French engineers were formerly renowned; and that the citadel had not been touched; combine to strip the defence of Strasburg of the

false halo cast over it by misplaced encomiums, and leave the siege that won the great fortress of Alsace back to Germany to be regarded as one of the most commonplace operations of the kind on record.

Not so with the easier capture of Toul, and of the numerous other fortresses that fell in like manner in the north and north-east of France. Here the German engineers showed that they had thoroughly grasped one of the new problems of military science—that which involves the value of the old second-class town-fortress of the Vauban age. In a dozen instances such places have been clearly proved to be worthless against modern siege guns, which need no regular approaches to aid their action, since their fire from batteries almost hidden from those of the fortress at distances varying from 1,500 to 4,000 yards, did such damage to the buildings as invariably to compel surrender within a few hours after the bombardment opened. The fate of Toul, and of Thionville and her sister guardians of the old French frontier, shows beyond doubt that fortifications proper are to be held in future as wasted when the space within them is filled up with ordinary buildings. Verdun, Schlestatt, and Neu Brisach gave the Germans rather more trouble, owing to local circumstances; but these all, like the rest, fell to bombardment rather than to siege, and show that the art of war has reached an altogether new phase since the days when Vauban and his followers planned the defence of France. Modern artillery has made the notions of their time as to the fortification of towns an anachronism. On the other hand, the old system, which dates from even earlier times, of lines of circumvallation thrown up to invest and starve armies that shelter themselves under fortresses which cannot feed them, has been revived and succeeded against Metz and Paris, as it was revived and succeeded against Vicksburg seven years before.

We must not pass from this branch of our subject without pointing out that prophecies made some time since of the growing importance of the railroad and telegraph in time of war, have been abundantly justified by late events. No one can really understand anything of the siege of Paris who does not see clearly that the Germans were absolutely dependent for success upon the aid afforded their means of supply by the railroad from Nancy. But this line, entering France at two different points by sections which converge near that city, had been carried under the guns of the two great frontier fortresses, Strasburg and Metz. As neither of these was mastered when the armies first approached Paris, it became of vital importance to turn the railroad round one of them at least; and this

was effected by the skill and energy of the Railway Corps, originally brought into the field solely with a view to repairing damaged lines for present use, and suddenly required to perform this most necessary duty. It was determined to carry a completely new line, twenty-two miles in length, from Remilly to Pont-à-Mousson, so as to avoid Metz altogether, by uniting the railway east of the city to the same railway to its south. There were no fit instruments for levelling; good tools were scarce; and the workmen were chiefly coalminers hurried up from Saarbrueck; whilst the rails and sleepers had to be brought up in country carts, the railroad behind being blocked by military trains. The exertions of the corps, however, overcame every obstacle, and the work, begun on the 22nd August, was completed on the 23rd September, and the army before the capital rendered thenceforward independent of French supplies. Lesser works of the same description were later employed at points nearer Paris, where the tunnels of the railroad had been effectually destroyed. How necessary these operations were could not be fully understood, did we not know from official Berlin reports that the separate line of supply which the German staff had devised by way of Chaumont for their operations on the Loire, and which was elaborately described in our journals as perfect in its action, broke down altogether from the destruction of the bridges by the French. The army of Prince Frederic Charles, when concentrated before Orleans, would have been actually starved or forced to retire, but that for some weeks it was allowed to share the vast supplies brought to the depôt at Lagny in the vicinity of Paris for that of the Crown Prince. In short, had the single railroad not brought even more up than the latter needed, the vital operations by which D'Aurelle de Paladines was restrained from his attempts to relieve Paris must have been abandoned for want of provisions, since the preceding operations of October and November had swept the district to be held of its surplus produce.

It is hardly necessary to dilate upon the important service which the Germans have drawn from their telegraphic lines during the war. If a study of the investment of Paris, or of that of Metz, shows no special novelty in the way of counter-defensive works, at least it puts it beyond all doubt that disciplined and active troops have an enormous advantage for holding such lines in the introduction of the electric-telegraph. It is not too much to assert that before Metz in particular the safety of the investment was due to this aid; since Bazaine's conduct, poor as it seems to have been, would have been too

disgraceful for belief in not attempting more seriously to break through, had he not known that his least movement was telegraphed at once to the headquarters of the enemy, and its consequences provided for on the instant. The combination which drove MacMahon so helplessly on Sedan, and that by which Manteuffel united, without an hour's loss of time, two separate corps, the IInd and VIIth, from opposite sides of France, to crush Bourbaki last January, are beyond question specially due to this new mode of communication. No large army can expect in future to be efficiently worked that does not provide for its full use to within a safe distance of the front. On the other hand, the experience of 1870, like that of 1866, confirms the belief that in close tactical operations neither the use of telegraphy, nor probably that of visual signalling, can supersede the services of a well-mounted and devoted staff.

From questions of tactical and mechanical improvements we pass naturally here to considerations of that personal administration which answers in our army to the brains and nervous system of the human body. We have long since given reasons for our opinion* that the modern French system which, in direct opposition to the opinion of Napoleon, creates a special staff corps, selected originally by a single high theoretical examination, and separated thenceforward from the whole regimental life of the army which it is to preside over, is faulty in its basis. Late events have proved how evil it may become in its practical working. The French staff have failed doubly; in their ignorance of the gross defects of the regimental elements on which they had to depend for action; and in their forgetfulness of the necessity of maintaining in time of peace that active study of their duties which should fit them for war. We are more than ever thankful that this mode of officering the staff, so often pressed upon ourselves by well-intentioned writers, has been rejected in our service for one not wholly dissimilar to that which has been tried with such remarkable success by the Germans. 'The Prussian staff,' says Baron Stoffel, in a section of his *Reports* which will especially repay careful perusal, 'is 'the first in Europe. The French cannot be compared with 'it.' A brief survey of the system upon which this superiority is founded, which we find asserted in such broad terms of Germans by a Frenchman, is all that our space will allow us.

The staff of the Prussian army, though not nominally chosen by competition, is in reality created by the highest form of competitive examination, that which is founded on probation in

* Edinb. Review, Jan. 1866.

the actual duties to be performed, and that probation carried on under strict observation, with proper penalties and rewards. As in France, the original principle is taken for granted that the staff should consist of the most intelligent and educated officers in the army. A single extract from the *Reports* will suffice to show by what an opposite system to that of France this desirable object has been worked out:—

'It was resolved to select their staff officers for all branches of the service, and to grant them important privileges with respect to promotion, but at the same time to retain the right of dismissing them to their former positions at any moment if they did not display skill and eagerness to learn. The consequence of this arrangement is, of course, that the General Staff is furnished only with young, ambitious, prudent, and diligent officers; ambitious because they are desirous of speedy promotion, and diligent and prudent because they know that, if they do not make the required progress in their studies, they will be dismissed to their regiments.

'In order to estimate the advantages offered to the officers of the Staff, it must be remembered that promotion in the Prussian army goes, as a rule, by seniority. The king, it is true, reserves to himself the right of promoting an officer to a higher rank at his own good pleasure, but this prerogative is only rarely exercised; in fact, not more than one thirtieth or one fortieth of the officers owe their rank to such an intervention. The officers of the General Staff have an advantage of from seven to eight years over those of the rest of the army.'

In detail the system is worked out as follows:—Any subaltern of three years' service may offer himself for the entrance examination of the War Academy at Berlin, which is chiefly one of theory, yet very varied. Of 120 that go up annually, about forty of the best are admitted, and undergo a three years' course of general training, the last period being specially devoted to reconnaissances and other kindred branches of military surveying in some broken and varied district. This course being over, they are all remanded indiscriminately to their regiments; and about a dozen of those most favourably reported on are, in the course of the following year, sent from these to serve in some regiment of another arm, in order that an independent account of their zeal, good character, and versatility may be obtained from a new commanding officer, watching their performance of new duties. From a combination of the reports, that of the Academy, the original regiment, and the new, those that stand highest are selected by the Chief of Staff—a post held for the last seven years by the renowned Von Moltke himself—and are brought once more to Berlin to be further instructed under his personal direction, and taught to develope those specialities on which the

Prussians lay so much stress, in the six subdivisions of his office. This done, they are again remanded, without receiving any special reward, to their regiments: and then, those finally selected are soon afterwards promoted to the rank of captain, and become members of the regular staff. After a moderate period of employment, they are sent to regimental service once more (though not to their old regiment, where they would take precedence of their former seniors), for at least a year, before receiving the rank of major. This once attained, their promotion is no longer quicker than in the line; but before any further step can be gained, a staff-officer is invariably sent to do regimental duty, as a sort of probation, in that rank to which he is approaching, so as never to lose the habit of personal command, nor to settle into a mere official functionary.

The treble system of weeding the original applicants thus pursued reduces the number that pass under the final personal charge of Count Von Moltke to less than one-tenth of the ambitious youths who send up their names for the War Academy. But as this proportion would not suffice for the whole demands of the service, especially in time of war, commanding officers are allowed to recommend any very specially qualified officers for the direct final probation at Berlin, which, if passed successfully, brings them at once upon the staff, though probably to be employed in less important duties than those of the regular candidates. The certainty of rejection, and of remand to the ridicule of their regiment, that hangs over those 'recommended' candidates that prove to be far from qualified, serves as a wholesome check on those who are not actually gifted for the duties they would aspire to. Of course such a system requires to be honestly worked and severely watched. But when so worked and watched, how superior it is to that which in France passes an officer into the staff corps at the age of twenty-one by a purely theoretical examination, and leaves his appointment henceforward secure for life, regardless of his conduct or exertions! 'The French,' says Baron Stoffel, 'in time of war confide to officers who are often 'incompetent or indifferent to the service those duties which 'require the highest activity and judgment, and the widest 'knowledge. In France we find staff officers who cannot gallop 'a couple of miles. In Prussia, anyone unfit for service on 'horseback would be at once got rid of.' To such differences as these in the respective systems may be traced much of that vast superiority in what may be termed the mechanism of strategy, which has formed the subject of comment ever since the Prussians took the field last August, armed with every means

that foresight and diligence could provide for carrying their columns swiftly and certainly onwards from point to point. Without such mechanical aid, the conceptions of strategy would be vague and uncertain. With it thus perfected, they have seemed as it were an instinct which left no turn of events unprovided for.

Passing onwards in our review, it is not our intention to enlarge particularly upon the details of that marvellous Organisation, to which the Prussians, above all other means, have owed the successes which in seven years have elevated their kingdom from a second-rate position among the greater States to be acknowledged as the most formidable military power ever produced since the days of Rome. In the pages of this Review we were the first to make readers in this country acquainted with its larger features,* and since interest was first turned by us to the subject after the battle of Koeniggratz, a hundred writers have in their various ways familiarised the public with its details. In his recently published work, Lieutenant Gerald Talbot, himself an officer of a distinguished Prussian regiment, has elaborately explained the subject of the district organisation by which all North Germany became, when a single telegraphic message was flashed throughout it, one vast base of operations against France. Collected separately by Army Corps and sent forward from each Corps district by special detachments, a fortnight was found sufficient to place the whole field army of the Bund (except one division, the 22nd, purposely retained) on the frontier of attack. Five main railroads proved that they gave sufficient means for transporting to the required point the 550,000 men that constituted the whole force of a powerful monarchy of twenty millions of souls. But this celerity of transport would have been wasted but for the extraordinary completeness of preparation, which the decentralisation first begun in the province for its Corps, and carried down to each separate brigade, had prepared to make effectual. The secret of this grand success in the art of preparation lies in the facts clearly given by Lieutenant Talbot, that 'the equipments and 'materials necessary to put the army on a war footing, down 'to the smallest detail, lie ready in the depôts of the military 'train and in the armouries of the regiments.' The number of horses to be added, like those of the reserve men, is known beforehand to the authorities of each district. The officers are nominated in advance to their several expected positions. No

* Edin. Rev. Oct. 1866.

instructions therefore are necessary from the authorities when the time for mobilisation arrives; 'each sub-authority know-'ing exactly how much is required of him, and what is to be 'done.'

Those who would learn how entirely these conditions were absent in France, and how utterly her attempts to bring into first line even one-half the number of men collected by her adversary, may read the whole secret for themselves in the well-known Apology of the Imperial captive, entitled 'The 'Causes which brought about the Capitulation of Sedan,' without a reference to which this subject would be incomplete.

As a scientific analysis of the essential differences of the two systems, and especially of the weaknesses of the French Administration, no work has yet appeared equal in completeness to the first part of Colonel Borbstaedt's 'History of the War,' which gives promise of great value for the narrative that is to follow. This author opportunely reminds us of an anonymous pamphlet which appeared at Paris not many months before the war, entitled 'L'Administration de l'Armée Française,' commonly ascribed to General Trochu (though he has since denied its authorship), and written expressly to expose the administrative shortcomings of the Intendance in the Crimea and in Italy, as regards the three important matters of the supply of military stores, provisions, and hospital necessaries.

We are aware that we are treading here upon delicate ground. Unhappily this great question of army administration, as applied to ourselves, has been made absolutely one of persons, instead of being discussed purely on principles. There are those high in office who believe their credit pledged to the carrying out their original design of a vast civil department pervading and checking the whole military fabric. There are others who are deeply sensible of the certain and ruinous evil of the dual management of a machine which should be the embodiment of unity, and so are ready to use any means to overthrow that double form of administration—the outcome of divisions between civil and military branches of the War Office—which has suddenly been laid upon our army to its sore discontent. So hot has been this controversy that we almost fear to be counted as a partisan, when simply pointing to the following extract from Colonel Borbstaedt's work; for we doubt whether some will not think what we quote from a well-known German writer on the subject of French administration to be a covert satire on what is done, or said to be done, amongst ourselves:—

'The chief mistake indicated,' says Colonel Borbstaedt, in using the

evidence of the Paris pamphlet to support his criticisms, 'was that the Intendance was too omnipotent. It knew no control but its own. It was loaded to that degree with various business (as the settlement of accounts, control, the details of administration, the whole arrangement of sanitary matters, and the supervision of the trains of the army) that it became literally impossible in time of war that it should suffice for all these duties. As a principle, the higher posts of the Intendance are in France occupied by officers from the regular service; and as there is not the least pains taken beforehand for their training as officials of the Intendance, there must come to pass in the event of war the very evil condition, that the additional posts created in the department would have to be filled by officers suddenly appointed, without the least knowledge of administrative work. The commanders of the army have no voice in, and no responsibility for, the Intendance, which is so powerful as against them, that its suddenly issued notices often clash with every kind of proper military arrangement.

'In the Prussian administration, on the other hand, every commander, down to the captain of a company, is entrusted with the management of, and responsibility for, the administration of his allotted force of men. The battalions and regiments have associated with them individually paymasters, with the rank of officers, to co-operate in the administration; the divisions and army corps have their own, with grades corresponding to their importance, who watch over the paymasters below them. These are doubly responsible, to the general regulations of the service, and to the orders of their immediate commanders. The Ministry of War has reserved to itself only special portions of the higher part of the administration, with the general control of the whole. Its bureaux provide separately for the general supervision of the payments, the rationing, the transport, and clothing of the army. Another division takes the invalids, and another the remounts. The general system provides in peace such a constitution that in war the apparatus is all ready for immediate action. The principle of decentralising as much as possible is carried down to the clothing and outfitting of each particular battalion as far as possible by its own workmen, furnished with the necessary help. In France, all such matters are taken entire charge of by the Intendance, and the work concentrated in large factories at Paris.'

We have quoted this passage, both as throwing light on the history of the late war, and as suggesting a lesson to ourselves; for in the light of recent events comments upon the opposing systems seem to be superfluous. The rival theories have met in the field, and the one has shown itself in practice sound and workmanlike, the other, under a sudden and a great strain, has been acknowledged by its late imperial master to be a miserable failure.

The reader who has followed us thus far in our review will have found the Prussians of 1870 in advance of their ancient foes alike in the mere drill of their infantry, in the tactical train-

ing of their various arms, in the constitution of their staff, in general organisation, and finally in administration. These, or even a part of these advantages, might well account for the victories that awed the world in the campaign of last autumn. But our task would be incomplete did we not allude to that highest branch of military science which is founded on principles that have never varied since Alexander, and Hannibal, and Cæsar won their triumphs, and has had in all civilised ages attractions for the thoughtful reader. The principles of strategy are, indeed, unvarying; but the right application of those principles depends on the genius of the general, and his mastery of his art. In nothing has the steady strong will of the King of Prussia, acting through the patient and yet versatile agency of his trusted advisers, displayed itself more strongly, than in the care with which Von Moltke and his staff have followed up the lessons of their patriotic countryman, Clausewitz, and learnt to modify old rules of strategy to new inventions. For Clausewitz was the first to show in theory that the so-called principles of the art of war must be intelligently applied according to circumstances, and not used by formal method. Hence it is that—to give one most striking instance—we find the 'exterior lines' condemned of old for moderately sized armies, become the practice of a Prussian strategist when throwing 300,000 men into Bohemia in 1866, and nearly twice that number into France four years later. The reason of this modification is obvious. When such masses of men are to be brought suddenly and simultaneously into action, it can only be done by moving them from different points by different routes against the enemy. To mass them on one or two parallel lines of advance would be to oppose only part of the striking force to the enemy awaiting it, and the apparent risk of division is more than compensated for by the celerity and the development of front gained. There must of course be present the condition that each army is of itself for the time so strong as not to be liable to be wholly crushed by a sudden movement of the enemy's main force without the other's arriving to its aid. It was to maintain this condition that, as we presume, Herwarth's army was joined in 1866, and Steinmetz's in 1870, to the central force (in each case under Prince Frederic Charles) instead of making an independent movement as the third body under the Crown Prince was in both campaigns directed to do. Had MacMahon's force been increased at the end of July, and the Emperor's diminished until their proportions were reversed, so that the former became the main defensive army, the latter a mere detached wing, there would not have been only a

general similarity, but a marvellous parallelism between the openings of the two campaigns. In each case, moreover, the first successes were so decisive that henceforth all hope of equality passed away. But especially was this the case in the late war after the defeats of the French on the frontier, when their weakness numerically and morally became so apparent, that boldness, ever increasing with new successes, became the simple key to the later portion of the German strategy.

To study that of the vanquished side in detail, would but be to give the history of a long series of blunders. As a memorable example of these, we may point out that the signal error with which the Emperor, by his own admission, began the war, was committed in direct opposition to all right principles. The defensive, as Clausewitz has remarked, is the natural strategy of the weaker party, its object being, by the use of artificial aid, to balance material superiority. Instead of following this view, the Emperor, trusting to the favourite *élan* of which his army claimed a monopoly, resolved to begin by placing his whole field force upon the frontier. He tells us that he knew the enemy's numbers to be double his own. He must have known also from the experience of 1866 that they would be ready to meet him in a fortnight. Yet in seeking the fancied advantages of a bold offensive, which his inferior administration made in the end an impossibility, he neglected all the necessary means of defending France, and disseminated her whole available forces where defeat, rapidly followed up, must entail their destruction, or at least the fatal disorganisation of a long retreat.

It is easy now to criticise this error, and those that followed it; the easier that Napoleon III., in writing his Apology, has placed the means of his condemnation in our hands. But how different might have been the fate of his dynasty and country had he conformed his operations to the weakness which he clearly recognised. Commanding not more than one half of the armies moved against him, he should beyond doubt from the first have kept them on the defensive, withdrawn at least as far as the Moselle at the outset, and should have held no position but such as was both strong in itself and easy to retreat from. Every mile that he fell back towards Paris would have weakened his adversaries and given his own troops more means of support, until the original preponderance of the Germans might in the end have been turned against them. To show that these speculations are not mere fancies, let us suppose that his forces, united without risking a Forbach and a Woerth, had yet been so suddenly and sharply beaten on the

Moselle that the left half had been cut off and separated, as Bazaine's army actually was, from its proper right wing under MacMahon: this very misfortune should have been all the stronger argument for the steady retreat of the latter to a safe position near Paris. For Paris, as we know, could have been defended for a while by the reserves, whilst the field army, if not sufficient to meet the Prussians in open battle, might, by its judicious use in threatening their communications, have easily frustrated their design of investing the capital. Does anyone suppose that the Germans would have even ventured to show themselves seriously before it last September, had MacMahon with 150,000 men been planted north of Soissons on their flank, and his rear and flank sheltered by the northern fortresses—in short, if he had occupied that very position in which Faidherbe with 40,000 ill-trained levies gave the German staff serious uneasiness three months later? History and theory alike declare that the siege of Paris under such circumstances would have been impossible.

In closing our review we feel that we may have disappointed some readers by speaking almost solely of the early portion of the war, to the neglect of that second stage, when France armed her republican levies as in the old war of invasion, after ridding herself of the incubus of monarchy, so as to use her irregular energies the more freely. Let us briefly state why we have purposely done this.

Without asserting (in the words attributed to Von Moltke when speaking of the American civil war) that the educated soldier cannot profit by studying 'the scrambling of armed mobs,' the lesson conveyed by such scrambling, as it has been witnessed recently, opposed to a finished soldiership, is too plain to need elaborate discussion. It is simply that in this age of scientific thought, war must be treated as a science. No nation has ever had the same opportunity of testing the power of the bare enthusiasm of armed myriads of levies in defence of her soil as France as had of late; and no nation has ever succumbed more miserably and hopelessly to the invader. D'Aurelle de Paladines might bring 150,000 of such recruits into decent order by his iron discipline; but he could not prevent them marching to the rear by whole corps as soon as the first rumour of disaster was whispered through his troops, then but a few miles advanced beyond the intrenchments before Orleans, which they at once retired into only to pass through and abandon. Chanzy proved capable of holding a mass of them bravely together for days about Beaugency against the repeated attacks of a lesser force of Germans; yet after winning their

confidence, he found his forces melt away hopelessly in detail when he scattered them forwards from Le Mans to defend one of the strongest districts which France could offer him for the purpose of irregular warfare. Faidherbe won such mastery over his levies, as to twice fight drawn battles against inferior numbers by holding rigidly a chosen position; but his army broke at once into confusion and ruin when he attempted to manœuvre it before St. Quentin on open ground in face of half its number of Prussians. Bourbaki was able to carry an enormous mass of these Mobiles with him across France to try that bold offensive on which Frenchmen pin their faith; but he arrived below Belfort only to be repulsed in attacking an army numbering a third of his own, and to be absolutely destroyed on his retreat by another of the same inferior strength. In these days of vast projects for arming our nation, proposals which imply either a burden intolerable to the working classes, if the levies are really to be trained, or a delusive paper show of strength if they are but mustered, it is well to get rid of illusions which may hinder real reform. We do not want, as we five years since wrote in these pages, a large army: but what we have should be in every branch ready to expand at call to a size sufficient for our actual necessities. It should be highly trained, and the discipline for which our service is renowned should be fairly maintained. Its officers should be educated, both by theory and practice, to the full proportion of their respective responsibilities. Its organisation should have no false economy in peace that would make it unfitted for the calls of war. Such an army, we are certain, might be obtained by us without undue expenditure or oppressive conscription; and to the end that our defence may be thus secured, we invite our statesmen and their advisers to meditate deeply on the lessons of the war which has just shattered a great empire, the heritage of Napoleon, into ruins, and raised up a greater military power than that of France to overshadow Europe.

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